WORKERS VANGUARD

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 345

6 January 1984

U.S. Hands Off the World!

Reagan Is War Crazy!

Der Spiegel

UPI

NATO

The destructive frenzy of dying capitalism: 16-inch guns of battleship New Jersey bombard Syrian forces in Lebanon; Pershing 2 missiles deployed in West Germany are six to eight minutes flying time from major Soviet cities.

JANUARY 3—Millions around the world are wondering whether there will be a New Year's, 1985. On December 30 a high official in West Germany's foreign ministry declared, "The first American battery of nine Pershing 2 rockets is ready for action in West Germany." For action? So much for the claim that the U.S. nuclear arsenal is for "deterrence." The new NATO missiles in West Europe, the Marines in Lebanon, the rape of the tiny black West Indian island of Grenada, these are not the whims of one man, Ronald Reagan, but the destructive frenzy of a dying capitalist world order.

Reagan came to office promising to restore the "American century" of the 1950s. He was going to achieve military "superiority" over the Soviet Union and wipe out the "Vietnam syndrome" in America. But he can't. There will be no return to the world before the Vietnam War either in the minds of the American people or in the real balance of military and economic forces. However many billions are showered on the Pentagon, there will be no return to the time of the 1962 Cuba missile crisis when the U.S. had over 2,000 strategic nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union only about 70. Today, as Soviet chief of staff marshal Nikolai Ogarkov warned, "retaliation will be certain in all cases." And he can deliver. The U.S. imperialists can no longer practice effective nuclear blackmail. They cannot police the world, they cannot dominate it. The only thing they can do is blow it up.

And they're now acting just crazy enough to do it, like Hitler in his bunker (but Hitler by then was militarily toothless). From the Pentagon to the White House the American rulers have gone absolutely gaga over the "international terrorist threat." They're muttering about the "truck-bomb gap" with Syria and Iran. First Reagan surrounds the White House with dump trucks filled with sand, then concrete barriers. One half expects he'll bring in tanks next, as Washington comes to look more and more like some damn banana republic. Of course, there is no terrorist threat to the U.S. rulers. The real terrorists of the world—from Hiroshima to Vietnam to Central America—are the men in the White House and Pentagon.

World Policemen Who Can't Shoot Straight

The would-be policemen of the Near East are behaving more like the Keystone Cops. On October 23 one man in a Mercedes truck filled with explosives drove right into the central lobby of the Marine headquarters at Beirut airport and blew it up, killing 241 U.S. servicemen. Not only can't the U.S. forces in Lebanon protect themselves, they can't even carry out a simple bombing raid. The "retaliatory" air raid against Syria in early December was itself a mini-disaster. Of the 28 relatively slow-flying planes sent on the mission, two were shot down by Soviet-supplied antiaircraft missiles. One pilot was killed and his navigator (who is black) was captured by the Syrians and held as a prisoner of war, the first since Vietnam. Syrian strongman Assad was smart enough to release him to black Democratic politico Jesse Jackson just to rub Reagan's face in it.

Even the Pentagon brass want out of the bloody mess in Lebanon. The official Long commission report on the October 23 bombing actually criticizes Reagan's policies for jeopardizing the Marines—an unheard-of thing. Reagan is in trouble over Lebanon. Right after the Marine headquarters bombing we raised the call "U.S. Marines Out of Lebanon, Now, Alive!" seeking to intersect the popular feeling that it was Reagan's senseless criminal policies which killed those 241 young men. Especially after the Pentagon report, the pressure is building in this country to pull out of Lebanon. Democratic frontrunner Walter Mondale has just flip-flopped and is calling for a phased withdrawal. So if Reagan cannot win the elections as the Teddy Roosevelt of Grenada, he may try an Adolf Hitler ploy and charge the Democrats with a "stab in the back" over the Near East.

If U.S. imperialism is caught in a bloody quagmire in Lebanon, it's getting creamed in Central America too. When the Reagan gang took office, they targeted El Salvador as the place to wipe out the "Vietnam syndrome." Here was going to be a Vietnam in reverse, and on the cheap. Although the Soviet Union and Cuba gave little if any military aid to the leftist guerrillas, the Reaganites declared El Salvador the forward point of Soviet "expansionism," the front line of Cold War II. But while Washington's puppet army and rightist death squads kill tens of thousands of defenseless people, the leftist guerrillas are *winning* the civil war. Repeatedly now, entire army companies have deserted en masse. Last week the guerrillas captured

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Socialist Action's Debut

Ex-SWPers Goon for S.F. Labor Fakers

The San Francisco Bay Area was the scene of some of the most militant strike action against the Greyhound hosses and their attempt to bust the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU). This explosive potential was shown in a December 3 demonstration when 1,500-2,000 militant workers, after listening to over an hour of windy burcaucrats' speeches, took off to the Greyhound terminal to try and shut it down. The fighting mood of the workers here, as in Philadelphia and Boston, showed that a national transport strike to bring Greyhound to its knees *was possible*. Greyhound bosses clearly recognized this—the company has announced the firing of at least 100 militant strikers, 34 of them in the Bay Area alone.

While AFL-CIO bureaucrats mouthed empty talk of "solidarity," just as in the PATCO strike they stabbed the isolated Greyhound strikers in the back hy refusing to mohilize their ranks and opposing any real solidarity action. In the Bay Area these sellouts got a little help from some ex-members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) who recently formed "Socialist Action" and are advertising themselves as the best friends of Polish Solidarność, the only "union" Ronald Reagan loves. At the maiden forum to introducc Socialist Action, held in San Francisco on December 16, these lahorite reformists cynically bragged about setting up a "workers defense guard" (really a goon squad) to help the union misleaders protect Greyhound against "crazies"—the militants who wanted to stop the scab buses from rolling!

The Greyhound strike was a real test for the left. The Spartacist League and class-struggle unionists from longshore/warehouse and telephone were present at the Decemher 3 SF rally, calling for "Trucking, Rail, Transit, AFSCME Workers—All Out to Stop Union Busting!" Our slogans and chants were picked up by the strikers: we saw "Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!" and "No More PATCOs!" hand-serawled on the back of official ATU signs; and as the crowd was marching down Market Street they were enthusiastically chanting "On strike—Shut it down!" and "No scab buses!" At Seventh Street near Market the demonstrators surged toward the Greyhound terminal. At this point labor bureaucrats rushed to the front of the building with the cops. Walter Johnson of the Retail Clerks, perennial leader of every phony "solidarity" coalition, and ILWU chief Jimmy Herman pleaded with the crowd to disperse. But demonstrators continued to block Seventh Street for another two hours. No buses moved. The union misleaders were terrified.

Immediately a whisper campaign was begun by the bureaucrats saying that "the Sparts" were causing all the trouble, we were the "rabhle-rousers." In reality, the most militant layer of Bay Area labor came out to shut down Greyhound, and our class-struggle slogans were eagerly taken up by the crowd in this spontaneous mass action. Next time, the bureaucrats vowed to be "prepared." At a Decemher 5 strike support meeting, Seymour Kramer, an official in the UTU, called for more "monitors" to police the pickets at the upcoming rally. And on December 10 when militant workers again defied the sellout bureaucrats and set up picket lines at terminal entrances to stop the buses, a line of bureaucrats, painters union heavies, and "socialist" goons appeared. When the police commander told the picket captain to disperse the crowd, he dutifully announced "the rally's over." And standing right next to him telling everyone to go home was one Jeff Mackler, co-national chairman of Socialist Action and a former teachers union official.

At its December 16 public debut, Mackler spoke along with Socialist Action's Maximum Leader Nat Weinstein (the Solidarność-lover who made even the SWP puke). Mackler noted that at the Greyhound rally their strategy was "to have a little mareh, a niee peaceful march" while assailing "ultralefts"—that is, the militants (of whom there were hundreds) who wanted to stop the scab buses—for supposedly seeking a bash with the cops. Reflecting the burcaucrats' panic, Mackler went on:

> "We had to organize a workers defense guard so the next week the crazies wouldn't run the demonstration. We had a spectacle of a tiny sect of 20 people leading the chants to workers of 2,000. We needed a little proletarian discipline."

At this point another pseudo-Trotskyist reformist, Steve Zeltzer, pointed a finger at the two Spartacist supporters in the audience. Mackler agreed—"You're pointing to the culprits right there"—and launched into a frenzy of "outside agitator" haiting worthy of the worst Meanyite piecard: "No one in the socialist movement has the right to go to a striking group of 2,000 workers and take over that picket line, lead the slogans, organize the chants and march the workers around." Socialist Action, on the other hand, claims the right to organize an SWP-style "peaceful, legal" parade for the bureaucrats so that the angry workers can blow off steam while lecturing them that "we couldn't close down the thing for the whole day." In fact it was perfectly obvious that the workers *could* have and *would* have shut it down except that the hureaucrats and their waterboys acted as Greyhound's first line of defense.

Spartacist spokesman Diana Coleman took the floor to respond:

> "I want to talk about the Greyhound strike a little hit. I think that you see [SWP national chairman] Barnes' somewhat eccentric positions as a barrier to ending what you call the SWP's 'self-imposed isolation' which I think means that you want to he more effective at becoming the waterboys for the trade-union hureaucracy in this country.
>
> "And yes, I did see what happened at Greyhound as a test of your organization when I saw, this last Saturday, Jeff Mackler standing up there shoulder-to-shoulder not only with trade-union bureaucrats but the San Francisco police department defending the Greyhound hus station lest angry workers should get out of hand and do something 'outrageous' like shut down Greyhound or stop the buses. Yes, I thought that really did show what side you were on.
>
> "And I am flattered hy these somewhat oblique references, if people think that the Spartacist League mohilized every kind of militant action that has happened around Greyhound. But let me assure you that there are in fact militant workers in this area who do want to see the huses stopped and Greyhound shut down....
>
> "The other point which I would make ahout your paper is that you avoid the black question—which is really the American question—like the plague. Which is a revealing omission in a country where blacks are in the forefront of labor militancy and the struggle against fascism—things which I don't think you want to have much to do with, except to stop. And I think the real problem that you face in this country is that the role you want, which is laborite social democracy, is already taken up by Michael Harrington. That is your real problem. You have very little relationship to Trotskyism and anybody in this room who is interested in Trotskyism should look to the Spartacist League which does represent that continuity, and certainly not to you, who are if anything a right-wing split from the Socialist Workers Party."

WV Photo

San Francisco, 3 December 1983: Mass militant efforts to shut down bus terminals terrified Bay Area labor bureaucrats.

The Bay Area has the most vital tradition of militant labor struggle in this country outside of the miners. So every couple of years or so the pro-company, pro-Democratic Party union hacks have a joh for pseudo-socialist finks and goons in order to keep the lid on. During the 1981 PATCO strike, Zeltzer played this role when he helped the bureaucrats try to corral militant workers who were surging into the streets hlocking traffic to the SF airport. Mackler's talk of a "workers defense guard" against militant workers is of a piece with the obscene act of the UAW bureaucracy hack in 1973 when they broke a sit-down strike at Detroit's Mack Avenue plant by mohilizing a 1,000-man goon squad. Playing on UAW tradition, they cynically tried to pass this off as a "flying squad."

Grovelling before the bureaucrats, the first issue of *Socialist Action* (whose masthead imitates the Solidarność logo and which does not have a union bug) assiduously refused to take a position on the sellout contract which the ATU tops shoved down the Greyhound strikers' throats. This puts them to the right of the ATU local president in San Francisco, who blasted the sellout. And they rail against "ultraleft" workers just as Greyhound management is rounding up the militants for firing and mayhe worse! These small-time social democrats look back to the big-time social-traitors like Gustav Noske who, in order to head off red revolution in Germany in 1918-1919, was responsible for the murder of Communist leaders Rosa Luxemhurg and Karl Liebknecht. "Somehody has to he the bloodhound," was Noske's infamous remark. In less than a month of existence as a puhlic tendency these little Noskes of "Socialist Action" have made it perfectly clear where they stand—with the bureaucrats, the bosses, the cops and the company *against* the workers' struggle. ■

The Trotskyists Remained Faithful to October

TROTSKY

LENIN

Leopold Trepper was the heroic Soviet spy who created the "Red Orchestra" that smuggled invaluable intelligence out of occupied Europe and Nazi Germany during World War II. In his memoirs Trepper recalled the heroism of the Trotskyists during the time of Stalin's great purges in the 1930s. We reprint below an excerpt from his account of that period.

The glow of Octoher was heing extinguished in the shadows of underground chambers. The revolution had degenerated into a system of terror and horror; the ideals of socialism were ridiculed in the name of a fossilized dogma which the executioners still had the effrontery to call Marxism.

And yet we went along, sick at heart, but passive, caught up in machinery we had set in motion with our own hands. Mere cogs in the apparatus, terrorized to the point of madness, we beeame the instruments of our own subjugation. All those who did not rise up against the Stalinist machine are responsihle, collectively responsible. I am no exeeption to this verdict.

But who did protest at that time? Who rose up to voiee his outrage?

The Trotskyites ean lay elaim to this honor. Following the example of their leader, who was rewarded for his obstinaey with the end of an ice-axe, they fought Stalinism to the death, and they were the only ones who did. By the time of the great purges, they could only shout their rebellion in the freezing wastelands where they had been dragged in order to be exterminated. In the camps, their conduct was admirable. But their voices were lost in the tundra.

Today, the Trotskyites have a right to accuse those who once howled along with the wolves. Let them not forget, however, that they had the enormous advantage over us of having a coherent politieal system capable of replacing Stalinism. They had something to cling to in the midst of their profound distress at seeing the revolution betrayed. They did not "confess," for they knew that their confession would serve neither the party nor socialism.

—Leopold Trepper,
The Great Game (1977)

Over 1,000 Votes for Kartsen in TWU Elections

Militant Opposition Forged in NYC Transit

WV Photo

TWU militants at New York's Port Authority rally last November 23 for Greyhound strikers, calling for national transport strike against the union-busters.

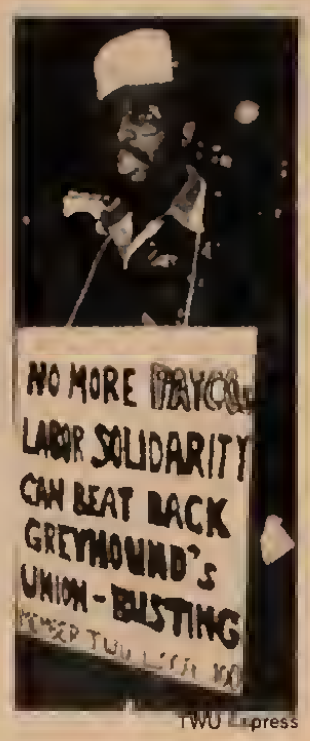
Class-struggle fighters won a significant breakthrough in elections in New York's transit union (TWU Local 100). Running as the only opponent to incumbent president John Lawe, Ed Kartsen of the Committee for a Fighting TWU received over 1,000 votes (7.6 percent of the total). This impressive showing came in a context in which many TWUers (almost two-thirds of the membership) showed their disgust for the leadership's policies by not voting at all. In not only rejecting Lawe, but also the vicious red-baiting of prominent ex-oppositionist Arnold Cherry, the workers who backed Committee candidates Kartsen, Dave Brewer and Jim Smith made a conscious choice for a hard class-struggle program.

Kartsen's vote total is a several-fold increase from what he received in the 1981 elections. The Committee has emerged as the recognized opposition in the TWU with a hearing and following among key militants. Kartsen did particularly well in the transportation section of the union, which has a high percentage of black workers. The TWU is a strategic union with enormous social power—American capitalism can't run without New York's subways—and represents a key intersection of NYC's labor and blacks. With a class-struggle leadership the TWU could spearhead the city's unions and minorities, with potential national impact, in class struggle against the bosses and bankers. The advances made by the Committee are vital and warmly welcomed.

The Committee won authority as the only group in the union to organize against race terror. When black transit worker Willie Turks was beaten to death by a racist lynch mob in Brooklyn, the militants fought to mobilize union forces in flatbed trucks to establish safety and order against the race killers. They helped organize and lead the only union protest against the acquittal of the murderers of Turks.

"Dissident" Local 100 bureaucrat Arnold Cherry and his ally Mike Scott (politically supported by the Communist Party) took their reformist politics to their logical conclusion by giving backhanded support to Lawe. In sharply exposing this maneuver, the Committee showed Cherry's slicker brand of reformism to be no better than Lawe's conservative business unionism. In several instances confrontations between former Cherry supporters and the Cherry gang were quite dramatic, with unionists angrily waving Committee leaflets in the faces of Cherry's lieutenants. Both Cherry and Scott were defeated for divisional offices.

The campaign leaflets for Kartsen, Brewer and Smith stressed that the attacks on the jobs and conditions of transit workers are part of a general capitalist offensive against the unions and minorities that can only be fought with a class-struggle program that points toward the abolition of the profit system and its replacement with a workers government:



TWU Express

Photo run in TWU paper shows Local 100 presidential candidate Ed Kartsen at 23 Nov. 1983 labor rally for Greyhound strikers in New York.

> "The money is there to rebuild transit, our schools and hospitals. But it's going to the banks that have run this city into the ground and to the bosses' war drive that pours trillions into a fanatical campaign to wage nuclear war against the Soviet Union. We need TWU leaders with an anti-capitalist program who will mobilize black and white in this city to smash the Reagan/Koch cuts. Tear out the token machines—for free, safe, rapid transit for the people of New York! Cancel the debt—expropriate the banks! Jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no cut in pay!"

We reprint below a leaflet issued by the Committee for a Fighting TWU following the elections:

The Fight Continues

The Local 100 elections are over and the Lawe leadership has won another two year term in office. But over one thousand members voted for candidates of the Committee for a Fighting TWU: 1,017 voted for Kartsen for president, 74 voted for Brewer for Exec. Board in Car Maintenance, and 72 voted for Smith for Exec. Board in United Motormen's Division. We acknowledge the election proceedings were run fairly. The shattered Cherry opposition ran nobody for president and instead campaigned against Kartsen who was Lawe's only opponent in the presidential race. The Cherry slate was defeated for every office. The fact that a significant core of the membership cast their votes for candidates running on a program for militant class struggle indicates the basis for building a new, fighting leadership in this union.

Our union continues to crumble and in the next two years we must be prepared to selectively answer the increasingly sharper attacks by management. Those TWU members who supported the Committee for a Fighting TWU in the elections are the most conscious militants in the struggle to defend the TWU against Kiley/Koch/Reagan's war on the unions. We said the issues facing this union would not be settled by an election but by struggle. We need a whole new breed of labor leaders. What was needed to win the battle with Greyhound was militant mass picketing to stop the buses and concrete acts of labor solidarity by other unions. That's what we fought for—a national transport workers strike to bust the union busters. The Committee also circulated petitions and collected money for Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, two phone strikers on the West Coast who face years in prison because of a vicious racist anti-labor frame-up. Ed Kartsen spoke at a mass rally to demand "Freedom and Jobs Back" for Lauren and Ray in Oakland October 29. Those who voted for us realize that the larger issues—restoring the tradition of militant labor solidarity, defending the picket line as the battle front of the working class, fighting for black, Hispanic and white workers to mobilize to crush lynch mob terror and stop Reagan's mad-dog drive for war with the Soviets—are the critical issues facing the labor movement. It's going to take mass labor action and our own workers party fighting for a workers government to get rid of capitalism which is the root of the problem. What we need is a hard core of committed people that are determined to make the kind of anti-capitalist program that we ran on the action program of this union. Join the Committee and help make that program an organized force.

Lawe's sellout policies are running this union into the ground. His big thing is the dues checkoff. It was his sellout of the 1980 strike that enabled the courts and the TA management to attack the checkoff in the first place. And in order to get it back he's let our wages and conditions go to hell. The dues checkoff has helped to keep the Lawe leadership lazy and dependent on management. This leadership should have to prove to the membership why they should pay their dues each month. The bosses' offensive against the unions must be smashed. For the unions it's fight or die!

The TWU must get off its knees! To hell with binding arbitration! No more PATCOs! No more sellouts! Bust the union busters! An injury to one is an injury to all! Picket lines mean you better not cross! Break with the Democrats! Build a workers party to fight for a workers government!

—Kartsen, Brewer, Smith and the
Committee for a Fighting TWU
29 December 1983

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TWUer David Brewer at Spartacist Forum:

How Labor Can Smash the Racists

We reprint below remarks by a New York transit militant during the discussion period at an NYC public meeting December 9 titled, "The Class Struggle and the Spartacist League."

I'm David Brewer from the Committee for a Fighting Transport Workers Union Local 100. If anyone is not familiar with any of the literature we put out, I've got some copies here, hopefully one of the other brothers in the Committee has got some of the Greyhound leaflets because I handed out all of mine at the picket line the other night.

Now the Spartacist League calls for political revolution in the deformed and degenerated workers states. In a sense we are for political revolution within the unions in this country because they have a rotten sellout leadership and we have to get rid of it.

Unfortunately we were not a factor in the 1980 [NYC transit] strike. The 1980 strike was a unique situation in this union, where you had a majority so-called "dissident" executive board, the union out on strike, but there was no class-struggle opposition among these so-called dissidents to warn the membership and prepare the membership and lead the membership out of the sellout situation which was going to happen and was clear was going to happen.

The dissidents, Arnold Cherry in particular, had the attitude—you get this a lot from guys—they had the attitude, well, the worse the better. The more unemployment the better. When their bellybutton starts hitting their spinal cords, then they'll begin to wake up. We don't believe that. Because defeat breeds defeat.

Muhammad Ali endorsed the Ray and Lauren case. And he knows as a boxer if you go in the ring and you get your head busted around a little bit

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Marxism and Bloodthirstiness

Dougherty/Camera 5

October 23 bombing of Marine headquarters in Beirut killed 241 U.S. servicemen. Spartacist slogan "Marines Out of Lebanon, Now, Alive!" intersected widespread outrage against Reagan's criminal and senseless policy.

U.S. imperialism's trip wires for World War III extend from one end of the globe to the other. Reagan is now engaged in three wars—in Lebanon, El Salvador and Nicaragua—and in the Caribbean the U.S. troops are finishing off the rape of Grenada. American Pershing 2 nuclear missiles have been deployed in Europe, aimed directly at Moscow—at six to eight minutes striking distance. Decaying capitalism is readying to plunge humanity once again into global war, and lurching toward a nuclear holocaust which threatens the extinction of life on this planet.

Revulsion and opposition to the mass slaughter which is endemic to the imperialists' class rule is a central part of the Marxist vision of and struggle for a classless, stateless society. The hideous threat of World War III and the bellicose policies of Washington today engender justified fears and inchoate pacifistic sentiments among the world's masses, both in the Soviet bloc and the capitalist countries, sentiments which can be turned against the imperialist warmakers. The carnage of World War I gave birth to the Russian workers revolution of 1917—because the Bolshevik Party won the workers, peasants and soldiers to revolutionary opposition to their "own" government, and ended Russia's participation in the inter-imperialist slaughter by replacing the exploiters' state with a government of the working people.

When over 240 U.S. Marines were blown to pieces at the Beirut airport compound in October, the largest number of American troops killed in a single day since the height of the Tet offensive in Vietnam, the American public reacted with outrage. There were elements of pacifism, isolationism and patriotism, and there was a broad grasp that the Lebanon intervention was senseless. The outrage was mainly directed at the imperialist commander in chief (who immediately launched the racist bully-boy invasion of tiny Grenada for an easy "victory" to distract attention from the debacle in Beirut). To intersect this conjunctural anti-government sentiment evocatively, the Spartacist League raised the slogans "Marines Out of Lebanon, Now, Alive!" and "U.S. Out of Grenada, Dead or Alive!" There were those among our readership who—objecting particularly to the word "alive"—denounced our Lebanon slogan as a "social-patriotic" capitulation to American chauvinism, counterposing the supposedly radical sentiment: "the only good one is a dead one." But far from radical, this vicarious bloodthirstiness (reminiscent of some of the more dim and despicable elements of the old New Left—draft-dodgers turned accountants) challenges a fundamental attitude of Marxism as well as undercutting the central Leninist proletarian strategy to fight against imperialist war. Our critics have nonetheless served a purpose in prompting us to restate some basic Marxist truths, beginning with the fact that Marxists are not bloodthirsty.

We are for the victory of just causes. Necessarily and above all, the centrality of just causes is the shattering of the exploiting and oppressing classes and the victory of socialism. We are socialists not least because we are passionately opposed to war, the gathering together of large numbers of young workingmen to be slaughtered in the interests of the rulers. In this savagely class-divided world, dominated by the mass murderers of My Lai, the struggle for the victory of just causes will have a big physical component. We must stand therefore for the maximum assembling of effective force on the just side, hopefully to demoralize and deter the forces of reaction so that the actual casualties are minimized.

But in Lebanon at the moment, there is little evidence of justice on any side. At bottom, the present fighting there is a continuation of the centuries-old communal/sectarian conflicts between Muslims and Christians, Sunnis and Shi'ites, Druze and others. There is no known force fighting against the U.S. imperialists—they are all jockeying for position with the imperialists. Those whose cause is clearest—the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)—in fact *requested* the intervention of the imperialist troops (a suicidal demand supported by virtually the entire reformist left in this country, and sharply opposed of course by us revolutionists). Now the U.S. is there, having disarmed the PLO and prepared the way for the Israeli/Phalange massacres at Sabra and Shatila. Arafat's organization has split into bloody rivalry, dispersed and evacuated (under the UN flag and Israeli shells). The Israelis precipitously withdrew from Beirut, leaving the Americans to take the casualties. The warring Lebanese communal militias can't tell the difference between the Americans and the Russians and couldn't care less. Where is the just, anti-imperialist side in Lebanon today?

What about the allies of Arafat's organization? In Tripoli where he was besieged by Syrian-backed PLO dissidents, Arafat allied with the Islamic Unity Movement of Sheikh Shaaban, which last October massacred some 50 members of the Lebanese Communist Party. What about the Shi'ites, who are at the bottom of the social scale in Lebanon, totally deprived of political power although they are the largest group in the country? Shortly before the Israeli invasion of June 1982, the Shi'ite Amal carried out murderous attacks against the PLO in Beirut and southern Lebanon. As for the Syrians, who vaunt their rejection of any negotiations with the Zionists, they made a separate ceasefire with the Israelis early in the 1982 invasion, leaving the Palestinians to fight alone.

To be sure, our Lebanon slogan was highly conjunctural: the situation in the Near East is changing rapidly. The U.S. is already drifting in the direction of a direct conflict with Syria, thanks in good part to the Reaganites' irrational notions of "Soviet surrogateship." Should the U.S. go to war against Syria, a complete reevaluation would be indicated, not least because such a war could become a de facto U.S./USSR conflict in which Marxists would defend the Soviet side.

Lebanon is a quagmire for U.S. imperialism—and this is a good thing. But we do not gloat over those 240 aluminum caskets, those dead young men many of whom were considered expendable in the first place because they were black. We can only despise those who call for the death of American soldiers for the crimes of their rulers. For Marxists there is all the difference between the men in the field and those who sent them there to die. We are not *per se* interested in the annihilation of everyone who is executing Washington's global bloodthirsty policies. Lebanon has aroused strong opposition in the U.S. population; sending in the Marines was a stupid act which could backfire on the U.S. ruling class.

A very different situation obtains in Grenada, Reagan's diversion from the Lebanon disaster. We viewed the U.S. invasion of Grenada in terms comparable to the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon: racialist atrocities against another nationality. We had a side in 1982: the defense of the Palestinians against the attempt to wipe them out. And we had a side in Grenada: with the 700 Cuban construction workers who resisted the Yankee invaders. It took 6,000 U.S. troops to "take" Grenada in the face of the Cubans' heroic self-defense, and most of the Cubans were over 40 years old! The same issue of *Workers Vanguard* which our critics believe marks our decisive capitulation to "social-patriotism" hailed the Cuban fighters who—unlike anyone in Lebanon today—fought the main enemy, U.S. imperialism. In Grenada, we had a side, and our call was "U.S. Out, Dead or Alive!"

And in Vietnam! The side of justice there was unambiguously that of the National Liberation Front (NLF)/North Vietnamese forces against U.S. imperialism. At stake were the national rights of the Vietnamese people and the social revolution whose victory was the only way to definitively drive out colonialism. Our call for "Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution!" was not bloodymindedness but a recognition of what was necessary to bring peace to Vietnam after three decades of imperialist war. In Lebanon, it is precisely the

Derek McKendry

Sygma

We are for the victory of just causes. Left: liberation of Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City) by the North Vietnamese army in 1975 was a historic victory for world revolution. Right: during Reagan's rape of Grenada, we said, "U.S. Out, Dead or Alive!"

Teheran Embassy Revisited

U.S. postmaster general William Bolger is calling on true-blue Americans to refuse to accept letters posted with a new Iranian postage stamp because it is "repulsive, a vicious distortion of a criminal act by Iran, and an insult to all Americans." The stamp depicts the Iranian seizure of the U.S. embassy in Teheran on 4 November 1979 with the caption, "The Takeover of the U.S. Spy Den." During the 1980 presidential elections Reagan promised to wipe out the "humiliation of Teheran" by reasserting American militarism around the world, primarily directed at the Soviet Union. And now that Reagan's in trouble domestically over the bloody Lebanese mess, he would no doubt like to rekindle the chauvinist war fever produced in America when the Khomeiniite Islamic fanatics seized the Teheran embassy.

Certainly the American embassy in Teheran was a preeminent symbol of American imperialism—the home of the CIA station which masterminded the overthrow of the nationalist Mossadeq regime in 1953 and guided the shah's bloody police state. Papers seized by the Iranian "students" (and later published in book form in Iran but barred from entering the U.S.) documented the extensive contacts between the American embassy and the hated SAVAK secret police. In short, there could be enormous justification for the seizure of the Teheran embassy.

But there's another overriding aspect to this which was totally ignored by the rad-lib supporters of Khomeiniite fanaticism who never have to think about the question of state power. In the present-day world, divided as it is among nation-states, the basis for any international relations is the diplomatic convention of "extraterritoriality" for embassies. Diplomats are, in any case, nothing but certified spies in any and all cases. Nonetheless, as we wrote at the time of the Teheran embassy seizure:

> "Diplomatic immunity and territorial sovereignty of embassies are seldom violated even by nations at war, though every diplomatic office conducts its share of spying and intelligence gathering. These diplomatic rules of the game are necessary to maintain international relations between nation-states, until the nation-state itself has disappeared in a socialist world."
>
> —"Iran Embassy Crisis," *WV* No. 244, 23 November 1979

At the same time, we called for the extradition of the criminal shah, whose presence in the U.S. provoked the embassy seizure, and we of course opposed any U.S. imperialist attack on Iran in the name of "releasing the hostages."

To be sure, certain attacks on imperialist embassies are clearly supportable: during the Tet offensive in Vietnam in 1968, for instance, where the U.S. embassy had become the command headquarters for the half-million-strong imperialist army in the war, the NLF commando attack on the embassy was a revolutionary act. Indeed, that single act broke the omnipotent image of American imperialism worldwide, and that was a very good thing.

But that had nothing in common with the Iranian seizure, which was a diversion designed to enhance Khomeini's reactionary hold on the masses—let them eat "anti-imperialist" rhetoric. The Iranian leftists, who had enthusiastically backed the rise and consolidation of the mullahs' rule, mainly hailed the embassy seizure; within weeks many of them were themselves the target of the same Khomeiniite fanatics.

The Soviet Union, the world's first workers state, had to struggle for many years against diplomatic quarantine before its embassies were recognized by the imperialist powers. The refusal to recognize a foreign government is the diplomatic posture of war. Indeed, the barbarous treatment of Soviet diplomatic personnel of late is an index of the Reagan administration's drive to smash Soviet state power: e.g., (1) the invasion of the Soviet diplomatic retreat on Long Island during the KAL 007 hysteria by a mob led by the Moonie cult with the connivance of local authorities; (2) the outrageously illegal denial of landing rights for Soviet foreign minister Gromyko, who was scheduled to address a UN session; (3) the humiliating prisoner-of-war treatment of Soviet embassy personnel

AP

New Iranian stamp commemorates 1979 seizure of U.S. embassy.

on Grenada during the recent U.S. pirate invasion, wherein the Soviet staff was held for hours and searched with their hands behind their heads. Wars have been started by lesser provocations.

The Soviet leaders understand that violence against embassies is not to be taken lightly. In the Teheran embassy crisis the Soviets, while pointing out that "this act cannot be taken out of the overall context of American-Iranian relations," stated correctly that the seizure was "not in keeping with the international convention on respect of diplomatic privileges and immunity" (*New York Times*, 6 December 1979). We necessarily share this view, as must any state power or aspirant to state power, such as the international Spartacist tendency.

question of social revolution, or even national liberation, that is missing.

The flip side of the dimwitted New Left bloodlust exemplified by the SDS Weathermen was the Socialist Workers Party's Vietnam slogan, "Bring Our Boys Home Now!" Tailored to appeal to liberal defeatism within sections of the bourgeoisie, the slogan was a class betrayal precisely because the international proletariat had a side in Vietnam—"our" boys were the NLF/North Vietnamese. There were two ways the Americans could come home: withdrawal or in body bags. A common thread runs through the SWP's social-democratic slogan and the New Leftist calls for exterminating the Yankee pigs—both despair of mobilizing the proletariat to wage class struggle against imperialist war, and both renounce appealing to the ranks of the army along class lines.

Imperialism's hemorrhaging in Vietnam and the consequences of its defeat—the profound demoralization of the U.S. armed forces, the convulsions throughout American society, the fear of "another Vietnam" which has stayed the hand of imperialism—were good things from the standpoint of the world's toiling masses. The "Vietnam syndrome" here at home provided a breathing space for national liberation struggles such as those in the former Portuguese colonies of southern Africa, tending to prevent a direct American intervention into Angola in 1975-76. It has inhibited Reagan thus far from trying a wholesale assault with U.S. troops against the Nicaraguan regime and the Salvadoran leftist insurgents. But we do not gloat over the deaths of rank-and-file U.S. soldiers. Among the GIs and Marines who were sent to Vietnam were to be found, as the losing war dragged on, some of the angriest, most bitter and most important opponents of the government's war. Unlike the New Left radicals who went, without blinking an eye, from counseling draftees and giving GIs flowers to glorifying their being blown to bits, we sought to do Marxist propaganda work among the American troops. We said that antiwar youth if drafted should seek to educate their class brothers in the army about the imperialist character of the war and their own interest in opposing it.

The global conflict between the antiquated imperialist order and the emancipation of the proletariat does not reduce itself to a division between "good" and "bad" *peoples*. In battles between just and unjust causes, Marxists have a side but nevertheless do not propose as our program the extermination of all those sent to fight for the wrong side (a program which, if carried out, would long ago have done away with the proletariat of most of the Western capitalist nations). In wars where no side represents an advance for elementary justice, we stand for revolutionary defeatism on both sides. Consider, in addition to Lebanon, the Iran-Iraq war. Is it "social-patriotic" to advise the Iranian and Iraqi troops not to slaughter each other for their respective regimes, to turn the guns around and go home? The squalid Falklands/Malvinas war was another such case. Neither the Argentine nor the British working masses had anything to gain from the victory of their "own" murderous rulers in the Falklands; they only stood to lose their lives. (In fact, Argentina's defeat led straight to the downfall of the military regime; Britain's victory led to the re-election of Margaret Thatcher.) Those who want bloodthirstiness must look to Thatcher, who ordered the gratuitous sinking of the Argentine cruiser *Belgrano*, taking the lives of more than 320 young men in the icy waters of the South Atlantic.

From Verdun to Hiroshima, the imperialists wage their barbaric, cyclical wars for profit, turning entire generations into cannon fodder. Bukharin wrote about the hideous carnage of the first World War:

> "The leading characteristic of the war was that it was murderous to an unparalleled degree. The levying of troops advanced with giant strides. The proletariat was positively decimated on the battlefields. The reports show that down to March, 1917, the number of dead, wounded, and missing totalled 25 millions; by 1 January, 1918, the number of the killed had been approximately 8 millions. If we assume the average weight of a soldier to [be] 150 lb., this means that between 1 August 1914, and 1 January 1918, the capitalists had brought to market twelve hundred million pounds of putrid human flesh."
>
> —*The ABC of Communism*

Or as Rosa Luxemburg put it in her *Junius Pamphlet* (1916):

> "Dividends are rising—proletarians falling; and with each one there sinks a fighter of the future, a soldier of the revolution, a savior of humanity from the yoke of capitalism, into the grave."

An end to this slaughter is the goal of Marxist revolutionists. And we hope to put an end to the bourgeoisie's rule with as little bloodshed as possible. We wish we could be pacifists, but we can't—the old social order does not give way to the new in a peaceful and orderly fashion. Isaac Deutscher noted that, "In embracing the vision of a nonviolent society, Marxism ... has gone further and deeper than any pacifist preachers of nonviolence have ever done. Why? Because Marxism laid bare the roots of violence in our society, which the others have not done" ("Marxism and Non-violence," 1966).

Certainly, the Russian Revolution was a nearly bloodless event, carried out, Deutscher writes, "in such a way that, according to all the hostile eyewitnesses (such as the Western ambassadors who were then in Petrograd), the total number of victims on all sides was ten." It was when the tsarist generals backed by 13 imperialist armies began the Civil War that the killing really began. In sheer arms, the Bolsheviks were infinitely inferior to the imperialist powers who intervened to crush the revolution along with the *contras* of the day, the White Army. The Bolsheviks emerged victorious; Deutscher wrote: "They agitated, they appealed to the consciousness of the soldiers, of the workers in uniform in those interventionist armies. The French navy, sent to suppress the revolution, rose in mutiny in Odessa and refused to fight against the Bolsheviks...."

While the bourgeoisie can only maintain its rule over the laboring majority through the massive use of intimidation, force and violence, for Marxists violence is a necessary *evil*—one imposed upon the defense of the struggle for socialism by the bloody-mindedness of the exploiting class in power. After the Cuban people defeated the CIA's Bay of Pigs invaders, the Castro regime traded the captured *gusanos* for needed medical supplies. In El Salvador, the leftist insurgents have followed a policy of turning captured

continued on page 9

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Spartacist League Press Release

Moonie God Apologizes to Marxist "Satan"

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Monday, 26 December 1983

Sun Myung Moon's Washington, D.C. daily newspaper, the *Washington Times*, was forced today to retract its libelous attack on two Marxist organizations, the Spartacist League (SL) and its youth affiliate, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL).

Attorneys for the SL/SYL had brought a libel suit on June 14, 1983 against Moon's Times-Tribune Corp., owner of the *Washington Times*. The suit filed by attorneys Jonathan W. Lubell of Cohn, Glickstein, Lurie, Ostrin, Lubell & Lubell and Rachel H. Wolkenstein, General Counsel for the SL, charged that the *Washington Times*' November 30, 1982 article "Left wing group linked to D.C. riot" had maliciously and falsely libeled the SL/SYL as criminal provocateurs, as "provoking violence" against the police during the November 27, 1982 anti-Klan protests in Washington, D.C.

Today, December 26, the *Washington Times*, in a settlement won by the SL/SYL, published a letter by the SL/SYL detailing the activities of the SL-initiated "Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Washington, D.C. November 27," along with its own introduction, including the key statement: "We no longer charge that the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League provoked violence on that day."

Spartacist League spokesman Walt Senterfitt commented on the settlement: "This victory has helped spike the sinister, ultraright Moonies' bid for respectability and influence in America. The *Washington Times* is the Moonie Unification Church's attempt to give a respectable, conservative cover to Moon's plans for theocratic dictatorship—in the name of fighting 'the Great Satan' of Marxism, of course. But the Moonie 'Lord of the Second Advent' had to apologize to his most hated 'Satan,' revolutionary Marxism."

"Our successful fight against the Moonies' libel is an important victory for all those who hailed the Labor/Black Mobilization's stopping the terrorist Klan march on November 27," said SL counsel Wolkenstein, "This was a *libel that kills*. In falsely targeting the SL/SYL as would-be cop-killers, the Moonies were trying to set up the organization's members and supporters to be shot first and questioned later. We took up the suit in self-defense, to protect not only our good name, but the right of anyone to organize against Klan/Nazi terror without being subject to vicious frame-ups."

Jonathan Lubell stated, "This settlement is extremely significant in light of the fact that the media will not generally settle cases of this nature. The *Washington Times*' libels against the SL/SYL were dangerous as well as false. This settlement is recognition of the essential fact that the SL/SYL were not involved in provoking violence." Lubell is a nationally known libel lawyer who successfully took the case of *Herbert v. Lando* to the Supreme Court.

The SL/SYL has overwhelming evidence exposing the Moonies' libel, including a statement submitted by FBI director William Webster to the 1983 FBI Oversight Hearings of the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism. Webster's March 10 submission included the statement that though "a group known as the *Spartacist League (SPL)* was alleged to have been involved in the violent portion of the anti-Klan demonstration," in fact, "investigation by the Washington Metropolitan Police Department and the United States Capitol Police has not uncovered any indication that the aforementioned group did more than urge participation in the anti-*Klan* demonstration by residents of the District of Columbia, who were and are unsupportive of the *Klan's* goals."

Wolkenstein noted that the letter printed today by the *Washington Times* was a resubmission by the SL/SYL. The original letter included the SL's fundamental Marxist position that: "We believe, and we believe that history shows, that the liberation of the mass of the working people and other oppressed comes only through the conscious mass education and organization of the workers. Therefore, any attempts at substituting 'heroes' or any 'desperate deeds' of such heroes (actually despairing individuals in most cases) derails the valid and necessary path of social liberation. Naturally enemies of such liberation are wont to falsely project Marxists as violent crazies, bomb throwers and surrogates for sinister alien forces."

SL spokesman Walt Senterfitt additionally stated: "It's no accident that it is we Marxists who have ended up defending the liberties we all cherish against the Moonies' attempts to subvert them. We've defended those liberties in a small way via this lawsuit, but in a larger way through our consistent defense of the right of the working class to organize, and to fight against race-terror." ■

WV Photo

27 November 1982: Moon's press saw Satanic horror in thousands of black youth, unionists and revolutionary Marxists triumphantly marching the route the Klan had vowed to take.

Moonies Retract Deadly Libel...

(continued from page 12)

lawyers knew our record of successfully fighting against such dangerous set-up defamations. They knew that in 1981, we sued California Attorney General (now governor) George Deukmejian for including the Spartacist League on a list of "terrorists" with which "law enforcement would have to deal." As a result of the suit and campaign, the Attorney General's office was forced to retract and send the retraction to police agencies around the country.

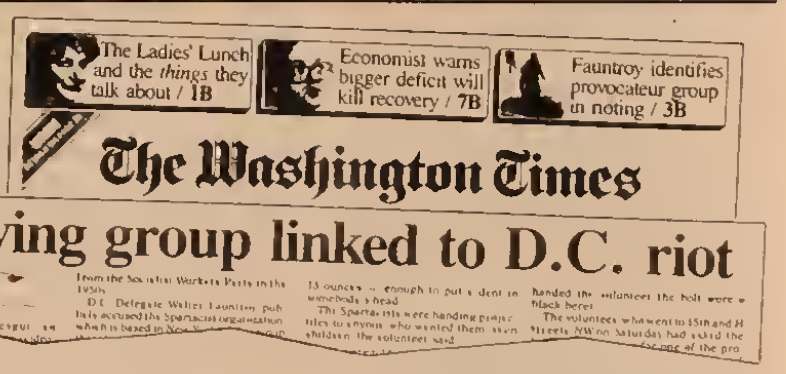
And they knew of the successful lawsuit in the case of Jane Margolis, a supporter of the SL and an elected delegate to the Communications Workers of America (CWA) 1979 convention, who was pulled off the convention floor and held incommunicado by the Secret Service when Jimmy Carter addressed the union. This outrage was meant to brand her as someone too dangerous to be in the same room with the president. The lawsuit forced the Secret Service to officially apologize and hand over $3,500 which Margolis donated to the CWA Defense Fund.

The Spartacist League didn't ask for this case. We took it on to defend our party and its supporters from a set-up libel that kills. As we said on 14 June 1983 when we filed the suit: "We do not intend to be nameless, faceless victims who can, with impunity, be blown away in the dead of night." We fought to win. And we did win, against the most vicious, anti-Communist, and vindictively litigious outfit in the world. ■

Moonie Libel That Kills

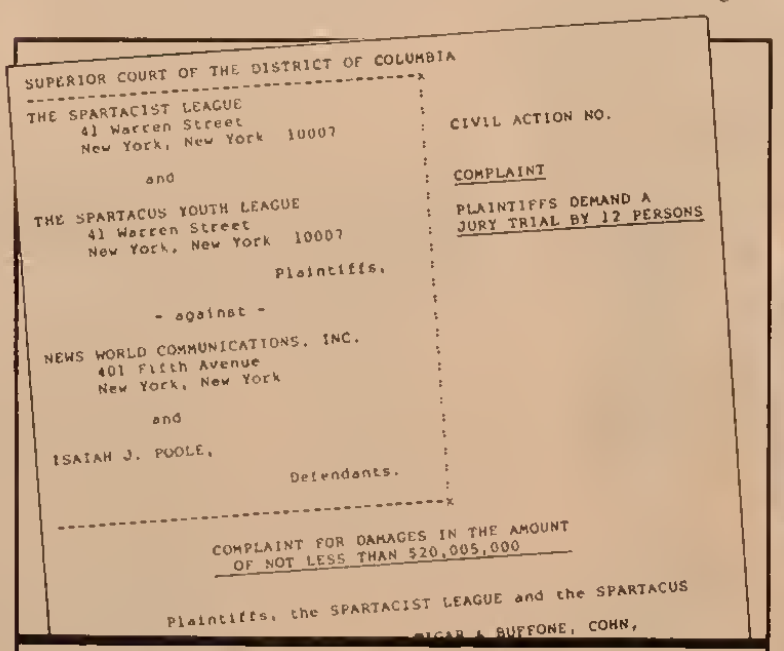
The Moonie press framed up the Labor/Black Mobilization in an article on 30 November 1982, accusing its organizers of provoking violence against the police. The *Washington Times* charged the SL/SYL had "carried containers of heavy metal bolts and other missiles to be handed out in the crowd for throwing." They claimed, "The Spartacists were handing projectiles to anyone who wanted them, even children...." The article portrayed us as some kind of paramilitary outfit whose members wear "blue, black or red berets according to their rank." The *Washington Times* claimed we refused to hand out political posters to non-members, handing them rocks instead. This pack of lies was indeed libel that kills. In its supreme arrogance the Moonie press assumed the most grotesque libels could be published about the Spartacist League in preparation for anything to be done to us. But now the press of the Moonie god has been forced to apologize to the Marxist "Satan."

—30 November 1982


The Ladies' Lunch and the *things* they talk about / 1B
Economist warns bigger deficit will kill recovery / 7B
Fauntroy identifies provocateur group in noting / 3B

The Washington Times

Left-wing group linked to D.C. riot


SUPERIOR COURT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE
41 Warren Street
New York, New York 10007

and

THE SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE
41 Warren Street
New York, New York 10007

Plaintiffs,

- against -

NEWS WORLD COMMUNICATIONS, INC.
401 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

and

ISAIAH J. POOLE,

Defendants.

CIVIL ACTION NO.

COMPLAINT

PLAINTIFFS DEMAND A JURY TRIAL BY 12 PERSONS

COMPLAINT FOR DAMAGES IN THE AMOUNT OF NOT LESS THAN $20,005,000

Plaintiffs, the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS

Only six months after we filed the complaint on June 14, we got a retraction from the Washington Times.

WV Photo

Legal team brings case to successful conclusion: Jonathan Lubell (right) and Spartacist League general counsel Rachel Wolkenstein.

What the Moonies Refused to Print

We reprint below our statement of political purpose on the successful anti-Klan action on 27 November 1982, refuting the libelous charges that the SL/SYL provoked violence against the police. Submitted as a letter to be published with the Washington Times' *retraction/introduction, this statement was rejected by the Moonie press.*

To The Editor:

The Spartaeist League (SL) and the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) submit this letter to the *Washington Times* in settlement of our libel lawsuit against the Times-Tribune Corporation for publishing an article on the anti-Klan demonstrations in Washington, D.C., November 27, 1982 accusing the SL and the SYL of provoking violence against the police. We here describe the SL and SYL initiated Lahor/Black Mohilization to Stop the KKK, summarized from our public press, *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus*, written immediately after this demonstration. Our deseription of the events is a full and aecurate aecounting of the SL and SYL initiated demonstrations. Moreover, our deseription is verified hy the widely shown videotape of that demonstration.

The Lahor/Black Mobilization was built through the participation of organized labor—over 70 union locals, offieials and executive boards endorsed. A permit for the rally at Constitution and First Avenues, near the Capitol Building and the beginning of the Klan's route of march, was secured from the appropriate polieе authorities on November 22. During the next four days, the SL and SYL posted thousands of plaeards and distributed hundreds of thousands of leaflets announcing the Labor/Black Mobilization rally.

The Labor/Blaek Mobilization rally began at about 9:30 AM on November 27 and continued until about 12:40 PM, engaging the participation of 5,000, predominantly blaek and trade unionist, who listened to speeches and took part in militant chanting, favorites being "KKK—Ain't no way! You ain't gonna march today!" and "1,2,3,4—Time to finish the Civil War! 5,6,7,8—Forward to a workers state!"

For approximately one and one half hours, the demonstrators were face to face with the polieе who had lined the Constitution Avenue side of the rally site. At 12:40 it was learned that the Klan would not march and, as the police withdrew, the demonstrators spontaneously entered Constitution Avenue, proclaiming, "We stopped the Klan! We stopped the Klan!" Protesters rushed to the top of Capitol Hill and then wheeled around and headed toward Pennsylvania Avenue to Lafayette Park, the Klan's intended destination. Thousands streamed up what was to have been the KKK march route, stopped traffic, and exehanged vietory salutes with drivers.

Prior to and at the time the Labor/Black Mobilization demonstrators entered Lafayette Park, on the opposite side of the Park, a police riot, including the use of tear gas, was in progress against others who had assembled near Lafayette Park. The Labor/Black Mobilization demonstrators were directed hy our monitors to the center of Lafayette Park, away from polieе charges and tear gassing. A brief rally was held to assert the absence of the Klan. After this spirited rally, the erowd was dispersed quickly and peacefully; monitors led the demonstrators away from the police and tear gassing and out of the park, without incident. Many hundreds of protesters then attended a vietory party at the Bellvue Hotel in the Capitol area.

The SL chant "1,2,3,4—Time to finish the Civil War! 5,6,7,8—Forward to a workers state!" eaught the spirit of the day. Black chattel slaves were emaneipated by that great war only to be stripped of political rights and economically subjugated. Blacks were integrated into American economy but sequestered at the bottom. That is why it is going to take the working-class conquest of power, a socialist revolution, to lay the basis for hlack freedom. While the liberal-led civil rights movement held out the promise of hlack equality, hlack people continue to be ground up by unemployment and poverty, and kicked in the faee hy the Klan's preferred candidate in the White House. Furthermore, Washington, D.C. is not simply 75 percent black, it's a Southern hlack town. Feelings ran deep that day because many of the partieipants had first hand experience of racist terror of the KKK nightriders. That's why so many people turned out and why our chant was so popular.

The SL and SYL initiated Labor/Black Mobilization rally near the Capitol and spontaneous march to Lafayette Park were controlled, orderly and passed without any incidence of violence. A monitors squad had been formed, including several members each from the Laborers, AFSCME, Teamsters and Transit unions, as well as ten International Longshoremen Associa-

Our slogan "Finish the Civil War—Forward to a Workers State!" caught the militant spirit of November 27.

tion members from Norfolk and union supporters of the SL. It is a credit to the monitors and participants in that demonstration that there were no incidents of provocation or violence directed at the police.

Nevertheless, the media—with the notahle exception of the black press—portrayed the anti-Klan demonstration as widespread violence and looting. In fact, there was a minimum amount of disorder and it was provoked by the police. What happened on November 27 was that the Klan was stopped. But it was only the *Washington Times* that named the Spartacist League and the Spartaeus Youth League as provocateurs or the souree of looting and violence against the polieе.

Many of the victims of the police riot had been at other anti-Klan demonstrations that day. Aside from the Lahor/Black Mobilization, there were several smaller demonstrations, the largest of these the rally called by the All Peoples Congress (APC), of Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP) which took place at McPherson Square. There, the young blacks who had been mobilized and promised anti-Klan action were frustrated by the political reformism of that rally and lack of proper outlet for their rage against the Klan.

Having stopped the Klan by its mere militant presence, neither the SL, the SYL, nor any other component of our mass Labor/Black Mobilization demonstration sought, participated in or condoned any violence against policemen or any other persons. This attitude and kind of aetivity flows from the Marxist belief which separates us from *any* species of terrorist or anarchist. We believe, and we believe that history shows, that the liberation of the mass of the working people and other oppressed comes only through the conscious mass education and organization of the workers. Therefore, any attempts at substituting "heroes" or any "desperate deeds" of such heroes (actually despairing individuals in most eases) derails the valid and necessary path of social liheration. Naturally enemies of sueh liberation are wont to falsely project Marxists as violent crazies, bomh throwers and surrogates for sinister alien forees. ■

FBI Director's Testimony Exposes Moonie Libel

We reprint here excerpts from FBI director Webster's recently publicly released testimony and submission before the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism.

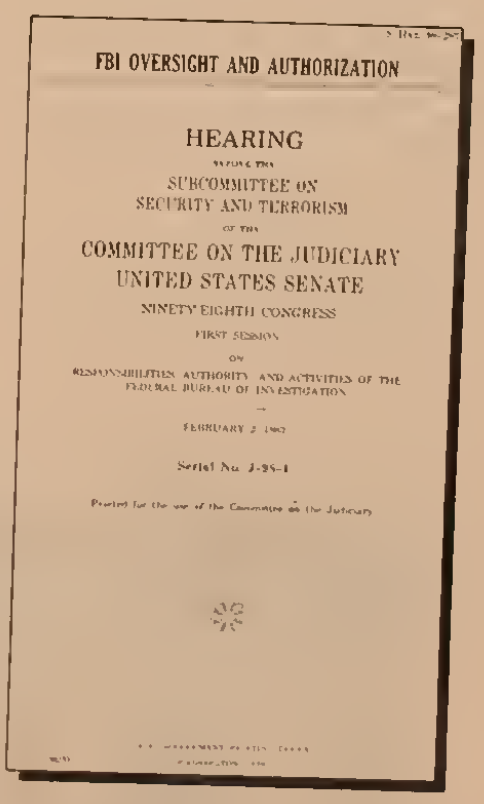
Mr. Chairman, it is my understanding that the violence which oecurred on Novemher 27, 1982, has not been tracked to any group or organization. I believe that all of those arrested for engaging in violent activity were found to be residents of the Distriet of Columhia; whereas, the groups that were petitioning for parade rights were from outside the Distriet of Columbia. I cannot say at this point that there was no manipulation of the District of Columhia residents at that time, nor can I say with eertainty that there was manipulation. It is the eurrent consensus of all law enforcement ageneies that the violenee which oeeurred was spontaneous and a refleetion of outrage that the Ku Klux Klan people were not going to mareh, were not going to be exposed to whatever form of protest these organizations intended to register, whether it was simply to boo or chant or actually throw rocks, stones, or shoes. (p. 38)

WV Photo

27 November 1982: Labor/Black Mobilization stopped the Klan!

A group known as the *Spartacist League (SPL)* was alleged to have heen involved in the violent portion of the anti-*Klan* demonstration....

Investigation by the Washington Metropolitan Police Department and the United States Capitol Police has not uneovered any indication that the aforementioned group did more than urge partieipation in the anti-*Klan* demonstration by residents of the Distriet of Columbia, who were and are unsupportive of the *Klan's* goals. The *SPL* is not the subject of a FBI investigation.... (p. 68)



FBI OVERSIGHT AND AUTHORIZATION

HEARING

SUBCOMMITTEE ON SECURITY AND TERRORISM

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-EIGHTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

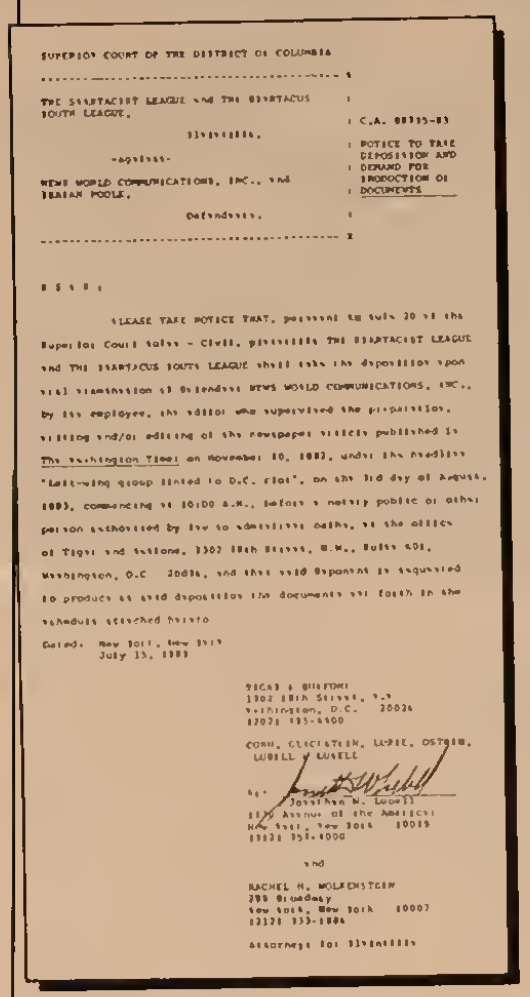
FEBRUARY 2 1983

Serial No. J-98-4

An Unusual and Gratifying Victory

Our victory against the Moonie press is certainly unusual and gratifying. It is also a little perplexing to have secured this apology from a group which has declared revolutionary Marxism the root of all evil, indeed "Satan" himself. At bottom we knew the *Washington Times* libel would be patently obvious to jurors of nearly any political persuasion or social composition. But we also knew truth was not enough to give us victory. Finally, we cannot know for certain why they did it. All we can say is that we are damn glad it's over. But we will do it all over again if we have to—as an act of self-defense. We have a remarkable record of success in beating back the attempts to label us as "terrorists." Once again we declare: "A Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!" And we will continue to use every resource at our disposal to protect the party and program of the future proletarian revolution.

Fear of Discovery?



SUPERIOR COURT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE and THE SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, Plaintiffs, -against- NEWS WORLD COMMUNICATIONS, INC., and IRWIN POOLE, Defendants.

C.A. 88335-83

NOTICE TO TAKE DEPOSITION AND DEMAND FOR PRODUCTION OF DOCUMENTS

PLEASE TAKE NOTICE THAT, pursuant to Rule 30 of the Superior Court Rules - Civil, plaintiffs THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE and THE SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE shall take the deposition upon oral examination of defendant NEWS WORLD COMMUNICATIONS, INC., by its employee, the editor who supervised the preparation, writing and/or editing of the newspaper articles published in The Washington Times on November 10, 1982, under the headline "Left-wing group linked to D.C. riot", on the 3rd day of August, 1983, commencing at 10:00 A.M., before a notary public or other person authorized by law to administer oaths, at the offices of Tigar and Sullone, 1302 18th Street, N.W., Suite 401, Washington, D.C. 20036, and that said deponent is requested to produce at said deposition the documents set forth in the schedule attached hereto.

Dated: New York, New York July 15, 1983

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Washington, D.C. 20036
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CORN, GLUCKSTEIN, LUBELL, OSTROW, LUBELL & LUSKLE

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Attorneys for Plaintiffs

Subpoenas were served on the *Washington Times*: the pre-trial discovery process was started in July, before the Moonies answered our legal complaint. The *Washington Times* editors and reporters who prepared, wrote and edited the article were served with a Notice to Take Deposition and Demand for Production of Documents on the preparation, investigation and decision-making process preceding the publication of the article. The *Washington Times* faced legal and public scrutiny and disclosure of its editorial and publishing standards, guidelines and procedures. Attorney for the SL Jonathan Lubell stated: "We felt that through our own extensive investigation and the anticipated results of pre-trial discovery, we would be able to uncover sufficient information concerning the manner in which their article had been put together that we could establish the required fault by the *Washington Times* in publishing the article." The *Washington Times* chose to retract and publish the SL/SYL letter.

The Moonies have plenty to hide. Our press, WV and Young Spartacus, exposed the sinister designs and connections of this ultraright-wing cult.

"Moonies Against Our Children"

The deadly threat behind the Moonie Washington Times' *libel against our organization generated widespread concern and anger among many parents, relatives and friends of SL/SYL supporters and members. We print below a draft letter, intended for publication in the* New York Times, *worked on by parents and close relatives of members.*

Beyond expressing obvious concern for their children's safety in the face of this ominous Moonie set-up attempt, this draft parents' letter also makes a broader and fundamental point: that unlike Moon's cult of the "great God Father," the SL/SYL finds repugnant such cults' attempts to forcibly break members' deep personal connections with their families. For us, the personal relations of children and their parents are solely a matter for the individuals involved. Our organization is based on a political *program: whether or not you agree with it, at least with us you can have rational political discourse. In fact some parents thought the letter's comment that they "do not necessarily like or approve of" their children's participation in the SL/SYL was too categorical, noting they found that commitment admirable.*

Parents and relatives from widely varying backgrounds—including working-class families, former Communist Party supporters, businessmen, former government employees, and conservatives—expressed willingness to sign and publish such a letter. We were preparing to proceed with publication—while seeking to suitably take into account protection for signatories from the Moonies' well-known vindictiveness toward individuals opposing them—when the successful settlement was reached. We would like here to express our thanks to all the parents and relatives involved in working on this letter for their thoughtful comments and suggestions.

UPI

Moonie mass marriage in Madison Square Garden. The "True Parent" designates the couples, who consummate the act only at the behest of Unification Church authorities.

Draft Statement

Our children are political supporters and in many cases active members of the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL).

The cult of Sun Myung Moon, known as the Moonies, has criminally libeled the SL/SYL in its newspaper, the *Washington Times* (30 November 1982). The Moonies charge the Spartacists with "provoking violence" against the police at a protest against the Ku Klux Klan in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982. The Moonies have thus set up our children for police harassment and repression.

We do not necessarily like or approve of our children's participation in these Marxist Trotskyist organizations. But whatever our differences with our children, we know that the SL and SYL are not violent, criminal or terrorist organizations. They do not provoke attacks on the police.

Sun Myung Moon is a self-appointed "new messiah" from a South Korean munitions plant who demands absolute worship of himself as god. Additionally, Moon himself and his senior followers have long been deeply involved, internationally and domestically, in sinister financial chicanery. The Moonies threaten our cultural values whatever our ethnic or religious origin. The Moon-cult breaks its young members from their most deeply felt values, family loyalties and cultural heritage. We have seen the results in the glassy-eyed stares of flower-selling children and the mass marriages arranged by Moon himself.

Marxism does not lead our children to break personal ties with their families. The Spartacist League does not rob parents of their children.

Our children do not engage in deception in their political work: they are clear about what they stand for. We can agree with U.S. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan who remarked during a Harvard speech when he was U.N. Ambassador, that the Spartacists "sail under their own colors." He read from a Spartacist leaflet which stated the intention "to build a socialist youth organization which can intervene in all social struggles with a revolutionary program based on the politics of Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky." And he added: "It is doubtless perverse to do so, but I happen to find that an honorable statement of purpose" (*Commentary*, December 1972).

As parents of SL/SYL members and supporters, we endorse the legal fight of the SL/SYL against the Moonie frameup and criminal defamation.

Victories Cost Money

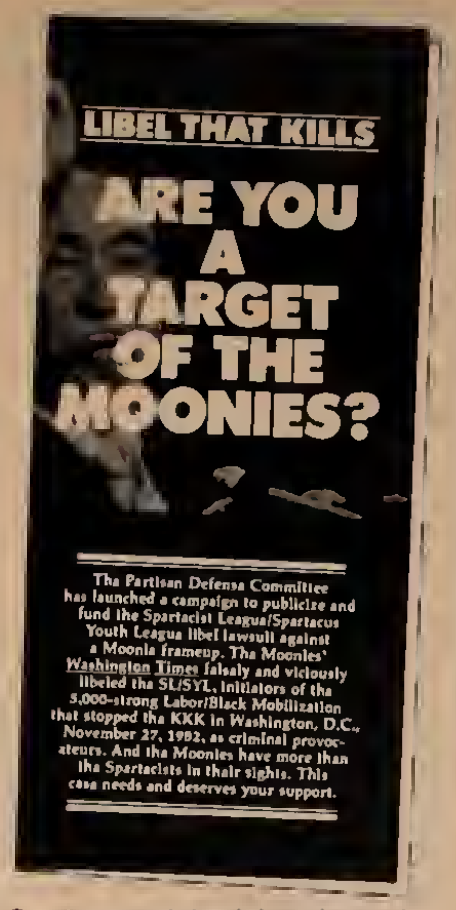
The successful conclusion of the libel suit against the Moonies' *Washington Times* newspaper is not only a tremendous success for the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. It is a victory for the more than 5,000 black citizens of Washington, D.C., Norfolk shipyard workers, New York City transit workers and other unionists who joined with us in the Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Ku Klux Klan on 27 November 1982.

This victory also belongs to all who have opposed the fanatical ultra-right Moon empire and its "respectable" mouthpiece for Central American death squads, South African apartheid butchers, Argentine and Uruguayan military torturers, Japanese fascists, South Korean spies and the anti-Soviet lynch mobs staged by the Moonies.

Many have been afraid to openly take on the Moonies, with their vast billions, prestigious lawyers, influential and sinister connections. We have shown they can be fought, and can be defeated. But this victory did not come cheap. Legal fees alone were over $24,000, investigative costs over $4,000. Total costs for this lawsuit, including legal and printing, publicity and other expenses, have amounted to over $30,000. Only a fraction of this has been raised so far. We need your generous contributions to pay for today's victory, preparing the way to win tomorrow's battles.

It's 1984 in Reagan's racist, capitalist America. And the Partisan Defense Committee needs your help. Money is urgently needed to defend Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, phone strikers fired and framed up on felony charges for defending their union picket line against a racist scab assault. Our successful lawsuit against the Moonie "libel that kills" helps to undercut the concerted attempt to set up as "terrorists" leftists and other perceived political opponents of the government. Now the PDC is backing the SL legal suit against the new FBI Guidelines which mean increased witchhunting of groups and individuals labeled as "terrorist" and "violent."

Celebrate this victory against the Moonie press with a contribution to the PDC. Send your checks to the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.



Our successful suit is a victory for the democratic and cultural values prized by many Americans, values which the sinister Moonie cult seeks to destroy.

Marxism...

(continued from page 5)

enemy soldiers over to the Red Cross unharmed—an effective incentive to mass desertion from the junta's army. Contrast this with the fascistic death squads who operate against the populace under the principle of "the only good one is a dead one." The principal weapon in the proletariat's arsenal is not force *per se*, but the ability to undermine the capitalist regiments by appealing to common class interests. Even in defense of just causes, Marxists are guided by a rational calculus and not by bloodlust.

There are situations in which insufficient force used initially leads to greater bloodshed ultimately. Had the Nicaraguan Sandinistas beheaded the counterrevolutionary pro-*Somocista* organizations, e.g., by trials of Somoza's torturers by revolutionary tribunals, the Nicaraguan masses today would not be forced to fight and die against the *contra* invaders. We raise the slogan "Kill the Invaders!" not because we want to see a lot of dead bodies lying around, but because if every little band the CIA sends over is wiped out, and the counterrevolutionary capitalist "fifth column" in Nicaragua is expropriated as a class and its power broken, bloodshed will be minimized, while conciliation strengthens the hand of the U.S.-backed *contras* who aim to drown in blood the possibility of socialist revolutionary development in Nicaragua.

Or consider the U.S.' Korean Air Lines Flight 007 Cold War provocation against the Soviet Union last summer, a grotesque example of the ruling class's willingness to cynically squander human life. The Soviet military took the only course of defensive action possible, under the circumstances—i.e., given the refusal of the jet to communicate, the Russians were unable to identify it while at the same time a U.S. spy plane was clearly in contact with it. But we do not "hail" the shooting down of 200-plus innocent civilians; we solidarize with the TASS statement of 2 September 1983:

> "Tass is authorized to state that in the leading circles of the Soviet Union regret is expressed over the loss of human life and at the same time a resolute condemnation of those who consciously or as a result of criminal disregard have allowed the death of people and are now trying to use this occurrence for unseemly political aims."

Marxists do not support nor advocate the killing of innocent civilians—be it on board KAL 007, an Israeli bus in Jerusalem, a pub in Northern Ireland. With KAL, the fact is that the Soviets did not knowingly down a civilian passenger jet. Had they done so, we said, it would have been worse than a barbaric atrocity, it would have been an idiocy worthy of the Israelis. This seemingly uncontentious position against wanton bloodshed provoked charges of "softness" from critics whose vicarious bloodthirstiness tends to be directly proportional to the distance from their own appetites. From a safe distance, the petty-bourgeois radicals embrace the "good" peoples (if necessary first inventing them, as in Lebanon today) and for the "bad," well, the only good one is a dead one. Reactionary in itself, such an attitude—completely divorced as it is from Marxist class analysis—necessarily gives way to anti-communist public opinion. Thus we see many of yesterday's "radicals" joining up ideologically with U.S. imperialism over the plight of "poor little Afghanistan" and the crushing of counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność. (In Afghanistan, the "freedom fighters" are fanatical Islamic defenders of the bride price, while the "evil superpower" defends the rights of the Afghan people to emerge from the ninth century, including the right of women to learn to read. In Poland, "underdog" Lech Walesa and Solidarność represent the Vatican, Western bankers and the CIA in league against the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy, threatening a bloody return to capitalist "democracy," i.e., wage slavery and NATO missiles.)

On another level, there is the conflict between the nationalist/Stalinist and the Trotskyist approaches to the anti-Nazi resistance during World War II. The policy of the French Resistance was to attack lone German privates standing out on lonely streets at night trying to pick up girls; a typical "tactic" was to cut off their genitals and stuff them in their mouths. Predictably, this didn't lead to too many German recruits to the cause of the Resistance. The French Trotskyists sought to appeal to the class consciousness of the German soldiers (many of whose parents were Communists and Social Democrats), carrying out at great cost a policy of fraternization. Around the publication of *Arbeiter und Soldat* ("Worker and Soldier"), a clandestine newspaper for German class-conscious soldiers, they formed a Trotskyist secret cell within the German navy at Brest.

Today there are a half a million young men in the Bundeswehr (West German army) and, as in the past, they are likely to be sent off to fight for unjust causes. We would work for their defeat, but that does not mean that we propose the extermination of every German worker in uniform. We seek rather the bursting asunder *from within*, i.e., from below, of the imperialist armed forces as part of the struggle to realize comrade Lenin's profoundly humanist view of the "socialist system of society, which, by abolishing the division of mankind into classes, by abolishing all exploitation of man by man, and of one nation by other nations, will inevitably abolish all possibility of war."■

TWU...

(continued from page 3)

you'll be less likely to come out looking for the knockout punch the next round because defeat breeds defeat and victory breeds victory.

So Reagan is looking for a victory. He got it in Grenada. But we had a victory in Washington, D.C. [on 27 November 1982]—a very important victory, a sense that you *can* win something. The Spartacist League and its supporters are coming to be seen as the major force in anti-fascist work in this country, increasingly drawing in the labor movement. Now you hear this term "labor/black defense." Now, what does that mean? The labor movement is black people's best ally in this country. Increasingly through these anti-fascist actions the labor movement has come in more and more to play an active role, including what we saw in Washington—where heavily black unions endorsed, mobilized and brought their members out to stop the Klan.

Now Arnold Cherry doesn't see things this way. He has no intention of mobilizing the ranks of the union. It's a basic difference we have with him. He relies on other forces: the Democratic Party, the courts, the arbitration proceedings which he has now denounced after he had initially supported them. But mobilize the rank and file? No way, no way. Because he's got a job to do for the capitalists. He's the Jesse Jackson of our union.

If Willie Turks [black NYC transit worker murdered by a racist lynch mob] had had a gun he might still be alive. The gut reaction of the union leadership, in that shop, that next morning, when they found out that one of their members had been murdered by the racists up the hill, should have been to call everybody out. Out on the sidewalk. We're going up there and we're going to tell these people that you're not going to get away with this stuff anymore.

That's the kind of strategy that Arnold Cherry and the [TWU Local 100 president] John Lawes don't want to hear. But that's *our strategy*. Our strategy is to mobilize the rank and file of this union and through that mobilization to forge a leadership which can take power in this union. If we had been a significant factor during the 1980 strike we would have been fighting like crazy for strike committees in each location—terminal, barn, depot—to decide what we're going to do. We're going to go back to work? Let's see what the conditions are. Let's read it, do what the coal miners do—you read it out word for word and discuss it. If you don't like it you take it outside and burn it. Then you go back to work if you do like it. But you don't go back unless you know what you're going to go back for.

I asked one of Cherry's main supporters, Roger Nichols, "Well, if you guys had tried to keep out guys after the sellout came down, how much do you think you could have kept out?" He said, "Oh, I think only about half of the transportation system." I said, "Roger, half of the transportation system not going back to work? Now listen, first of all even before, during the strike, you'd have to get the strike committees, you'd have to get guys in carpools going to other unions, newsletters, a strike bulletin—from the rank and file, from the opposition, knowing that there is a sellout coming down the line. Warning the workers, telling them what is going on, sending delegations to the Long Island Rail Road, Metro-North, Staten Island railroad, PATH, trying to shut these places down." And he said, "Half the subways." I said, "You stupid fool, you might have had to make a fast retreat, but if you had kept out half of the subways you may have been able to turn it around and bring out the rest of the system." They think that defeat is good because everyone will vote for us the next time around. But no, John Lawe got an overwhelming vote because people got conservative. They didn't want to fight anymore. Because they had gotten beat so bad.

So you've had a lot of defeats. November 27th was a victory. The policies that the Spartacist League calls for, and supporters in the unions fight for, can lead to victory. And of course a lot of guys say, "Well, we agree with 75 percent, but when you start talking about Russia people say 'oh, shit'." But that was a victory. So we have to talk about Russia. Because, like Karl Marx said, the working person has no country. And so we are internationalists, we're working class and we're revolutionary.■

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Greyhound Strikers Were Sold Out!

Every ingredient necessary for victory in the Greyhound strike was there except one: a leadership determined to win. After the labor tops had pushed through their sellout and the strike was over, the leader of the ATU Council of Greyhound Local Unions, Harry Rosenblum, admitted: "It was a game of hardball and they played harder ball than we did" (*New York Times*, 20 December). Certainly no one can fault the ranks. In the face of the company's announced intention to replace them with scabs, they went on strike. They took hundreds of arrests and one militant picketers' leader, Ray Phillips, was murdered, crushed to death under the wheels of a scab-driven bus. There was wide sentiment throughout the ranks of labor to fight alongside Greyhound workers to smash the union-busting. But the ATU and AFL-CIO tops did everything to quash strike militancy. They acceded to injunctions limiting picketing, and in many cases volunteered to limit the picketing. The Lane Kirkland gang refused to call other sections of the working class out on strike, instead pushing the same impotent consumer boycott that led to defeat at PATCO.

Only a few days after Greyhound workers rejected the company's latest surrender terms by a 96 percent margin, union leaders in connivance with federal mediators cooked up a virtually identical deal to shove down their throats. In the end, strikers voted to return to work because they felt there was no way to win with the leadership they had. The settlement was a massive sellout: wage and benefit cuts averaging at least $13,000 per striker over three years, and a new two-tier pay structure that drastically slashes wages for new hires even more. The 1,500 scabs hired during the strike have all been retained on the payroll, while some 100 strikers have been fired! The bureaucrats sacrificed the strike militants, among the best union fighters, in order to ram through the sellout. This criminal betrayal reflects the commonality of interest between union tops and the company.

The Spartacist League called for mobilizing the broad power of labor to beat back the scabherding and government strikebreaking: for mass, militant picket lines to stop the buses and a nationwide transport workers strike of Teamsters, rail and airline workers, longshoremen and transit workers. The bureaucrats instead preached reliance on the capitalist Democratic Party politicians, petitioning Mayor Feinstein in San Francisco, Governor Cuomo in New York and others to "ban" scabbing—and all the while the Democratic city bosses were launching cop assaults on the pickets. The labor bureaucracy's alliance with the Democrats is a knife in the back for the workers. With the class struggle heating up in a presidential election year, the union tops' job is to prevent labor struggle from embarrassing their buddies, the Democratic Party "friends of labor."

The fake-leftists share this perspective of a Democrat-led "progressive alliance." So they glorified the AFL-CIO rallies designed to do anything *except* stop the buses. In San Francisco members of Socialist Action offered their services as goons against militants (see article on page 2). The Marcyite Workers World Party, which was up to its neck in the phony support committees, failed to call for a "no" vote on the settlement and now claim, incredibly, that "there are unfortunately some damaging features in the proposed contract which cloud and obscure [!!!] what would otherwise be a full-scale victory" (*Workers World*, 15 December). The Communist Party, too, had praise for the Lane Kirkland gang: "But the labor movement deserves congratulations [in] progressive quarters for its solidarity with the Greyhound workers. It is a far cry from the attitude shown by organized labor during the PATCO struggle..." (*Daily World*, 24 December).

In apologizing for the bureaucrats, the reformist left was far to the *right* of some ATU officials who forthrightly blasted the sellout. One such example was David Mix, president of ATU Local Division 1225 in San Francisco. Though Mix' call for a proxy fight among Greyhound shareholders was a dead end, at least he knew a rat when he smelled one, and wanted to fight. In a leaflet issued December 7 to his members, Mix wrote:

> "It appears to be a repeat of the Chrysler and UAW situation. Approximately 3-1/2 years ago they gave concessions to save jobs. That was just the beginning: they have made concession after concession and today they have less than 50% of their employees. So much for concessions to save jobs....
> "It is not time to retreat—retreat at this time will be devastating and we will not be given the opportunity to return to the battlefield...."

But despite the Greyhound defeat, the prospects are for sharper class struggle. With an upturn in the economy, the morale of the working class has improved. The companies are still seeking to exact the same massive concessions, thereby setting the stage for sharp conflict. Workers are more willing to fight back against the fake bankruptcy scams and open union-busting of the bosses. The government's own figures show that strike activity is up 50 percent from a year ago. But the labor leaders who yesterday falsely claimed that "you can't strike during a depression" are still sabotaging the strikes.

The powerful labor upsurge of the '30s that smashed the open shop in basic industry depended on the intersection of increased combativity of workers with the presence of tested militants to lead the battles. The initial onset of the Depression enabled the employers to extract massive wage cuts. In the first period most of the strikes—essentially desperate rearguard battles—were defeated. But with a slight economic recovery in 1933-34, hundreds of thousands of workers flocked to the AFL. Yet the AFL leaders refused to fight.

The bureaucracy and reformists today claim that Roosevelt saved the day by then passing legislation enabling the unions to organize. Far from it! The industrial unions were built by great "illegal" strike struggles that beat back government strikebreaking by Roosevelt liberals. In 1934 three crucial battles were won: at Toledo Auto-Lite, the Minneapolis Teamsters and San Francisco General Strike. All were led by revolutionaries or professed revolutionaries and were successful despite the sabotage of AFL officials. The crucial lesson of the great class battles of the 1930's, which forged industrial unionism in this country, was that mere militancy is not enough. Necessary is a class-struggle leadership based on a program of class independence from the strikebreaking capitalist state and its parties. ■

War Crazy...

(continued from page 1)

the country's most modern army base and held it for 12 hours. And today by blowing up the last major bridge over the Lempa, the insurgents have effectively cut the country in half. This could be the beginning of the end for the U.S. puppet regime.

With things going badly in El Salvador, early last year the CIA stepped up its *contra* terrorist warfare against the radical nationalist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. In May CIA chief William Casey told Congressmen that his Nicaraguan *contras* would be in Managua by New Year's. Well, time's up. Nicaragua has become a roach motel for the CIA's terrorists: they check in but they don't check out.

The immediate danger for the revolutionary masses is that the petty-bourgeois nationalist leaders in both Nicaragua and El Salvador are anxious to conciliate U.S. imperialism. The Sandinistas are making more and more concessions to the bourgeois fifth column, the *contras* from within, and the State Department. The Salvadoran FDR wants a "negotiated solution" with the kill-crazy U.S. puppet rulers. But Reagan isn't letting them sell out. He wants them dead.

To overthrow the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and suppress the leftist insurgents in El Salvador, Reagan is faced with sending in tens of thousands of U.S. combat troops. This would risk a popular explosion within the United States where memories of Vietnam—a long, losing, dirty war in some far-off land—remain very much alive. But that doesn't mean the U.S. imperialists won't go in anyway.

Dr. Strangelove's First-Strike Plans

Reagan campaigned for the presidency on a program to restore military "superiority" over the Soviet Union, a codeword for first-strike capability. This aim is openly stated by Colin Gray, now an "arms control" adviser to the Pentagon and State Department, in a notorious article entitled, "Victory Is Possible" (*Foreign Policy*, Summer 1980). Gray and his fellow Pentagon strategists are planning to decapitate the Soviet leadership:

> "Thus, the United States should be able to destroy key leadership cadres, their means of communication, and some of the instruments of domestic control.... If the Moscow bureaucracy could be eliminated, damaged, or isolated, the USSR might disintegrate into anarchy...."

Hitler, too, believed that the Soviet Union would collapse at the first blow ...and remember what happened to him. Facing almost total isolation from the rest of the country, the people of Leningrad held out for three years against the Nazi siege. And some of the survivors marched into Berlin as the Führer committed suicide in his bunker.

The world of Reagan's first-strike strategists is the world of Dr. Strangelove and General Jack D. Ripper. All these plans assume pinpoint accuracy for ICBMs travelling thousands of miles while leaving and re-entering the earth's atmosphere. Yet they have never been tested over the North Pole, the course they would have to take to reach the USSR. The notion of a surgical first-strike is insane. If Reagan really wants to wipe out the Soviet Union, he might put all his $1-trillion-plus missiles in Iowa and explode them, because in three or four days Moscow and Leningrad would be gone from the aftereffects.

The only thing preventing U.S. imperialism from carrying out its mad first-strike plans is fear of the Soviet second strike. The peoples of the world should be very thankful for those SS18s and SS20s. At the same time, the Kremlin Stalinists disarm the world working class politically by preaching the illusion of "détente" and "peaceful coexistence" with imperialist militarism. The Soviet bureaucrats hope that if only Reagan is replaced by Mondale or some other Democrat, détente will bloom again. But anti-Sovietism has been a *bipartisan* policy for U.S. imperialism ever since 1917. Remember Harry Truman who A-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki to intimidate the Soviet Union. And John F. Kennedy who was ready to destroy the world during the Cuba missile crisis. And Jimmy Carter who first declared Cold War II when the Red Army intervened against the Islamic feudalists in Afghanistan. It's not the man, it's the class. The world working class must take power from the war-crazy capitalists before it's too late—and time is running out. ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area
Fri.: 5:00-8:00 p.m., Sat.: 3:00-6:00 p.m
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone: (415) 835-1535

Chicago
Tues., 5:30-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 2:00-5:30 p.m
523 S. Plymouth Court, 3rd Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone (312) 427-0003

New York City
Tues.: 6:00-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 12:00-4:00 p.m.
41 Werren St. (one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto
Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
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WASHINGTON, D.C.

Western Press Admits It

Soviets Mop Up CIA's Afghan Cutthroats

We reprint at right an article from the 26 December 1983 *New York Times* where the *Times*' military writer and dimwit Drew Middleton publicly admits what has been known in the corridors of the Pentagon for some time: the Soviet Army has won in Afghanistan, effectively mopping up or isolating the CIA-backed trihalist bands. In an earlier article (*New York Times*, 4 December 1983) Middleton reported that American and British intelligence sources believe "the Russians, with the Afghan Army's help, can police the country with one division, about 10,000 men." The remaining 90 percent of the Soviet forces are reputedly "being trained"! This is a bitter pill for the U.S. imperialists to swallow, after several years of funneling millions of dollars of machine guns and antiaircraft missiles to Afghan mullahs via Washington's Egyptian, Pakistani and "Red" Chinese allies.

For the last four years the Western press has been inundated with the most blatant lies on Afghanistan fabricated in the disinformation mills of Langley, Virginia. Bloodthirsty tribesmen who skin Communist teachers alive for the "crime" of teaching little girls to read and write are passed off as "freedom fighters." Reams of copy are produced on alleged Soviet "yellow rain" chemical warfare for which there is not the slightest shred of scientific evidence. Meanwhile, there has been barely a mention of the fact that the Afghan-Pakistani border areas where the American-financed and armed guerrillas operate have *since 1980* become "the biggest supplier of heroin to the United States and the rest of the world" (*New York Times*, 30 June 1983). Previously the main source of heroin was the so-called "golden triangle" in Southeast Asia, until victorious revolution in Indochina drove the CIA's private army of drug-trafficking Meo tribesmen out of Laos and into Merced, California.

For four years we have been reading dispatches from New Delhi quoting "well-informed sources" reporting thousands of Soviet soldiers killed. Now the most authoritative imperialist mouthpiece reveals that these were a pack of lies. So what is their conclusion? A *Times* (1 January) editorial on "Big Brother's War" calls on the U.S. to provide more sophisticated weapons to their ineffective mercenaries, raising the provocative (and desperate) suggestion of airdrops inside Afghanistan. The Pentagon points to Soviet air bases in Afghanistan to justify a naval adventure in the Persian Gulf.

Four years ago, most of the left (including many who fraudulently claimed to be Trotskyists) joined the imperialist chorus against the "Soviet invasion" of "poor little Afghanistan." The international Spartacist tendency, however, greeted Soviet intervention against the imperialist-backed feudal reactionaries with the headline "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" At the height of Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" hysteria we demanded: *"Extend social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!"* Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, even though undertaken for defensive purposes, has meant land for peasants, education for youth, a chance for women to emerge from the centuries-old oppression and enforced exclusion from social life symbolized by the veil. Decidedly, as we wrote four years ago, "the liberation of the Afghan masses has begun!"

Lochon/Gamma

Soviet forces at Kabul airport, December 1979. Spartacists hailed Red Army intervention against Islamic fanatic counterrevolutionaries.

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The New York Times
Monday, 26 December 1983

4 Years of Afghan Battle: No Vietnam for Moscow

By DREW MIDDLETON

Four years ago this week two Soviet motorized rifle divisions crossed from Soviet Central Asia into northern Afghanistan. Kabul, the capital, had already been seized by an airborne division. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan had begun.

Military Analysis

Western correspondents are barred from Afghanistan. A balance sheet at the end of four years must rely on the reports of European and other intelligence services, the claims of the rebels fighting the Soviet-backed Government and occasional admissions in Soviet military publications.

The most significant conclusion that can be drawn from these sources is that, whatever else it is, Afghanistan is not the Russians' Vietnam. The Soviet Union faces many military and political problems in the country, but none are of a magnitude to suggest that the Russians face military defeat or political turbulence.

Militarily, the Soviet Union has made what intelligence analysts in the United States and in NATO capitals regard as important strategic gains.

As Henry Bradsher says in "Afghanistan and the Soviet Union," a publication of Duke University, the threat, real or imaginary, of the establishment of an anti-Communist, Islamic country on the borders of the Soviet Union's Moslem republics in Soviet Central Asia made the Russians move. The result, analysts say, is an important strategic and political gain for Moscow.

A Soviet Eye on the Gulf

From the military standpoint, Soviet gains are even more impressive, military and diplomatic analysts agree. The Soviet Air Force has taken over and expanded the military air bases at Kandahar, Shindand, Farah, Kabul, Bagram, Jalalabad and Herat. Soviet reconnaissance aircraft and bombers, consequently, can fly over the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea at will and monitor American and other Western naval operations in those areas.

A senior NATO officer said he regarded this "expansion of the Soviet air reach" as Moscow's most important military gain. In a crisis, he said, Saudi Arabia and other Persian Gulf countries might make air bases available to Western air power but, he emphasized, "the Russians are there now." Only Oman, he predicted, would have the courage to provide bases in a crisis.

Analysts think that from the Kremlin's viewpoint the most important result of the occupation may be the closing of Wakhan, the panhandle of northeast Afghenistan that borders on China. Not only has the frontier been closed and heavily fortified, but the indigenous inhabitants of the valley have also been moved and settlers from Soviet Central Asia have moved in to take over their lands.

Sign of Rebel Weakness

Symptomatic of the extent of Soviet control is that neither the expansion of the air bases nor the clearance of the Wakhan corridor has encountered the bitter resistance that insurgent statements issued in Islamabad and New Delhi might lead analysts to expect.

In fact, one insurgent leader acknowledged in an interview that an attack on the Kandahar base, which he had scouted, was well beyond the resources of any one of the insurgent groups or, in the unlikely event that they acted in concert, "all of them."

Soviet ground and air strength in Afghanistan is estimated at 110,000 to 120,000 troops. Army units are rotated every six months. The units now deployed are mainly from the Russian and Baltic republics. Earlier in the occupation, the Soviet high command had what analysts describe as disciplinary problems with Moslem troops brought from the Soviet Union's Islamic republics into an Islamic country.

Western analysts agree that only about 12,000 to 15,000 Soviet troops are fighting Afghan resistance and that of these only 500 to 700 are involved in daily operations. This minimal use of Soviet military power can be attributed to the ubiquity and effectiveness of air power in the form of fighter-bombers and helicopter gunships and to the willingness of the reconstituted Afghan Army to carry out ground operations against the insurgents.

That army has suffered from casualties and defections. But, analysts report, it is still in being, stiffened by officers and noncommissioned officers trained by the Russians and provided with modern weapons.

The Soviet Unit That Fights

The most active Soviet force is the 201st Motor Rifle Division, which has brigades at Jalalabad, Bagram and Kandahar and independent companies at Ghazni, Kunduz and Faizabad. The Jalalabad brigade was called out recently to liquidate an insurgent force that had taken but could not hold a post at Torkham in the Khyber Pass.

What are described by insurgents as major Soviet operations seldom involve more than 5,000 to 6,000 troops of the 201st.

Western analysts put Soviet losses at about 1,000 a year from all causes, ranging from enemy fire through disease to poisoning from the local moonshine.

The failure of promised Western arms and equipment to reach the insurgents through Pakistan is one reason for the insurgents' weakness. A second is the failure of the movements to unite in battle. Some of the movements are Islamic fundamentalists who look to Teheran and Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini for leadership. Others depend on the West for political and military support.

These differences are worsened by longstanding tribal feuds.

An American expert on the country and the Soviet occupation took a pessimistic view of prospects for the rebels.

The insurgents, he said, do not now have, and have little prospect of receiving, the sort of weapons, antiaircraft and antitank missiles, that they need to curb Russian aircraft and armor. But, he added, "even if they get them, the Soviets will increase their efforts and their numbers."

"We got tired of Vietnam," he said. "The Russians are not going to get tired of Afghanistan. It's too close to them and too close to the Indian Ocean. They'll stay."

WORKERS VANGUARD

SL/SYL Vindicated

Moonies Forced to Retract Deadly Libel

Lane/Newsweek

Sun Myung Moon: "I will conquer and subjugate the world."

Being god is supposed to mean never having to say you're sorry. So it is rare indeed when a self-appointed messiah like "Lord of the Second Advent" Sun Myung Moon makes a public apology to the very forces he has identified as "Satan." Yet with the simple statement, "We no longer charge that the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League provoked violence on that day," the Moonies' *Washington Times* (26 December 1983) was forced to eat its libelous words against the SL and the Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the Ku Klux Klan on 27 November 1982 (see SL press release on page 6). The *Washington Times* retraction is not only a victory for the Spartacist League, but for all the participants of the powerful mass mobilization of 5,000 which put a stop to the Klan's plans to march in the nation's capital.

The Moonie libel fits the pattern of falsely branding socialists and other political opponents of government policy as violent terrorists ("Moonie Libel That Kills," *WV* No. 332, 17 June 1983). The Reaganites recognize only two categories of opposition: wimpy college professors who write an occasional letter to the *New York Times*, or... terrorists. Our victory cuts across this *modus operandi* of the witchhunters of Cold War II. In the forefront of this fight against the new McCarthyism with a drawn gun, the SL has also initiated a suit against the FBI's ominous new Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines.

In reaching a settlement agreement, our bottom line in the negotiations between the lawyers was that the *Washington Times* publicly retract its charge that the SL/SYL provoked violence on November 27. They rejected our initial letter for publication which sets out the political context: key statements on Marxism vs. terrorism and on the cop riot on November 27 near the reformist diversion rally (see "What the Moonies Refused to Print," page 7).

We secured this important victory against a group widely known and feared for its vindictive use of lawsuits against its opponents. With Moon's seemingly bottomless reservoir of money, multinational corporate interests, batteries of lawyers and connections in high places, the Moonies have become infamous, and regarded as making the courts a battlefield of harassment and intimidation in their holy war.

Why did the Moonie god apologize to the Marxist "Satan"? First of all, their article was a pack of lies. The thousands who were there on the spot knew it. Nearly all of black Washington knew what happened on November 27. That is why the Moonie lawyers used an archaic law to force the case out of Washington, D.C. to New York City. Even the cops have said that the SL did not provoke violence (see "FBI Director's Testimony Exposes Moonie Libel," page 7).

We knew we had the truth on our side. But we also knew how little the truth can matter in court, especially in libel cases. Our legal counsel was Jonathan Lubell, Spartacist League general counsel Rachel Wolkenstein, and the firm of Tigar and Buffone as local counsel in Washington, D.C. Lubell is one of the most experienced lawyers in the country in dealing with libel suits. Our lawyers understood the importance of fighting this dangerous libel when the press is used to set up political opponents of the government. As Jonathan Lubell said, "I am particularly pleased that we were able to correct a falsehood which involves political issues and governmental activities, which are the core concerns of the First Amendment."

The Moonies understood that, if they pursued this case, they were in for a hell of a fight. We had top legal counsel and private investigators. Our lawyers had begun the process of "discovery," to subpoena the documents and those responsible for putting the libelous article together. We hit them where they live—in their attempt to gain respectability and political influence through the *Washington Times*. Our own press was exposing the Moonies' sinister operation, and they have a lot to hide. And we had launched a broad-based campaign that was reaching out to a wide spectrum of Moon's many enemies, including parents (see "Moonies Against Our Children," page 8).

Importantly, the Moonies and their

continued on page 6

Moonie Press's Retraction

Letters

The Labor-Black Mobilization march story

Editor's note: On Nov. 30, 1982, The Washington Times ran a story on the Nov. 27, 1982 anti-KKK demonstration in Washington, D.C. The letter published below describes the activities and position of the Spartacist League-Spartacus Youth League in regard to its demonstration. We no longer charge that the Spartacist League-Spartacus Youth League provoked the violence on that day.

The Spartacist League (SL) and the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) initiated the Labor-Black Mobilization to "Stop the KKK" in Washington, D.C. on Nov. 27, 1982. The Labor-Black Mobilization was built through the participation of organized labor — over 70 union locals, officials, and executive boards endorsed. A permit for the rally at Constitution and First Avenues, near the Capitol Building and the beginning of the Klan's route of the march, was secured from the appropriate police authorities on Nov. 22. During the next four days, the SL and the SYL posted thousands of placards and distributed hundreds of thousands of leaflets announcing the Labor-Black Mobilization rally.

The Labor-Black Mobilization rally began at about 9:30 a.m. on Nov. 27 and continued until about 12:40 p.m., engaging the participation of 5,000, predominantly blacks and trade unionists, who listened to speeches and took part in militant chanting. A monitor squad, including several members each from the Laborers, AFSCME, Teamsters, and Transit Unions, as well as 10 International Longshoremen Association members from Norfolk and union supporters of the SL, had been formed to maintain an orderly and controlled demonstration.

For approximately one-and-one-half hours, the demonstrators were face to face with the police who had lined the Constitution Ave. side of the rally site. At 12:40 it was learned that the Klan would not march and, as the police withdrew, the demonstrators spontaneously entered Constitution Ave. proclaiming, "We stopped the Klan!" Protesters rushed to the top of Capitol Hill and then wheeled around and headed toward Pennsylvania Ave. and Lafayette Park, the Klan's intended destination. Thousands streamed up what was to have been the KKK march route, stopped traffic, and exchanged victory salutes with drivers.

Prior to and at the time the Labor-Black Mobilization demonstrators entered Lafayette Park, on the opposite side of the Park police operations were in progress with police using tear gas against others who had assembled near Lafayette Park. The Labor-Black Mobilization demonstrators were directed by our monitors to the center of Lafayette Park. A brief rally was held to assert the absence of the Klan. After this rally the monitors successfully, peacefully, and in an orderly manner led the demonstrators away from the police and tear gassing and out of the park, without incident. Many hundreds of protestors then attended a victory party at the Bellvue Hotel in the Capitol area.

What happened on Nov. 27 was that the Klan did not march. The media — with the notable exception of the black press — portrayed the anti-Klan demonstration as widespread violence and looting. But it was only *The Washington Times* that named the SL and the SYL as provocateurs of violence against the police.

We believe that through the militant presence of the Labor-Black Mobilization the Klan was stopped. Neither the SL, the SYL nor any other component of our mass Labor-Black Mobilization demonstration sought, participated in, or condoned any violence against police.

JAMES M. ROBERTSON
National Chairman
The Spartacist League
EMILY TURNBULL
National Secretary
Spartacus Youth League
Washington

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 346

20 January 1984

Reagan to Poor:

"Let Them Starve!"

Dividends are rising—black people are starving. As the capitalists celebrate 1984 with toasts to their high profits, the soup lines grow longer and workers are dumped from their jobs in the heart of industrial America. Hunger, a gnawing fact of life for the poor, has become an open joke from Wall Street to the White House, and—equally cynically—a buzzword in the election speeches of the Democratic windbags. The anti-Soviet war budget, based on political consensus by both parties, continues to take the ax to blacks, workers, minorities.

Not too long ago the U.S. capitalists claimed to rule in the interests of "all the people." Observable hunger was embarrassing for them. As James P. Cannon said at the time of the Communist hunger march in 1931, hunger shows "the inability of the richest imperialist power to provide the necessities of life to the producers of that wealth." Even Richard Nixon was heard to say that there was something wrong, something unnatural about hunger in America. There was lots of talk of reforms and even a "war on poverty." But not now. They don't have to bother. It was only the emergence of the powerful industrial union movement which changed the political style of the two capitalist parties from unabashed preachers of capitalism-and-damn-its-victims to the big-promises demagogy which has been popular since the 1930s. Now with the union movement being strangled by the giveback bureaucrats, the defeat of PATCO and Greyhound, the capitalists don't even have to pretend to give a damn about hunger.

Poverty is, after all, not *their* problem. Unemployment? That's just blacks and workers. So the U.S. has an infant mortality rate like a "Third World" country? The ruling class's babies are in no danger. Half the adult black population is looking for work. And black teenagers don't have a chance. The U.S. bourgeoisie increasingly accepts and promotes a permanent black underclass. Racial

continued on page 13

Reagan's Puppet Army Cracking

Salvadoran Rebels Must Go for Victory Now!

AP

UPI

Spectacular New Year's victory: Leftist guerrillas blow up last major bridge over the Lempa (left), cutting the country in half. Combat-hardened rebel units (right) have puppet army on the run.

While fireworks exploded across the country in a New Year's celebration, forces of the leftist Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) easily routed government troops defending the Cuscatlán bridge and blasted the quarter-mile-long structure into the Lempa River. The destruction of the last suspension bridge to the eastern four provinces cuts the country in two, further protecting the rebel-dominated East from government attack. This was the second major military defeat for the U.S. puppet regime in less than 72 hours. On December 30 a second guerrilla army had overrun the fourth largest military base, El Paraiso, only 37 miles north of the capital, San Salvador. After holding the U.S.-designed base for 12 hours the guerrillas withdrew, leaving the base in ruins.

The leftist insurgents are on a roll, and they had better keep rolling now to a decisive military victory before Reagan and his bloody colonels have time to regroup. Over the past four months an uninterrupted series of FMLN victories in the field and the accelerating disintegration of the government army has made the collapse of the puppet regime in San Salvador an immediate possibility. Even the Kissinger commission report admits: "Given the increasing damage—both physical and political—being inflicted on the economy and Government of El Salvador by the guerrillas, who are maintaining their strength, a collapse is not inconceivable" (*New York Times*, 12 January). The worst thing the rebels could do now would be to stop, using the latest victories to push for a "negotiated solution," i.e., a coalition government with a section of the murderous oligarchy. Pushing the puppet regime to the brink of defeat and then pulling back would embolden U.S. imperialism and encourage direct military intervention to stave off the looming catastrophe. Now is the time to strike! On to San Salvador!

In the wake of these dramatic developments, Vietnam War criminal Henry Kissinger's commission on Central America endorsed the Pentagon request for $400 million in military aid over the next two years, triple the current figure. But no amount of money is going to revive a beaten army, and the additional funds will do little more than fatten the Swiss bank accounts of some Salvadoran colonels and death squad honchos. We only hope that these sadistic killers do not escape to enjoy Washington's blood money.

All the phony talk about stopping the death squads is just so much public posturing. And the real aim of the Kissinger report is as a ploy in American domestic politics, namely, to blame Congressional liberals for losing the "war against Communism" in El Salvador: if only they voted enough money for effective "counterinsurgency"; if only they stopped talking about "human rights conditionality."

The Kissinger commission report of course echoes the Reagan line that behind the popular revolutionary upheavals in Central America is "Soviet expansionism": "The Soviet-Cuban thrust to make Central America part of their geostrategic challenge is what

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Cambodian People Now Have a Future

Western Union Mailgram®

PRESIDENT HENG SAMRIN
PHNOM PENH
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

GREETINGS ON FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF LIBERATION OF KAMPUCHEAN PEOPLE FROM BARBAROUS POL POT REGIME. HAIL INTERNATIONALIST ASSISTANCE OF VIETNAM THAT SAVED MILLIONS FROM GENOCIDE AND LAID BASIS FOR ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION--KAMPUCHEAN PEOPLE NOW HAVE FUTURE. FORWARD TO FINAL DEFEAT OF REACTIONARY REMNANTS OF POL POT/SON SANN/SIHANOUK CLIQUES ARMED AND FUNDED BY CHINA AND U.S. IMPERIALISM. HAIL HEROIC PERSEVERANCE OF INDOCHINESE WORKING PLOPLE, INSPIRATION TO REVOLUTIONARIES IN BELLY OF IMPERIALIST BEAST.

FOR THE INTERNATIONAL SPARTACIST TENDENCY

SUSAN ADAMS
NATIONAL CHAIRMAN
LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DE FRANCE

JIM ROBERTSON
NATIONAL CHAIRMAN
SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.

WV Photo

Cable sent for January 7 anniversary of Vietnam's ousting of genocidal Pol Pot government in Kampuchea (left). On September 27, international Spartacist tendency held eight demonstrations to protest murderous Pol Pot gang retaining seat in UN. Photo (above) shows protest at UN headquarters in New York City.

Letter

On the AIDS Witchhunt

Cleveland, Ohio
Nov. 29, 1983

Comrades:

Consistent with Lenin's dictum that revolutionaries must be "tribunes of the people" *Workers Vanguard* has historically done exemplary work. As a regular reader for a number of years now I am grateful for this. But for almost two years *WV* has failed to comment on a serious and worthy topic. I refer to the politics of the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS).

The hard-won democratic rights of the gay minority, tenuous and partial at the best of times, are threatened by the ugliest reaction over the AIDS epidemic. The capitalist media is freely distributing gross disinformation about AIDS. In the same sentence mass publications simultaneously decry and promote "AIDS hysteria." Newpapers report that before long *millions* of gays will have AIDS. (The press subtly fails here to convey a sense of loss.) Many people believe that only homosexuals can catch AIDS and/or that it is easily transmitted. Gay organizations' complaints that the rabidly anti-homosexual Reagan administration is playing politics with the Center for Disease Control are never thoroughly investigated.

And the difficulties in getting accurate information about AIDS are not reserved only for the masses. There are reports of scientific information being suppressed even at high levels. Dr. Maria Teas, a researcher at the Harvard School of Public Health had to go to England's *Lancet* for publication of her African Swine Fever Virus hypothesis, which some consider to be the only coherent hypothesis yet to explain AIDS in Haitians. Meanwhile acres of newsprint are devoted to promoting AIDS hysteria.

Some examples—

New York City embalmers had to be ordered by special legislation to stop refusing AIDS corpses.

Legislation in New York State is now pending to force the closure of gay bath houses and "back room" bars.

San Francisco cops, no douht thrilled to add to the reaction, have handled AIDS suspects (read gays) with surgical masks and gloves.

A San Francisco TV production, ironically attempting to demystify AIDS, hit a snag when the camera crew refused to enter the same room with an AIDS patient. The crew wrongfully feared contagion by casual contact.

The AIDS scare adds fuel to the "normal" homophobic prejudices promoted in bourgeois society. In Cleveland last July, for example, an avowed Nazi, Joseph Spisak, was convicted of a spree of race murders. But the prosecutor told the jury Spisak killed not because he is a Nazi, or even because he is a psychopath, but because he is homosexual! The message was clear: one way or another, homosexuals kill.

Epidemiologically, AIDS will continue to spread from New York and other large cities and then penetrate even rural areas. The disease will soon claim a significant percentage of its victims from the heterosexual majority. The inevitable suffering and grief, when combined with the earlier illusions about AIDS as a "gay disease", bode hell for homosexuals. They understand this. Job firings, forced closings of bars and baths, evictions and vigilante attacks are now creating a lot of concern among gays. Indeed the social consequences of the AIDS juggernaut may render the disease itself a secondary concern. Clearly gays face a reaction of great potential ferocity.

AIDS has been front page news for *Time*, *Newsweek*, the *Village Voice* etc. It has been the subject of countless network television reports and is now virtually a household word. And yet it seems that *WV* has nothing to say about it! How a paper written and published in Lower Manhattan can have missed the AIDS scare of '83 is, to say the least, puzzling.

I recall your coverage of the Spartacist League's fusion with the Red Flag Union after helping them break from the gay life-stylist morass. The many fine articles in *WV*, *Young Spartacus* and *Women and Revolution* on the various aspects of the gay question also come to mind. You certainly didn't wait a couple of years to respond to Anita Bryant. So why no AIDS coverage? Even Sam Marcy's reformist rag, *Workers World*, has covered AIDS extensively.

The AIDS scare provides an important and fascinating conjunction of medicine, sexuality and politics. It is over exactly such issues that the Spartacist League has made a name for itself with its trenchant Marxist analysis. I for one can only hope that the belatedness over AIDS is accidental (a venial sin) and does not represent a retreat on the gay question.

Homosexuals and their organizations have often heen early targets for smashing in times of growing reaction. But this inevitably foreshadows the bourgeoisie's agenda for the rest of the oppressed, the left and the proletariat. Democratic rights are indivisible!

Fraternally,
D.F. Moore

WV replies: We thank D.F. Moore for his informative letter, and direct his attention to the article, "Reactionary Bigots Breed Anti-Gay Hysteria—AIDS and the 'Mortal Sin' Scam" in the new issue of *Women and Revolution* (No. 27, Winter 1983-84). We agree with him on the importance of covering this question, particularly because the right wing has exploited the AIDS epidemic to fan the flames of anti-homosexual hysteria, superstition and bigotry in this deeply homophobic society.

But we emphatically reject Moore's suggestion that the SL may have made "a retreat on the gay question" since our 1977 fusion with the Red Flag Union, a leftward-breaking gay rights group which was won to Trotskyism. The delay in our AIDS coverage was due to nothing more remarkable than repeated, frustrating delays in producing the new *W&R* (nine months hetween the last two issues), resulting mainly from the demands of our important legal defense campaigns, with the *W&R* editor being heavily involved in the publicity work around these cases. We invite D.F. Moore to consider in particular our forthright defense of the "North American Man/Boy Love Association" against the vengeful and reactionary "age-of-consent" crusade (see "Moral Majority Witchhunt Against Gay Activists—Defend NAMBLA!" *WV* No. 321, 14 January 1983). The SL has stood virtually alone in our defense of NAMBLA while everybody from "leftists" to gay groups have ducked this taboo subject, ahandoning the weakest of a weak oppressed group to be slandered and targeted as "kidnappers" and "child molesters."

We were interested to see that the *New York Times* has finally come out with a position, in the form of a major feature article, "For Victims of AIDS, Support in a Lonely Siege," which ran as the lead story in the Metro section on 5 December 1983. This sympathetic account of how a small group of courageous gay activists are fighting against the prejudice surrounding AIDS victims, and sheer documentation of the horror stories on the treatment of AtDS sufferers, performs a useful service. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Winter 1983-84

- AIDS and the "Mortal Sin" Scam
- Under the Terror in Sri Lanka
- Women and Night Work in Sri Lanka
- Turkey: Prison House for Women, Kurds
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Defend the Scoundrel!

Village Voice's Cockburn Up a Creek

Alexander Cockburn, flashy left-wing gadfly of the *Village Voice*, is the target of a vicious campaign charging that his anti-Zionist writing is bought and paid for by PLO or other Arab money. The media piranhas smelled blood when they read in the *Boston Phoenix* (10 January) that last year Cockburn got a $10,000 fellowship from a scholarly foundation, the Institute of Arab Studies, to write a book on the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. It looks like Cockburn may lose his job. His editor at the *Voice*, David Schneiderman (whom Cockburn has described aptly as a "morally indifferent P.T. Barnum"), pronounced before even talking to Cockburn that "It's just wrong" and "very, very serious" (*New York Times*, 12 January). By January 16 the *Voice* had Cockburn "suspended indefinitely" without pay.

But in a move calculated to contrast to the mean-minded little McCarthys at the rad-lib *Voice*, the big-bourgeois *Wall Street Journal* decided to keep Cockburn on in his once-a-month op-ed column. In a breezy and calculated editorial (13 January) titled "Alexflap," the *Journal* describes the incident as "fairly innocuous." The only trouble with Cockburn, they say, is every editor's problem with every writer: deadlines; they observe that "Interesting columnists come, like Cromwell, warts and all." These rabidly pro-Israeli superhawks observe that "even Arabs should enjoy freedom of speech." Thus the *Voice* makes the *Wall Street Journal* look like civil libertarians. Meanwhile, according to the *New York Times* (17 January), Cockburn may be getting a job offer from Victor Navasky, editor of the *Nation*. Navasky has written persuasively, regarding the McCarthy period, that the wrong way to deal with witchhunting is to separate oneself from those to one's left; his offer to Cockburn puts that understanding into action.

This is a witchhunt meant to drive Cockburn out of print. Of course he has the right to take money from an Arab foundation to write a book. Who is the Institute of Arab Studies supposed to get to write on the Near East? Norman Podhoretz? William Safire? When that army of Zionist journalists gets money there's no big stink. The premise of the "purity" of the American press is laughable. They cohabit snugly with the CIA's "ministry of disinformation," and besides, there's not a newspaperman in this country who wouldn't hold out his hand if someone offered him $10,000 to write a book.

So we don't like what's happening to Cockburn. If he is driven off the pages of major U.S. newspapers it will be a witchhunters' victory and a defeat for, among other things, freedom of the press. And we will miss him. Not only because we find his columns interesting, venomously bright; not only because he is a political enemy worth aiming polemics at. We think it's just fine when we lay bare his political core: hiding his conciliation behind his snotty wit. But only we should be allowed to cream Cockburn, not this bunch of liberal imperialists.

Cockburn wants to maintain bourgeois respectability, at least as an *enfant terrible*, while trying to approximate political reality, however cravenly. Now the Oxford grad is finding out that anti-Zionism is no kind of respectable in America.

The Americanization of Alex

So, Cockburn, how does it feel to be the contemporary equivalent of a Jew in tsarist Russia? For a man who spends so much effort cultivating social ties to the U.S. ruling class, you really stepped into it this time. Can you have thought there wasn't an American Establishment, the likes of the one you are well aware of in your own land? It causes sadness to have to tell an adult man that the U.S. has a ruling class too. And that Jews figure in it (and even the German Jews of the *Times* share this fixation on Israel). The modern "black hundreds" over at *Commentary* suggest you drink the blood of little Jewish children. How does it feel knowing the lights burn late at the Israeli Mission because of Alexander Cockburn?

Cockburn defensively told the press he'd be giving the money back because he hasn't had time to write the book (too bad—we would have liked to read it). And he observed that he couldn't be bribed to be anti-Zionist because he already stood against the Zionists. (This line of reasoning cut no ice with the same people who thought it was brilliant when Norman Thomas used it as a defense of CIA payoffs.) "My views on the Middle East are extremely well known," said Cockburn. Indeed that is why he is under fire as a purported agent of Arab propaganda.

Edward Said, Columbia professor and member of a PLO leading body, is chairman of the Institute of Arab Studies. Said, a widely respected scholar, defended the Institute's academic purposes. For Zionist groups like the "American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee" (AIPAC) of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, he noted, "anything with the word 'Arab' in it is therefore propagandistic" (*New York Times*, 12 January). This is, he said, "not only totally unfounded, it's racist." The American Zionist mainstream cannot help but reflect the outright racism of Menachem Begin who describes Arabs as "beasts who walk on two legs." The AIPAC has slanderously targeted as

Alexander Cockburn poses for Village Voice, 1982.

some kind of anti-Jewish "activist" even the most moderate (read: sellout) Arab scholars. Their treatment of Walid Khalidi, for instance, was so preposterous that even liberal Zionist Anthony Lewis, in a column titled "Protocols of Palestine," objected, "Joe McCarthy could not have produced a nastier distortion" (*New York Times*, 16 January).

No one who knows Cockburn's record can really suspect him of being a kept propagandist for Arab/Islamic causes. When the Soviet army intervened against the feudalist mullahs in Afghanistan, all the sheiks of Araby joined Begin and Jimmy Carter to embrace the Afghan "freedom fighters." (So did the anti-Soviet U.S. "left.") But not Cockburn who with typical bourgeois hauteur wrote:

> "We all have to go one day, but pray God let it not be over Afghanistan. An unspeakable country filled with unspeakable people, sheepshaggers and smugglers, who have furnished in their leisure hours some of the worst arts and crafts ever to penetrate the occidental world.
>
> "I yield to none in my sympathy to those prostrate beneath the Russian jackboot, but if ever a country deserved rape it's Afghanistan. Nothing but mountains filled with barbarous ethnics with views as medieval as their muskets, and unspeakably cruel, too."
>
> —*Village Voice*, 21 January 1980

The attack on Cockburn isn't about the alleged ethics of journalists. Cockburn's real crime for self-censoring hypocrites is that no journalist with a name and some following in the U.S. is allowed to be a thorn in Israel's side. During the Israeli invasion of Lebanon it is one thing for *Workers Vanguard* to headline: "Reagan, Begin & Hitler." It's quite another matter when prominent journalist Alexander Cockburn makes the same point in nearly the same language: the Israeli "blitzkrieg" and "war criminals."

The Enemies He Makes

If a man is to be judged partly by the enemies he makes, it must be said that Cockburn has many of the right ones. He is particularly hated by the big liberal press for his weekly "Press Clips" in the *Voice* where he exposes and sometimes humiliates the establishment press as capitalist lackeys and hacks. (It is here that one reads of the "musical chairs" played by the *New York Times* and the State Department: Richard Burt [Republican] and Leslie Gelb [Democrat] work the national security chair for either State or the *Times*, depending which party is in office.) The *Times* doesn't conceal its glee at Cockburn's troubles as it observes that his column "frequently includes lacerating comments about the ethical standards of other journalists."

The *New York Times* ought to know. Cockburn caught them a few years ago in a sensational fake. A lengthy *Times* feature titled "In the Land of the Khmer Rouge" (20 December 1981) by one Christopher Jones carried the blurb: "An American reporter takes a journey into the Cambodian jungle, where the shadowy Pol Pot leads his peasant army in savage guerrilla warfare against the Vietnamese invaders." The ideological dolts at the *Times* published Jones' piece of pulp fiction, where he claimed he even spotted Pol Pot.

It was Cockburn who spotted the hoax and printed the last paragraph of the *Times* article—along with the paragraph from André Malraux's novel set in Cambodia (*La Voie Royale*, 1923) from which the paragraph was plagiarized. Stung, the *Times* sent three of its honchos to dig up Jones in Calpe, Spain, where he admitted he'd written his eyewitness travelogue of Cambodia from his parents' seafront apartment in Spain. On 23 February 1982 the *Times*' pathetic lead editorial, "A Lie in the Times," cried over their "nightmare of the newsroom" and begged forgiveness. For his part, Cockburn noted that at the *Times*, only "the small lie is exposed," while the "greater lies persist unchallenged," on the cover-up of Central American death squads for instance. No wonder the pundits at the *New York Times* want to get Cockburn.

Back to the Bogs, Boyo?

Cockburn's holier-than-thou snottiness is now going to cost him. But it is important to see that the style reflects a fundamental political conciliationism. Despite his decidedly left-wing literary output, he is personally a man of distinct and self-cultivated aristocratic sensibility. For instance, in all this Arab money business, he never bothered to tell his bosses. Why? Not because he was hiding it, but because typically Alex

continued on page 14

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Arming of the Proletariat

A strike is inconceivable without propaganda and without agitation. It is also inconceivable without pickets who, when they can, use persuasion, but when obliged, use force. The strike is the most elementary form of the class struggle which always combines, in varying proportions, "ideological" methods with physical methods. The struggle against Fascism is basically a political struggle which needs a militia just as the strike needs pickets. Basically, the picket is the embryo of the workers' militia. He who thinks of renouncing "physical" struggle must renounce all struggle, for the spirit does not live without flesh.

—Leon Trotsky, *Whither France?* (1934)

Militant British Printers Stabbed in the Back

Labour Fakers Bow to Tory Union-Bashers

Militant (London)

Britain's No. 1 class traitor: TUC general secretary Len Murray.

LONDON—For more than four years Margaret Thatcher has with malicious glee ground her heel in the face of the British working class. Then last month it looked like the Iron Lady had gone too far and was about to get her comeuppance. When the printers union (National Graphical Association [NGA]), one of the strongest and most militant in the country, stood up to the union-bashing Tebbit Act, every class-conscious worker in Britain knew here was an opportunity to break the hated Tory government just as the miners had brought down Heath (the last Tory government) in 1974. At one point 4,000 printers and their supporters battled police in the small Midlands town of Warrington. But the Trades Union Congress (TUC) bureaucracy—including the so-called "lefts"—stabbed the embattled printers in the back in one of the most flagrant acts of class treason within living memory. Lenin's definition of the reformist labour bureaucracy as the agents of the capitalist class within the workers movement can hardly be clearer than in Britain today.

What began as a localised closed-shop dispute between the NGA and Eddie Shah's Messenger Group, a small-time, scab free-sheet publisher in the Manchester area, escalated into a major showdown between the Tories and the trade-union movement. Having already imposed close to £1 million in fines and court costs and sequestered the union's entire assets under the Tebbit Act's provisions against mass picketing and secondary action [refusal to handle scab goods], the courts then outlawed the 24-hour national strike called by the NGA for December 14. *This provocation should have been answered with an immediate general strike call by the TUC* to defend the printers and smash the anti-union laws. The NGA tops may

Press Association

Iron Lady Thatcher gets her kicks savaging the working class.

have intended their call for a 24-hour stoppage to be a token protest action to blow off steam, but many workers in the printing industry and elsewhere saw it as a springboard to wider action against Tory rule.

This widespread sentiment at the base was reflected in the TUC Employment Policy and Organisation Committee vote on December 13 narrowly endorsing the NGA action. In an unprecedented move TUC general secretary Len Murray publicly repudiated this democratic decision and denounced *any* support to the NGA, including the tepid, toothless "left"-inspired resolution conveying a "sympathetic and supportive attitude." Seizing the opportunity to pass the buck, the NGA tops called off even their one-day protest action pending TUC approval. A divided TUC General Council convoked by Murray put the imprimatur on his backstabbing. Murray is now naturally and rightly hated by millions of militant workers as an open class traitor. But the TUC "lefts" are no more willing to confront the Tories' union-busting offensive. For example, Arthur Scargill, head of the powerful National Union of Miners, while condemning Murray, has taken no action in support of the printers or against the anti-union laws. Clearly the NGA could not take on the government on its own, but from the beginning its leadership refused to force the issue upon the TUC by mobilising the necessary strike action.

Tribune

The Battle of Warrington: 4,000 printers and their supporters take on scabherding cops, 29 November 1983.

While the Fleet Street press showered the "courageous" Murray with kudos, in Westminster Iron Lady Thatcher purred, "The TUC believes in upholding the law." Indeed, it wasn't Parliament or the queen's assent which made the Tebbit/Prior anti-union legislation "the law," but the treachery of Murray and his TUC cohorts. The open endorsement of the Tories' union-busting laws by the right wing of the Labour Party/TUC bureaucracy and the do-nothing acquiescence of the "lefts" have shaken and angered countless worker militants. They want to fight. These worker militants can and must be broken from the entire tradition of Labourite reformism in both its right and left forms. There can be no proletarian socialist revolution in Britain without splitting the Labour Party and winning the mass of active, class-conscious workers as the communist vanguard.

Labour/TUC "New Realism": Cold War Austerity

The TUC's backstabbing of the printers was a practical lesson in the "new realism" consolidated at its Blackpool conference last September. The conference was an orgy of Cold War anti-Sovietism centered around Reagan's Korean Air Lines 007 provocation and a witchhunting attack on "left" miners leader Arthur Scargill for his correct denunciation of Polish Solidarność as "anti-socialist." Acting as Murray's hatchetmen against Scargill were none other than Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party. Not long ago the Healyites served as messengers for Islamic fanatic dictator of Libya, Col. Muammar al-Qaddafi. Now they're serving the cause of Pope John Paul Wojtyla and his friends in NATO and the CIA headquarters at Langley, Virginia. The Blackpool TUC represented a concerted drive by the NATO/CIA-loving right wing to pull the trade-union movement into line behind the imperialist preparations for anti-Soviet nuclear war. As we said at the time:

> "That means toeing the line for Thatcherite austerity, domestic fist of the drive to war. It means crawling to Tebbit, accepting the Tory attacks on jobs, wages, living standards and social services."
>
> —*Spartacist/Britain*, September 1983

The attack on Scargill was a warning to any who might step out of line with Cold War anti-Sovietism, in particular as the question of Solidarność is the touchstone for social-democratic anti-Sovietism. Neither the Labourite "lefts" nor the Communist Party supporters like Scottish miners leader Mick McGahey and the Engineers' Ken Gill stood up to the Cold War witchhunters. Not surprisingly when it came to the crunch with the NGA over Tebbit, they bowed to the Cold War rights again, going no further than words of support despite their votes against Murray in the General Council.

Under the impact of the renewed anti-Soviet war drive led by U.S. imperialism, a distorted and uneven class line has been cleaved between "little England" reformists around Tony Benn and the NATO/CIA-connected Atlanticists in the Labour Party. This has already led to a major right split in 1981, producing the Social Democratic Party (SDP). The remaining Cold War right, both in the parliamentary Labour Party and TUC, denounced NGA "violence" and "lawbreaking" from the outset and openly took on the task of being direct agents for Thatcher's anti-union laws. The "left" Campaign group of Labour MPs mumbled words of "active" support for any NGA industrial action—particularly when it became clear there was not likely to be any. And what of the Labour Party's "dynamic" new leader, Neil Kinnock? He sat on his hands for three weeks, only to finally announce: "I have no intention of condoning breaks in the law and no intention of being a drill sergeant for divisive and ruinous Tory legislation" (London *Times*, 14 December 1983). At the first hint of class struggle the Welsh windbag collapses. The Labour Party tops not only betray the workers' struggles against the Tories, but when in power themselves act to suppress labour militancy and increase the rate of exploitation for a sclerotic British capitalism. Remember the Callaghan/Healey "social contract" under the last Labour government!

The Cold Warriors like Denis Healey and Roy Hattersley, fifth columnists for the SPD, should be driven out of the Labour Party. Not that we have any illusions in the Bennite "left." On the contrary, we follow Lenin in seeking to put those with socialist pretensions, such as the Bennites, in power in the mass reformist party and in the government while unceasingly warning, at every step, that they are traitors and will betray—thus to win over their worker-militant followers as these hard truths are brought home.

Bring Down Thatcher Through Class Struggle!

While the "left" bureaucrats' hangers-on were allying for surrender in the NGA battle, the Spartacist League/Britain was intervening with a revolutionary perspective. Outside the critical December 14 meeting of the TUC General Executive, our call to "Sack Murray" was taken up by numerous other militants. Against the NGA tops' attempt to pass the buck to Murray, we called for the occupation of Fleet Street (center of British newspaper industry) to seize the bosses' assets as ransom against the courts' theft of the union's assets and for a national, all-union print strike to defeat the union-busting attack. And against the TUC "left's" do-nothing "sympathy and support" platitudes, we said: "TUC: Back NGA all the way—General strike now to smash Tory anti-union laws!"

Clearly needed is a general strike against the Tories' anti-labour offensive. But how to get it? Through widening actions, a strike in defense of the NGA could build to a decisive confrontation with the Iron Lady. In the context of an all-union print strike, joint strike committees of the NGA and other printing-trades unions would be crucial in winning the strike. Moreover, by overcoming the deeply entrenched craftist prejudices and structure of the printing trades, the basis would be laid for an industry-wide union forged through class-struggle unity. The demand for solid support action must be placed in particular upon those unions

Six Die in West Berlin Deportation Jail

Stop the Racist Roundups!

WEST BERLIN—Six young foreign detainees—three Tamils, a Tunisian long-time resident of France and two Palestinians—were killed horribly here on New Year's Eve in the notorious Augustaplatz prison, an old Wehrmacht barracks converted into a deportation jail. First reports said they burned to death. Two days later, autopsies revealed death from the cyanide fumes of the burning mattresses. A survivor has testified that he saw a cop throw fireworks into the cell. Police sources now state that *35 minutes* elapsed between the outbreak of the fire and the arrival of the fire department.

An investigation was immediately launched *against the survivors* for arson and prison mutiny. As the facts leaked out, an investigation on charges of manslaughter was begun against prison wardens who had locked the cell, ostensibly in fear of a "general uprising."

West German jails are notorious. We do not forget the fate of Ulrike Meinhof (supposedly a "suicide") and other members of the so-called "Baader-Meinhof gang" of German leftists. But the central element in the brutal random killing of the Augustaplatz Six was racism, with a substrate of hard cold economics.

In West Germany today there are an estimated 4.6 million foreign workers, of which the largest component comes from Turkey. Particularly after the coldblooded targeting of Turkish leftist Kemal Altun, hounded to death last August 30 by the deportation terror, the policy of German capital and its armed thugs is horribly clear. In their campaign to slash the immigrant work force, particularly resident foreign leftists, they have declared open season on immigrants. German capitalism rakes in big profits from the desperate millions of foreign workers fleeing economic hardship and vicious regimes of rightist terror; when they are no longer needed, the bourgeoisie's government, the "democratic" successor state to Auschwitz, obligingly enforces laws which recall those of the Nazis to deport them. Under Schmidt's Social Democratic (SPD) government more than 800,000 foreign workers were deported from West Germany, many of them to certain torture and death at the hands of the genocidal dictatorships they fled.

The hideous fiery death of the Augustaplatz Six began according to the prescribed racist routine. Rounded up in the anti-immigrants dragnet, all were illegally arrested—on the street, in subway stations, in the railway station while buying a ticket—when they were unable to produce papers for an ID check. Two were simply visitors traveling through West Berlin; several had valid papers.

These daily manhunts are conducted by the AGA, the hated special police unit built by Christian Democrat (CDU) strongman and West Berlin interior minister Lummer. The arrested are routinely refused access to interpreters and lawyers; thus they are denied information on their legal right to demand asylum. Lawyers often learn only by accident of their detention; how many become "missing persons" to be deported quietly is impossible to determine.

Seven of the survivors of the New Year's Eve massacre have now been deported in secret, their identities and the destinations of all but one unknown. Another 36 shall be deported soon; there will soon be no witnesses left of the grisly atrocity.

The only "crime" of the many Tamils, Palestinians, Turks and Kurds who travel through West Berlin is their attempt to flee mass terror in their homelands. West Berlin, stronghold of deportation terror under Lummer and his bonapartist cops, is now under CDU rule. But for years under the SPD as well, West Germany has supplied Turkey (NATO's southern flank) with tanks and arms, poured military aid into Israel, played paymaster to bloody J.R. Jayewardene in Sri Lanka. For Kurdish and Turkish workers and leftists, for Palestinian and Tamil refugees in West Germany, this smooth cooperation among capitalist butchers means an iron vise of terror, torture and murder.

On January 2 a demonstration of about 650 here witnessed an outpouring of just outrage. The contingent of about 250 Tamils chanted "At home they burn our houses, here they burn our bodies!" and took up the chants of the German Trotskyists, the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands: "Free all deportation prisoners now! No deportations—deportation is murder! Political asylum for Tamils! German imperialism, paymaster for J.R.'s genocide!"

The working class must fight for its most oppressed sectors. The labor movement must act to stop the deportations and win full citizenship rights for foreign workers and their families. Asylum for refugees from rightist terror regimes! Avenge the Augustaplatz Six! To oust Lummer is not enough! Stop the manhunt against foreign workers! Down with the Gestapo methods of Lummer's racist police! Down with the AGA!

whose leaders claim to stand with the NGA—like blacking of [refusing to handle] print shipments by the National Union of Railwaymen and mass pickets (above all, at Eddie Shah's scab operation in Warrington) built through strike action with Scargill's miners, themselves in dispute with the National Coal Board bosses. Across the board, from the miners to the railwaymen to the Transport & General Workers, the journalists' union slapped with another Tebbit injunction, the British Telecom phone workers earlier hit with a court injunction, the British Leylands workers now in dispute, what is needed is not token "solidarity" or "moral support" but *solid industrial action*. Key to any generalised confrontation with the Tories/capitalists would be the struggle to win over and integrate the vast army of unemployed, by fighting for jobs for all through worksharing on full pay.

The TUC's betrayal of the printers has encouraged the Tory union-bashing offensive. Home secretary Leon Brigh put it plainly: "The closed shop is itself, however enforced, a flagrant and fundamental denial of individual liberties...not only morally wrong but deeply dangerous to the economy and jobs" (London *Times*, 17 December 1983). Morality? Liberty? Deprived of its former world dominance and colonial empire, this rapacious ruling class turns with mounting virulence against the British working class. The only liberty they are really interested in is to uphold their class rule of exploitation and oppression. The TUC tops seek talks with the Thatcher government to negotiate some crumbs so that Labourite reformism does not become totally discredited in the eyes of their disaffected and embittered ranks. For working-class militants it is an urgent task to defend the independence of the trade unions from the capitalist state. That means defiance of the anti-union laws! To hell with the government-inspired closed-shop ballots! To hell with Murray's talks with the Tories!

Fake-Lefts: No Way Forward

Of all the groups to the left of the Labour Party, the Communist Party (CP) has by far the greatest influence in the trade unions. Years of class collaboration in the name of "peaceful coexistence" has resulted in the CP being dominated today by Cold War Eurocommunists. But Euros and pro-Moscow Stalinists alike capitulate before the Labourite traitors when it comes to class struggle. Thus, despite its significant weight in the Fleet Street printing trades, the CP was virtually invisible in this major confrontation between labour and capital.

At the height of the crisis, in mid-December prominent CP trade-union leader Ken Gill, a member of the TUC General Council, spoke to a joint CP/Labour Party gathering in London and scarcely mentioned the NGA conflict! When challenged by a Spartacist spokesman, Gill (who is in the pro-Moscow wing of the CP) replied that there needed to be "ideological struggle" in the TUC (!) before there could be talk of a general strike and claimed that "unless the NGA engages in battle there is little one can do to support." At this meeting another CP supporter, who is deputy father of the NGA chapel at the *Financial Times* (equivalent to the *Wall Street Journal*), while expressing "disappointment" at calling off the 24-hour stoppage and "disgust" at Murray's backstabbing, concluded that unionists should send resolutions to "get Murray off the fence." So here was the spectacle of one of the CP's most important union leaders claiming he could do nothing and a leader of one of the NGA's most powerful chapels claiming there was nothing to be done except writing to Len Murray!

One of the few left groups which raised the call for a general strike was the centrist Workers Power. At the same time, seeking to pressure the reformist leaders it also demanded that:

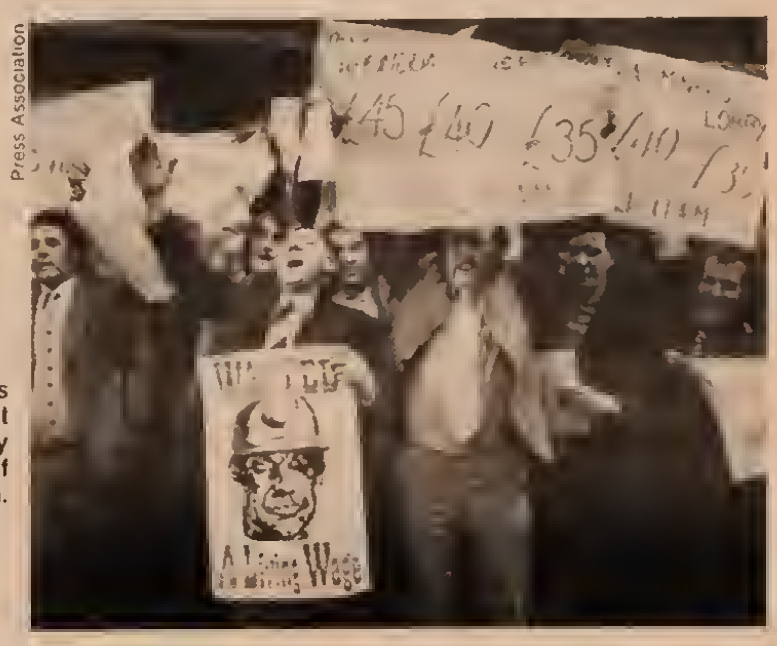
> "The Labour Party leadership must be called to account. Hundreds of resolutions must be sent to the NEC [National Executive Committee] demanding that Kinnock, Hattersley & Co. retract all their attacks on the NGA, and declare their 100% support, and that of the whole party, for the NGA."

Good luck! While trying to put comrades Kinnock and Hattersley on the right track, Workers Power also veered off to infantile rank-and-filism and idiot adventurist gimmickry (e.g., proposing to take on "armed police riot squads...under the guise of football, gymnastics and martial arts clubs"). Like Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party from whence it came, Workers Power seeks to skirt the issue of *political* struggle against the trade-union bureaucracy by pinning its hopes on a "rank-and-file" movement with no defined programmatic content.

Whither Britain?

On every front, at home and abroad, the British bourgeoisie is on the offensive against the hard-won gains of the decay of British capitalism has condemned large sections of the population to permanent impoverishment. In the summer of 1982 jobless youth, black and white, burned down the slum neighbourhoods of the bleak and dilapidated cities.

The progressive rot of Britain combined with the demonstrated impotence of the Labourite bureaucracy to stop it also create a fertile social/political climate for the ominous growth of fascism. Thus, the struggle against the anti-immigrant racialism directed at the South Asian and West Indian communities is crucial to forging a revolution-



1974 miners strike brought down last Tory government of Edward Heath.

working class in a desperate attempt to reverse the decline of British imperialism. For this third-rate imperialist power it means marching in lockstep with Reagan's America in preparation for war to overthrow the Soviet degenerated workers state, born of the Bolshevik Revolution. And it means destroying such gains as the trade-union movement has made over the past half century, forcing labour back to the pre-World War I status of the notorious Taff Vale decision. Unions are to be confined to narrow economic issues, at best.

Meanwhile, as one sector of industry after another undergoes devastation, valuable skills of the proletariat are thrown to the wind. The decades-long ary vanguard party of the now ethnically diverse British proletariat.

The flagrant betrayal of the printers highlights the wretchedness and utter bankruptcy of all wings of traditional Labourite reformism. The right openly accepts the dictates of Cold War austerity, while the "lefts" no longer offer believable reforms and fear any struggle which might challenge the basis of capitalist rule. The working class acutely needs a new leadership which can halt and reverse the Tory anti-union offensive and carry the struggle forward to socialist revolution, which would be followed by some ambitious five-year plans to make Britain a decent place to live.■

Lauren & Ray...

(continued from page 16)

who came to court January 6 and posed for photographs outside the courtroom (see photo, page 16) was Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1225 president Dave Mix—some of his local members are themselves facing felony charges for defending their picket lines during the recent bitter Greyhound strike.

The defense motion charges that Lauren (formerly a Black Panther Party member for ten years) and Ray were targeted because of their political views and histories and their union activism. Both members of the oppositional caucus in the CWA, the Militant Action Caucus, Ray and Lauren are avowed socialists, well known in the union as anti-racist class-struggle fighters, who were picked out for victimization as part of a concerted company attempt to intimidate the strikers and break the strike.

JET

LABOR

Unionists Rally To Help Two Fired Phone Workers

Some 400 Black trade unionists and other supporters recently marched from the Oakland City Hall to the Alameda County Court house to protest the recent firings of two telephone workers.

Former employees Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero said they were fired and denied unemployment compensation for taking part in the recent national phone workers strike.

Mozee said that she was attacked by telephone manager Michelle Rose Hanseon, who shouted racial epithets at her and hit her in the face. Mozee said she defended herself and Palmiero came to her assistance. Hanseon reportedly still has her job.

The rally was endorsed by 12 local unions and 24 Black, student and civil rights groups.

JET magazine, 19 December 1983, covers Mozee/Palmiero defense.

Funds Urgently Needed Now

Following a spirited march of 400 in support of Mozee and Palmiero held in Oakland last October 29, the PSDC is continuing vigorous efforts to publicize the case. Prior to the demonstration 185,000 leaflets were distributed; since then nearly 50,000 *WV* supplements on the case have been handed out at work locations, on campuses, in black neighborhoods, at bus barns and on the Greyhound picket lines. The PSDC's demands have been endorsed by more than 20 local unions and over 160 labor officials, by minority student and civil rights groups, community activists, a variety of left-wing political spokesmen and several prominent bourgeois politicians. Thanks to the pressure generated by this broad support, the D.A. dropped one of the charges in advance of the first court appearance. Now the D.A.'s office is stalling; meanwhile, the phone company is intervening hard in the unemployment hearings to make sure Ray and Lauren continue to be denied unemployment compensation. The phone company and their government friends are hoping the active support generated by the PSDC will dissipate and the militants will run out of patience—and *money*.

The defense motion was filed November 21. Then the prosecutor, Deputy D.A. Bill Kleeman, suddenly

WV Photo

Ray Palmiero and Lauren Mozee at 29 October 1983 defense rally in Oakland.

backed out of the case. Kleeman, known to have political aspirations, likes to claim he supports the labor movement (*San Francisco Examiner*, 28 October 1983); this case—with the impressive labor backing for the defendants—was looking like a political millstone for his neck. The D.A. now handling the case has stalled and stonewalled: first flatly refusing to submit a written answer to the defense motion, then continuing this posture at the January 6 hearing with claims the motion, with its mammoth documentation, is "insufficient" and "without merit." The PSDC is mobilizing to once again fill the courtroom with supporters of Ray and Lauren on January 17.

In mid-December, the PSDC learned that the phone company had quietly transferred Michelle "Scab" Hansen to a San Francisco phone office. This ploy did not work out quite as they intended. Workers there, after reading the *WV* supplements on the case, were outraged that the racist scab was working in their midst. A union steward took supplements for every worker in the office and sold 15 PSDC buttons to coworkers. This militant told PSDCers what happened next: one of Hansen's fellow managers, seeing workers engrossed in reading the material, went to a second-line boss and demanded the workers be forbidden to read it. The second-line, who is black, replied she couldn't tell people what to read. One worker took a supplement, underlined every reference to Hansen—in yellow!—and threw it in her face saying, "This is what people think of you!" Except for Hansen's lone manager buddy, the steward says, no one in the office will talk to the racist scab.

All defenders of unionism and black people's rights can be gratified by the class solidarity shown by these phone workers and other working people. But PSDC spokesmen emphasize that the vital defense effort is imperiled by mounting financial costs. Thousands of dollars have been spent on pursuing and publicizing this case: Ray and Lauren and the three teenagers dependent on them have had practically no income except the contributions raised by the PSDC. While the CWA has paid some legal expenses there continues to be much additional costly activity to be done. Many unions, rank-and-file unionists and concerned individuals have contributed generously, but the PSDC has been forced to rely on additional loans. *WV* appeals to our readers to send urgently needed contributions to: **Phone Strikers Defense Committee, Box 24152, Oakland, CA 94623.**■

Phone Strikers Singled Out for Prosecution

Excerpts from Defense Motion for "Discovery" and Dismissal of Charges Against Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero

MUNICIPAL COURT
OF CALIFORNIA,
COUNTY OF ALAMEDA
SAN LEANDRO-HAYWARD
JUDICIAL DISTRICT

PEOPLE OF THE STATE
OF CALIFORNIA,

Plaintiff,

v.

RAIMONDO GIUSEPPE
PALMIERO, et al.,

Defendants.

NOTICE OF MOTION TO
DISMISS INDICTMENT
FOR DISCRIMINATORY
PROSECUTION AND
MOTION FOR DISCOVERY
IN SUPPORT THEREOF

DECLARATION OF
ANNE FLOWER CUMINGS

I, ANNE FLOWER CUMINGS, declare:

...Defendants [Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero] had been employees of PT&T, were and are members of the Communications Workers of America. Defendants are an interracial couple who live together in Oakland. At the time of the alleged offenses, they were on strike. The strike lasted from approximately August 8, 1983 until August 29, 1983. The alleged offenses allegedly occurred at or near the picket line. The alleged victim was a non-striking employee of PT&T. The instant case is strike-related.

The August 1983 strike was the first significant and lengthy [strike] of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) against PT&T in California since 1955. It was a bitter strike. Management personnel, contractors and suppliers, etc. regularly crossed picket lines and engaged in assaultive type conduct toward picketers as PT&T attempted to insure that the strike interrupted its business as little as possible.

Defendants MOZEE and PALMIERO are members of the Militant Action Caucus of the Communications Workers of America. It is an organized group of phone workers within the CWA who seek to become the leadership of the Union. It advocates that unions, in particular the CWA, must represent the interests of workers and that those interests are separate and distinct from, and counterposed to those of the companies. It espouses the belief that the independent interests of workers must have a political as well as an economic expression in the form of an independent working class party.

Defendants, along with other members of the Militant Action Caucus, were among the most vocal and active supporters of the strike. They sought to mobilize the Union members to make the strike effective and successful. There is a history of harassment of Caucus members by PT&T management for their Union activities.

The defendants have filed a Motion to Dismiss the instant criminal action on the basis that the prosecution is the result of discriminatory enforcement of the laws.... Defendants contend that Alameda County law enforcement officials sided with PT&T, its management and its security officers during the strike of August 1983. Defendants contend that Alameda County law enforcement officials had a policy of investigating and prosecuting only striking workers for allegedly committing assault type offenses; conversely, Alameda County law enforcement officials had a policy of not investigating or prosecuting PT&T personnel for allegedly committing assault type offenses....

No prosecution of any assault type offense committed on a striker by PT&T personnel (or those sympathetic to PT&T during the strike) has been initiated....

No matter who called the police (whether PT&T personnel or a striker), the police responded to PT&T management and/or security personnel first. I am informed and believe that this procedure was jointly worked out between Alameda County law enforcement personnel and PT&T....

I am informed and believe that Alameda County law enforcement officials and PT&T management and security personnel caused to be broadcast on local television news a story about the arrest of defendant PALMIERO which included an old mug shot of LAUREN MOZEE accompanied by the statement that the police were still looking for this woman. I am informed and believe that at the time the above information and photograph were caused to be broadcast, Alameda County law enforcement officials and PT&T management and security personnel were aware that defendant MOZEE was an employee of PT&T and knew her address. I am informed and believe that the actions taken to cause said broadcast were done with the intent to intimidate LAUREN MOZEE and CWA strikers in general from exercising their right to picket and with the intent to incite public opinion against the CWA strike by portraying defendant MOZEE as a violent criminal.

I am informed and believe that at the time of defendant PALMIERO's arrest by and defendant MOZEE's surrender to Alameda County law enforcement officials, said officials confiscated the PT&T identification cards of both defendants on behalf of, at the instruction of, and with the authority of PT&T management and security personnel.

I am informed and believe that the strikers at San Leandro Directory Assistance were largely minority women and that they were the focus of consistent harassment by PT&T management and those sympathetic to them and the San Leandro Police Department. These minority strikers were conscious of police hostility and antipathy to them not only because they were strikers but also because of their race and sex.

I am informed and believe that law enforcement officials were in constant contact with PT&T management and security before, during and after this strike as part of the discriminatory enforcement of the laws. I am informed and believe that PT&T has in its possession or under its control the records sought herein regarding meetings, contacts, agreements, etc., between PT&T and law enforcement officials of Alameda County....

Executed this 21st day of November, 1983, at San Francisco, California.

Anne Flower Cumings
Declarant

"The Police Officers Were Acting As If They Were Management Security Officers..."

Excerpts from Phone Strikers' Depositions

We publish here some excerpts from the sworn statements of Communications Workers of America (CWA) members submitted in court November 21 as part of the defense motion that the frame-up charges against Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero be dismissed on the grounds of "discriminatory prosecution." The strikers' accounts constitute the most powerful proof that the legal victimization of Lauren and Ray was undertaken as part of the vindictive conspiracy between PT&T management and the capitalist state against telephone workers and their right to strike. In excerpting these documents for publication here, we have corrected obvious typing errors.

CWA member Karen Lawrence

...On August 18, 1983, I witnessed the arrest of one Communications Workers of America picket, Annette Robertson, by members of the San Leandro Police Department.

Before Robertson was arrested, two San Leandro Police officers were at the picketing site.... A few minutes later, two more San Leandro Police officers arrived. One of the recently arrived officers asked another officer, "What's happening here?"

The first San Leandro Police officer replied, "We're going to get one of them."

...After a car passed through the picket line, two members of the San Leandro Police Department ran over to Annette Robertson and one of them said, "That's it. You're under arrest." One of the police officers arresting Annette Robertson raised his right arm in a motion that indicated he might strike her. I yelled, "Don't you hit that woman on the head!" Annette Robertson was then pushed against the police car and the officers kicked her in the ankles to force her feet apart. Annette Robertson is a small woman who weighs approximately 100 pounds....

I cannot recall the specific date, but to the best of my recollection, during the last week of the strike, a man who was accompanying a strike-breaker brandished a tire iron and a handgun in a threatening manner to the picketers. The man said, "I'll blow this whole picket line away."

The San Leandro Police Department was supplied with a description of that man as well as the license number of the car he drove. The officer who took the report later informed me that the man was neither interviewed nor arrested....

CWA member Trina Penn, a picket captain during the strike

...On August 24, 1983, Ray Palmiero and Lauren Mozee arrived at the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph office at 530 East Fourteenth Street, San Leandro. Only a few minutes after their arrival, three or four San Leandro Police Department squad cars arrived at 530 East Fourteenth Street. There were at least two police officers in each car. The six to eight police officers reacted as if a major crime was in progress. One police officer removed the shotgun from the rack inside the squad car. They were obviously responding to a call from Pacific Telephone and Telegraph management....

CWA member Paul Costan

...On August 10, 1983[illegible] I was on picket duty at 1661 Doolittle Drive, San Leandro, California.... At approximately 10:00 AM, a blue van from the "Special T Messenger Service," a non-union delivery service, was driven through the picket line at a high rate of speed.... I would estimate that the van was going about 30 miles an hour. Picketers had to scramble to avoid being struck by the speeding van. One picketer, Wanda Rutland, was struck on the head by the van's right-side rear-view mirror.... About thirty minutes later, the same van stopped behind a gate inside company property. Everyone on the picket line was paying careful attention, because we were afraid the van would try to crash the picket line again. A company station wagon pulled up and stopped next to the picket line.

WV Photo

no credit

During last summer's phone strike militant CWA pickets confront scabs at San Leandro in California Bay Area (left). Notoriously brutal Los Angeles police bust phone strikers (right).

We thought the company station wagon would run interference for the van. Then, without warning, the van drove around the station wagon and crashed through the picket line. It was as if the driver of the van was aiming at the picketers. Everyone tried to avoid getting hit. I was running for cover, but as the van squealed around the corner onto Doolittle Drive at 25 to 30 miles an hour, it hit my left foot. I spun around and landed in a prone position....

Sometime around 10:30 AM, a group of ten or more police officers arrived at 1661 Doolittle. There was nothing happening on the picket line at the time, but these police officers were dressed in "riot gear" with visored helmets, full-length batons and jumpsuits. Their commanding officer conferred with company security while the rest of the police officers waited across the street. Then the police officers approached the picket line. Without any explanation to us, they forced us off the picket line. This allowed a convoy of strike-breaking big-rig trucks to cross our picket line. The police officers were acting as if they were management security officers....

Later, when I recognized the severity of my injuries, I contemplated making a police report. But I was confined to my bed for about a week. Then I heard that a fellow Communications Workers of America [member] had seen my picture on an Oakland police officer's motorcycle. I also heard that a union worker was threatened with the possibility of being arrested for making a false police report when she tried to report a similar incident....

CWA member Kathy Ikegami

[On August 10 in San Leandro]...the police officers approached the picket line and each police officer physically grabbed a picketer and removed him or her from the line. I was grabbed around the chest and held. There was no way that we could lawfully picket. While the police were holding us, a convoy of strike-breaking "18-wheelers" crossed the picket line.... After the convoy passed through the picket line, the company security personnel talked with the police officers. The discussion was very friendly. Both the police officers and the company security personnel were laughing....

CWA member Steven Sandor John

[On August 17]... I went to the police station on East 14th Street and ascertained that Ray Palmiero was being detained there. I then drove to the operators' picket line at 530 East 14th Street and got several of the operators to accompany me back to the police station....

While the desk officer was speaking to me, a young blond man in a suit walked across the room behind the desk officer and ostentatiously took my picture....

August 19, 1983, I was present in the San Leandro Municipal Court.... [Palmiero's lawyer] Mr. Simons requested that Ray's personal effects taken two days earlier when he was arrested by the police be returned. The District Attorney responded that they had to hold on to his possessions and then something to the effect that the police had confiscated a Communist Party card belonging to Ray. In fact, the items taken from Ray are listed in the police report and do not include a Communist Party card....

CWA member Tom Humphrey

...On August 16, 1983, at approximately 7:45 AM, I was on picket duty in front of the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph facility at 3014 Chapman Street, Oakland, California.... At that time, Suzanne Fields, an employee of Pacific Telephone and Telegraph, drove up to the location where I was picketing. I showed her my picket sign. She looked straight at me and then drove into me, hitting me in both kneecaps. She smiled as she hit [me] with her car.... Everett Campbell, a Pacific Telephone and Telegraph manager, witnessed the entire incident. I asked him to call the police. He refused to do so. I had to walk two blocks on very sore legs to make a call to the Oakland Police from a public phone.

After my call, two Oakland Police Department squad cars arrived. Three Pacific Telephone and Telegraph security cars also arrived. The Oakland Police officers first started to go inside the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph facility to talk with management personnel before talking to me. I had to remind them that I was the complainant in this matter. Then the Oakland Police officers didn't want to make a report of the incident. They told me that they didn't have time. They said that these things happen all the time during a strike. I had to be very insistent before they would write a report. They asked me if I provoked the incident....

On August 18, 1983, the Communications Workers of America held a march through downtown Oakland. We were well organized and observed the law. The Oakland Police Department had a large number of officers observing the parade. They were not escorting us. They hung back and appeared to be waiting for any outbreak of trouble. At one point during the parade, a motorist honked his horn in support of the marchers. The Oakland Police officers immediately took this man, who is named Robbie Llamas, from his car and took him to jail. This, as it turned out, was the biggest disturbance of the parade. And it was caused by the Oakland Police Department.

In late August 1983, a date that I am unable to specifically recall, I was at the Communications Workers of America Local Chapter 9415 at 1831 Park Boulevard, Oakland, California. At that time the local received a telephone call from the picketers at the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Directory Assistance facility, 530 East Fourteenth Street, San Leandro. The picketers called Local 9415 because they felt intimidated by the San Leandro Police Department. The picketers said they were intimidated by a San Leandro Police Department paddy wagon that repeatedly drove in front of the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph facility. We had to dispatch three or four people from Local 9415 to reassure the picketers in San Leandro.... ■

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LOS ANGELES

UNPOPULAR FRONT IN FRANCE

This is the conclusion of a two-part article on Mitterrand's France. The first part, covering political and economic developments under the preceding Gaullist and Giscardian regimes, was published in WV *No. 339, 7 October 1983.*

PART TWO

"Mitterrand projected himself as the President of plenty but has become the President of penury."
—Henri Amouroux, historian

When François Mitterrand was elected the first Socialist president of the Fifth French Republic in May 1981, the reformist left throughout the world hailed this as a great victory. Amid a capitalist world committed to economic austerity and monetarism, the new French popular front advocated what the snide London *Economist* dubbed "Keynesianism in one country." The Mitterrand regime promised to pull France out of the world economic crisis—the worst since the Great Depression of the 1930s—through a purely national policy of fiscal and monetary expansion.

The utter impossibility of this program did not take long to make itself felt. At the dictate of international finance capital, after a year in office the Mitterrand popular front executed a U-turn in economic policy and has since imposed *more severe* austerity measures than those of the previous bourgeois Giscardian and Gaullist regimes! There were 1.7 million unemployed when Mitterrand took office; today there are over 2 million. And official government forecasts project half a million more unemployed by the end of 1984.

One effect of the disastrous failure of the Mitterrand "experiment" has been to drive the petty-bourgeois masses to the right, creating the increasing danger of bonapartism. At the same time, the working class is being forced to defend its jobs, its living standards, the social gains of a generation against this unpopular-front regime. In the forefront of such struggles have been the foreign, predominantly North African, workers, who have fewer attachments to and illusions in French social democracy. The Mitterrand popular front has entered an explosive period which will determine not only the future of France but perhaps all of Europe.

Le Bolchévik

Aulnay-sous-Bois—Citroën auto workers on strike, May 1982. The working class is being forced to defend its jobs, its living standards, the gains of a generation against Mitterrand's unpopular-front regime.

Mitterrand's Popular Front with Gaullism

When the world economic downturn hit France in 1979-80, the country had already suffered under three years of deflationary austerity (the Barre program) coming after two years of world slump. The unemployment rate in 1979 of 6 percent was the highest in a generation. A public opinion poll taken at the end of 1980 showed that a majority of those questioned thought that inflation, employment, growth, living standards, equality and international competitiveness had all got worse since the right-wing monetarist Raymond Barre became prime minister in 1976. Almost all sections of French society rejected the "neo-liberal" economies of the Giscard/Barre regime. In the months leading up to the May 1981 election the economic conditions got markedly worse and became the dominant domestic issue in the campaign.

Mitterrand promised a veritable Keynesian/social-democratic "economic miracle." If elected, he told the French people, he would create 400,000 new jobs (half in the public sector), reduce the workweek from 40 to 35 hours, increase state pensions and family allowances by 50 percent, raise the minimum wage by 25 percent and institute an additional fifth week of annual summer vacation. Add to this an ambitious nationalization program with generous compensation and a major rearmament drive. In particular, Mitterrand promised to beef up the *force de frappe* (especially nuclear submarines) and expand French arms exports to the so-called Third World. Integral to this program was increased protectionism under the slogan of "reconquering the domestic market."

Like Mitterrand and the Communist Marchais, the Gaullist candidate Jacques Chirac attacked the Giscard/Barre regime for its "wet liberalism" and "complacency" toward the worsening economic crisis. He, too, promised to stimulate the economy and reduce unemployment with his own version of Keynesian pump-priming, namely, big tax cuts for both businesses and individuals. The Gaullist campaign appealed especially to small and medium-sized capitalists who resented the haughty Giscard as the representative of high finance and the multinational corporations. More generally, Gaullism appeals to the chauvinistic petty bourgeoisie of a middle-rank imperialist country with memories of lost historic grandeur (the Sun King, the Napoleonic empire).

The pseudo-Trotskyists such as the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) followers of Ernest Mandel/Alain Krivine, Pierre Lambert's Parti Communiste Internationaliste (PCI) and Arlette Laguiller's Lutte Ouvrière (LO) enthusiastically supported Mitterrand. The PCI proclaimed Mitterrand's 10 May 1981 election success a "workers victory" against the bourgeoisie. Uniquely, the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), section of the international Spartacist tendency, insisted that Mitterrand was in fact tied to a section of the French bourgeoisie, and not just marginal elements like the Left Radicals but centrally the Gaullists. On the eve of the second round the LTF wrote:

> "What has Mitterrand promised which creates such enthusiasm in our leftists of yesteryear? To form a popular-frontist alliance with representatives of the bourgeoisie (Left Radicals, Gaullists, etc.). To reinforce the links of imperialist France with the Atlantic Alliance aimed at the USSR. To make the workers pay for the crisis of capitalism. It will be the popular front under the colors of Gaullism!"
>
> —"Giscard Never, Mitterrand No!" *WV* No. 280, 8 May 1981

The social-democratic and Gaullist campaigns had a number of important themes in common. Both attacked Giscard/Barre's "neo-liberal" economics for sacrificing the French economy to the interests of foreign capital. Both denounced Giscard for being too détente-minded and soft toward Soviet "aggression" (e.g., Afghanistan). The Mitterrand forces assiduously courted the so-called "left" Gaullists. In fact, Mitterrand probably paid greater homage to the General's memory than did Chirac, declaring: "This is an appeal to national resistance against the fatality of the crisis, as General de Gaulle appealed in his day in other circumstances that were difficult for the nation" (quoted in Denis MacShane, *Mitterrand: A Political Odyssey* [1983]).

These appeals to Gaullist nationalism

Haillot/L'Express

Social democrat François Mitterrand with Gaullist Jacques Chirac (right): Two faces of French nationalism.

were not without their effect. When Chirac was eliminated in the first round, he said that while he personally would support Giscard, his followers were free to vote their consciences. This was universally taken as backhanded support to Mitterrand. And after he lost, Giscard accused his former prime minister of "premeditated treachery." Fully 15 percent of those who voted for the Gaullist on the first round switched to the social democrat on the second, the decisive margin which put Mitterrand into the Elysée.

One "left" Gaullist and one ex-Gaullist, both advocates of traditional *dirigisme*, were given key economic ministries: Michel Jobert as minister of trade and Jacques Delors as minister of finance. As Pompidou's foreign minister in the early 1970s, Jobert had gained international notoriety as the most vocal—indeed, insulting—critic of Henry Kissinger's abortive "Year of Europe." More so than the maverick Jobert, the symbiosis between Mitterrand's social democracy and Gaullism is personified by Jacques Delors, a former senior Bank of France official. Delors in 1969-72 was chief economic adviser to the "liberal" Gaullist regime of Chaban-Delmas, where he advocated (unsuccessfully) a "social contract" between the unions, employers and government to divide up the economic pie. After Chaban-Delmas was dumped by Pompidou as too "radical," Delors switched his allegiance to Mitterrand's Socialists as the best party to realize his vision of a liberal corporatist state.

The response of the bourgeoisie in France and its imperialist allies to Mitterrand's election was genuinely contradictory. On the one hand, it was generally feared that his economic program would produce an inflationary explosion with unpredictable but clearly dangerous consequences. On the morrow of the election the conservative London *Economist* (16 May 1981) predicted:

> "The almost certain result of this Mr Mitterrand's economic policy would be an explosion of inflation that would drive the franc through the floorboards of the European Monetary System and lead to a flight of capital, which Mr Mitterrand's left-wing advisers would then blame on a 'bankers' ramp' and would want to cure by re-erecting a protectionist fence around France."

Much of the French bourgeoisie agreed with this prognosis. 10 May 1981 began an uninterrupted capital flight. In the first two weeks after Mitterrand's election France lost a quarter of its total foreign exchange reserves. The term "flight of capital" is no mere metaphor either. In late 1981 the main customs officials union estimated that since the new government had come to power $7.5 billion in cash, gold and other valuables had been smuggled out of the country, most of it in private planes! The combined effect of the world downturn and apprehension over Mitterrand's policies caused French capital to go on strike. Private-sector investment fell about 15 percent in 1981-82. Shades of Allende's Chile!

But the attitude of the bourgeoisie, both within France and without, toward Mitterrand's election was by no means entirely negative. As we have seen, a substantial section of French capital, represented by the Gaullists, opposed Giscard/Barre's "neo-liberalism" and favored a return to more nationalistic, *étatiste* policies. Secondly, Mitterrand's strident anti-Sovietism (in contrast to Giscard) won him the favor of imperialist opinion, especially in Reagan's Washington. The American *Time* magazine (9 November 1981) titled an article on the new French president, "Hawk in Socialist Feathers: Mitterrand backs a strong military in tandem with U.S. policy." And, indeed, the French social democrat has been the leading recruiter for Cold War II in NATO Europe. For example, early last year in Bonn he denounced pacifism in Germany (when has a French president ever done that before?!) and urged the Bundestag to support the scheduled deployment of the U.S. Pershing 2 missiles. Of course, Mitterrand's France is not a puppet of Reagan's America (occasional appearances to the contrary notwithstanding). It is a middle-rank imperialist country seeking to carve out its own sphere of influence (e.g., in the Near East).

Especially outside France, Mitterrand's election was seen as a victory for pro-NATO social democracy over the (more or less) pro-Moscow Communist Party. It was also viewed as a victory for parliamentary reformism over militant class struggle à la May '68 and, on a lesser scale, Lorraine in 1979. The same *Economist* editorial which criticized Mitterand's economic program nonetheless welcomed the strengthening of parliamentary illusions among the French working class: "The clear gain is that, after 23 years under right-of-centre governments, France has shown that it can cross over to the left by the ballot-box rather than by violence in the streets."

On balance the *initial* attitude of the bourgeoisie to the Mitterrand "experiment" was one of guarded toleration. If—a big if—the Mitterrand popular front did not seriously weaken France's international competitiveness, producing a run on the franc, then perhaps it would become a force of stability for the French bourgeois order, as had the German social democrats under Brandt/Schmidt.

From "Keynesianism in One Country"...

A few months after Mitterrand took office, *Business Week* (24 August 1981) observed, "French fiscal and monetary policy is switching to a fast expansionary track." Indeed, it was. The budget for 1982 called for increases in spending for government loans and other subsidies to business of 54 percent, for housing of 34 percent, for public works of 30 percent and for the military of 18 percent. Overall, from 1980 to 1982 the budget deficit *tripled*, from 31 to 95 billion francs.

Where the Mitterrand regime differed from conventional Keynesianism was its emphasis on nationalization. The government took over a number of major industrial firms accounting for about a quarter of France's manufacturing output. These newly nationalized enterprises were supposed to be the locomotive of economic growth and the *force de frappe* in the war to "reconquer the domestic market." Mitterrand declared:

> "I am opposed to an international division of labor and production, a division decided far from our shores and obeying interests that are not our own.... This must be made clear, and for us nationalization is a weapon to protect France's production apparatus."
>
> —*Wall Street Journal*, 7 October 1981

Instead of being a locomotive of growth, the nationalized industrial sector has become a white elephant. First, to say that compensation to the former owners was generous would be a gross understatement. In a number of cases (e.g., Saint-Gobain, Thomson-Brandt) the owners received *more* in compensation than if they liquidated their shares on the Paris Bourse a few months *before* the Socialists took office! "Some of those companies aren't worth a franc," commented one Paris stockbroker. Despite generous government funding for investment, all of the newly nationalized firms except one (Compagnie Générale d'Electricité) lost money in 1982. And now that austerity is the order of the day, the nationalized industries are under the ax. For example, the coal syndicate, Charbonnages de France, is planning to reduce its labor force by 20,000 miners by 1988. Mitterrand's last year in office. Instead of being the vanguard of the "high-tech revolution," the nationalized enterprises have become the vanguard of retrenchment and layoffs.

Despite the government's massive infusion of money demand into the economy, however, private capital investment continued to plummet. Even Delors, the minister closest to the business community, complained:

> "I expected modern factors to be more widespread among the small and large leaders. Business and industry have an attitude toward the state similar to an adolescent's toward his father—vengeful, vindictive, and whiny."
>
> —*Le Nouvel Economiste*, 9 November 1981

According to Delors, during Mitterrand's first year in office consumption in France increased by 3.7 percent, industrial production by only 2.1 percent. The difference was made up by a jump in imports. A government pledged to "reconquer the domestic market" did just the opposite. Its policies stimulated further penetration by foreign manufacturers into the French market. In Mitterrand's first year imports were up by 5.5 percent while exports fell. The result: the balance-of-payments deficit almost *quadrupled* (OECD Economic Survey, *France*, March 1983). By mid-1982 the Bank of France was fast running out of foreign exchange reserves and foreign credit. Mitterrand's France was becoming the Poland of West Europe.

Mitterrand's last hope to maintain his policy of "Keynesianism in one country" was played out at the June 1982 Versailles economic summit. As host the French president proposed a series of grandiose schemes for restructuring the world capitalist economy. All these schemes had one thing in common: they would channel other people's money, mainly denominated in dollars and Deutschmarks, into the coffers of the Bank of France. In particular the French made a big push for international currency stabilization, a scheme to have the U.S. Federal Reserve take over the hopeless job of propping up the faltering franc.

Quite possibly Mitterrand believed that his fervent anti-Sovietism entitled him to American economic largesse (a new Marshall plan). But facing the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression, U.S. imperialism was neither willing nor able to subsidize any West European experiments in social reformism. A *Wall Street Journal* editorial (9 June 1982) commented acidly on Mitterrand's call for international currency stabilization:

> "That would, in effect, amount to hitching the dollar to the spending schemes of France's Socialist government, and mercifully the Reagan team managed to slip out of Versailles without promising anything more than a study of the whole idea of currency intervention."

With Wall Street having cut off its credit the Mitterrand regime had to replace the language of *solidarité* with that of *rigueur*, a euphemism for austerity.

Deutsch/Paris Match

Auto workers march through Renault-Flins plant, May 1982. Immigrant workers, predominantly North African Arabs, are in the vanguard of labor struggles against Mitterrand's austerity.

Atlan/Sygma

Symbol of French Stalinists' repulsive chauvinism: Homes of black African immigrants bulldozed by Communist mayor of Vitry, December 1980.

...to Rigueur I & II

A week after the disastrous Versailles summit the Mitterrand regime devalued the franc for the second time and announced an austerity program designed to reduce consumption by 2-3 percent. Wages and prices were frozen for four months. This freeze antagonized both labor and capital: the workers because it cut their living standards, the industrialists because they couldn't pass on the increased costs (e.g., for imported oil) resulting from the devaluation.

The bourgeois press and politicians had a field day baiting the Socialist Communist government for imposing an austerity program more severe than anything the Gaullists or Giscardians had ever attempted. Writing in the conservative *Le Figaro* magazine Chirac sounded like a social democrat denouncing a right-wing monetarist regime:

> "Until 10 May 1981, despite the crisis, successive governments had managed to maintain the standard of living of the French, to improve the situation of the most underprivileged and to guarantee social welfare. Today, under pressure from a strained economy made worse by its own mistakes, the government is jeopardizing those achievements. ...
> "What a paradox it is to see a socialist and communist government follow a policy that is no longer social at all!"
>
> —U.S. Joint Publications Research Service, *West Europe Report*, 12 January 1983

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France...

(continued from page 9)

With the ignominious collapse of its economic program, the Mitterrand regime's only recourse was to blame all its trouble on the rest of the world. Delors and Johert, for example, railed against Japanese protectionism, West German fiscal policy, American interest rates, etc. Behind these attacks on its major trading partners was the scarcely veiled threat of protectionism. While the French market is small potatoes for the Americans and Japanese, it is vital for the West German industrial economy. This gives the French a certain leverage for economic blackmail against its major trading partner across the Rhine.

Early last year France threatened to pull out of the European Monetary System (a potential first step toward pulling out of the Common Market altogether) unless the Deutschmark was revalued upward against all other currencies. In other words, the Mitterrand government told the West Germans to sacrifice their own international competitiveness for the sake of France's horrendous balance-of-payments situation. Bonn grudgingly realigned its currency last March, but German industrialists were seething in anger.

Despite their strident anti-Sovietism, the Mitterrand social democrats have by their economic policies antagonized two of the most powerful forces in the capitalist world: Wall Street and the Frankfurt Börse. France's principal imperialist allies demand a government in Paris which is strictly monetarist, stabilizes the franc through domestic austerity and does not constantly ask for subsidies from the Federal Reserve and Bundesbank under the threat to go protectionist. The French bourgeoisie are thus encouraged by world capitalist opinion—as if they needed any encouragement—to put an end to the discredited and unpopular Mitterrand "experiment."

The June 1982 devaluation/austerity measures (now known as *Rigueur* I) failed to arrest the catastrophic decline in France's international financial situation. During 1982 France borrowed more in the international money market than any country except the United States and Canada. Already at the beginning of 1983 the foreign debt exceeded $50 billion, approaching levels such as those of Brazil and Mexico. The mounting pressures for a new round of devaluation/austerity produced a rift in the Mitterrand regime between the so-called "realists" led by Delors and former *autogestionnaires* (self-management cultists) Michel Rocard and Edmond Maire, on the one hand, and the "radicals" led by minister of industry Jean-Pierre Chevènement on the other. The Communist Party has likewise pushed protectionism as an alternative to austerity.

UPI

Ultrarightist policemen march on the ministry of justice, June 1983. Disastrous policies of Mitterrand popular front fuel growing forces of bonapartist reaction.

Chevènement is conventionally labeled a Marxist and the leader of the Socialist Party's left wing. This is a fundamental misunderstanding of his role in French politics. Chevènement actually represents the extreme *dirigiste* wing of French technocracy, the so-called *enarques*, graduates of the elite Ecole Nationale d'Administration. Chevènement is just as distant from the workers movement as his rivals Delors and Rocard. His base in the Socialist Party, CERES (Center for Research, Studies and Socialist Education), consists entirely of intellectuals. When he was named minister of industry, this "leftist" declared to all who would listen that he had never advocated class struggle and that he thought there was "place in the majority for all those who want to loyally play the game" (*Le Figaro*, 6 May 1982).

Chevènement's answer to the crisis and the monstrous balance-of-payments deficits is economic autarky (or "*enarquy*"), making France as industrially self-sufficient as possible. Chevènement's Fortress France program is as reactionary as it is utopian. Behind the tariff and quota walls prices would skyrocket, while foreign retaliation against French exports (automobiles, for example) would add hundreds of thousands to the already massive army of the unemployed. French capitalism is simply too integrated into the world market to accept the ultra-protectionist policies of Chevènement (and also Marchais' Communists). So when the crunch came last March the *enfant terrible* of French social democracy got the ax.

Devaluation III was accompanied by Rigueur II: increased income taxes and sales taxes on cigarettes and alcohol; a forced loan of a 10 percent surcharge on the income tax; higher rates for public utilities such as gas, electricity, telephones and railroads; increased fees for hospitalization for the first time ever. And that's just half of it. The other half is a massive cutback throughout the public sector. Especially irritating were new currency restrictions which made it practically impossible for the ordinary Frenchman to vacation abroad. "We are condemned to vacations with our grandmothers in the countryside," exclaimed one middle-level manager in a Paris suburb.

For French capitalism, Rigueur II is still not severe enough and already the government is planning for the "après-rigueur"—which won't be any less rigorous. Two reputable econometricians estimate that to eliminate the balance-of-trade deficit by 1985 the real income of the average Frenchman must be cut by 7-8 percent over and above the reductions which have already taken place (*Le Monde*, 3-4 April 1983). But Mitterrand's New Year's appeal for a renewed "effort" to overcome the crisis rings hollow in the face of universal predictions that this year France is about the only industrialized country in the world where an upturn is not expected!

Rigor Mortis of the Popular Front

Someone writing a textbook on Marxist politics could not find a more clear-cut case to demonstrate the utter bankruptcy of social-democratic reform than France in the past two and a half years. It is as if Mitterrand had deliberately set out to prove that everything the Trotskyists say about popular frontism is true. This regime has managed to antagonize just about every sector of the population. Yet it has been mass demonstrations of the enraged petty bourgeoisie under reactionary leadership that have captured center stage as the opposition to the popular front. And that is due to the systematic undermining by the reformist misleaders (helped by their "far-left" valets) of mounting working-class anger against the popular front's brutal austerity measures.

The proletariat's "honeymoon" with the Mitterrand regime broke down after only six months. In October 1981 atrocious working conditions in the "model [nationalized] enterprise," Renault, pitted the auto workers against the "employer-state." While the Confédération Générale du Travail (Communist-led union federation) and Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail (Socialist-led union federation) bureaucrats smothered the strikers, confining them to individual departments or plants, the pseudo-Trotskyists (LCR, LO, PCI) refused to call even for a strike of the entire Renault chain. Echoing the Socialists' slogan for "*changement*" (change), they were on their knees before Mitterrand demanding new bosses for this nationalized firm!

In the winter of 1982-83 strikes broke out again in auto—this time at Citroën, Renault-Flins, Chausson and others—posing point-blank the necessity of an industrywide strike. The Mitterrand regime stood exposed as viciously anti-working-class by Prime Minister Mauroy's revolting attack on the largely immigrant strikers as "Islamic fundamentalists" manipulated by ayatollahs. The workers shot back: "Us, fundamentalists? Bring us a bottle of whiskey and we'll see!" (*Libération*, 29-30 January 1983). Once again the trade-union bureaucrats refused to organize a genuine counterattack to management lockouts, the Stalinist social-chauvinists refusing to block production of "red, white and blue" autos. The response of Mitterrand's "Trotskyist" tails: petitions and postcards designed to pressure the social democrats. Today the bitterly fought strike at Talbot sharply poses the possibility of a working-class fightback against the government's intertwined austerity/anti-immigrants campaign.

In the service of the popular front the mass reformist parties, the trade-union bureaucrats and their "far-left" accomplices have banded together to *smother* working-class struggle against the anti-working-class Mitterrand regime. A key component has been social-chauvinist protectionism. And it is precisely the immigrant workers, the least susceptible to these social-patriotic appeals, who are playing the lead role in strike struggles. But as the experience of the Mitterrand popular front shows, working-class mobilization against racist terror and a counteroffensive against austerity, if it is to be successful, must lead to sweeping away not just "the right" but the capitalist system as such. This requires the construction of a conscious revolutionary leadership to combat popular frontism—a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party.

Mitterrand's "left" and "far-left" lawyers have but one last card to play to keep the proletariat chained to a manifestly bankrupt regime—the blackmail threat of a return to power by the "right." But the result of the popular front has been to drive the petty-bourgeois masses into the arms of the rightist reaction, dramatically demonstrated by the emergence of Le Pen's fascist National Front as a serious, even "respectable" political force. Trotsky wrote of Germany in 1932: "The policy of reformism deprives the proletariat of the possibility of leading the plebeian masses of the petty bourgeoisie and thereby converts the latter into cannon fodder for fascism" ("The Only Road"). Certainly, the present situation in France is a far cry from that of Germany on the eve of the Nazi takeover. But who will deny that the Mitterrand popular front has enormously strengthened the forces of racist reaction and the danger of right-wing bonapartism? To counter the demagogic appeal of a Chirac or a Le Pen, the working class must break with Mitterrand and offer a way out of the deepening capitalist crisis.

In most other West European parliamentary regimes, as well as under the Fourth Republic, a government as unpopular as Mitterrand's would already have fallen. But to overcome the extreme governmental instability of the Fourth Republic, the 1958 Constitution made France the most structurally

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In Mitterrand's France, North African Workers Take the Lead

The Battle of Talbot

UPI

Talbot-Poissy, January 5—Foreign-born auto workers hold off attack by one thousand scabs and professional thugs.

PARIS, January 15—The bitter strike of the courageous immigrant workers at Talbot-Poissy—isolated and abandoned by their sellout union leaders—has ended in defeat. But after 23 days of occupying the large auto factory in the Paris suburbs, after having retaken the buildings following their expulsion by the CRS (riot police) shock brigades, after the bloody battle of Department B3, where they defended themselves against an assault by a thousand scabs and by professional thugs, the Talbot strikers have given an example to worker-militants throughout France.

The Talbot-Poissy factory has the highest percentage in France of immigrant workers, with 53 percent of its labor force composed of foreign-born workers, predominantly North African Arabs, more than 80 percent of whom can neither read nor write. When the hammer came down on them these immigrant workers fought—and how they fought!

The showdown came with the battle of January 5. The company brought in hundreds of foremen and other supervisory personnel from all over the Peugeot empire. (The PSN fascists bragged about dispatching their thugs to Poissy as well.) A dozen plainclothes goons armed with slingshots, fire extinguishers and (some of them at least) revolvers headed the charge of the "blue shirts." Against this violent assault, the workers occupying Department B3 counter-attacked with anything they could lay their hands on. There was a rain of bolts; entire parts of chassis were hurled from the overhead passageways. After an hour the assailants were withdrawn by management and the hundreds of strikers remained in their besieged fort. Outside, the frustrated racist scabs shouted, "To the gas ovens!"

It was then the CFDT (union federation led by Mitterrand's Socialist Party) abandoned the struggle. "Now I am afraid," said Talbot CFDT leader Jean-Pierre Noual. Instead of calling for emergency reinforcements from nearby auto factories (Renault-Flins, Citroën-Aulnay) the CFDT called ... the police. Then hours later the strikers were evacuated from the buildings between two lines of CRS riot cops. Immediately afterwards management declared a lockout for several days and the CFDT called off the strike.

At a time when the regime of "austerity Socialist" president François Mitterrand is shaken by an apparently interminable economic crisis and driven into a corner by the increasingly aggressive forces of reaction, the Talbot workers' struggle could have touched off a strike wave to beat back the joint offensives of the employers and government, thereby opening the perspective of revolutionary struggles. At this turning point the fate of France depends on the construction of a truly Bolshevik party which can fight class collaboration and racial oppression, forging a powerful working-class mobilization inspired by the current vanguard of immigrant workers. That is the goal of the Ligue Trotskyste de France.

Reformists Against the Talbot Workers

The Talbot strike was a flash of lightning starkly outlining the political landscape of France under the popular

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bonapartist state of any bourgeois democracy. In a "crisis" the president can declare a state of emergency, giving him almost unlimited powers. The reactionaries, including the Gaullists, are now bridling at the rigidities of de Gaulle's Constitution. Last spring Chirac called for a referendum on the government's economic policies. If Mitterrand lost—and there was no question about that—then presumably he would resign and call new elections. Since the first social-democratic president of the Fifth Republic is not likely to voluntarily commit political suicide in this particular manner, the bourgeoisie tested the prospects for putting an end to the Mitterrand "experiment" by unconstitutional means.

Thus last spring saw the most threatening reactionary mobilizations since 1958 and the paramilitary ultrarightist OAS. Peasants, shopkeepers, students, police, tens of thousands of the frenzied petty bourgeoisie took to the streets shouting "We got Allende, we'll get you, Mitterrand!" (see "Unpopular Front in France," Part I, *WV* No. 339, 7 October 1983). The ultraright mobilization continued last October as technicians and lower-level managers, many of whom voted for Mitterrand, paraded to chants of "To the Elysée [presidential palace]! Kill, kill the Communists!" Having given the green light to racist police terror and relying increasingly on the CRS—a bonapartist special police force par excellence—to suppress strikes, it was the popular front itself which paved the way for these reactionary scum.

Earlier popular fronts in France similarly dug their own graves. When in March 1937 riot police shot down anti-fascist demonstrators at Clichy, Socialist prime minister Léon Blum found the situation too hot to handle and passed the governmental reins to his bourgeois bloc partners, the Radicals. Succeeding Radical governments of the Popular Front launched a full-scale assault on the gains wrested from the bourgeoisie in June 1936, eliminating the 40-hour week, culminating in the crushing of the November 1938 general strike. The slow disintegration of the Popular Front came to a close when the same parliament which had given the Popular Front its majority approved Pétain's dictatorship (including a number of social-democratic deputies).

Then, as now, the Trotskyists represented an irreconcilable proletarian opposition to the bankruptcy of popular frontism: fighting for full rights for foreign workers, for workers defense guards based on the unions, for workers control (dual power in the factories) and the establishment of a genuine workers government based on organs of workers power—soviets growing out of the centralization of strike committees.

For the Socialist United States of Europe!

There is no way out of the deepening capitalist crisis within a purely national framework. The protectionist Fortress France advocated by Chevènement and the Communist Party is not only a reactionary utopia, would not only *worsen* the material conditions of the French populace, but goes in exactly the opposite direction from the only progressive solution: the unity of the French and German proletariat in the socialist reconstruction of Europe. West Germany, like France and the rest of capitalist Europe, is suffering from the highest unemployment since the early postwar years. For the Christian Democrats in Bonn, like the Mitterrand popular front, the only way to improve international competitiveness is to slash social programs and dismantle entire industrial sectors. But when in the fall of 1982 the Christian Democrats replaced the Social Democrats through a parliamentary maneuver, the new Kohl regime was greeted by mass trade-union protests with many militants talking about a political general strike. Since then West Germany has experienced an upsurge of industrial militancy. For example, recently in the ports of Bremen and Hamburg workers occupied shipyards scheduled to be shut down.

When Reagan toured Europe in June 1982, the Ligue Trotskyste de France in Paris (top) and the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands in Bonn (bottom) marched for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against NATO imperialism and for a Socialist United States of Europe.

These militant working-class actions are taking place when political ferment in West Germany is greater than at any time since the founding of the Federal Republic in 1948. The deployment of the first-strike Pershing 2 missiles, under the command of the anti-Soviet fanatic Reagan, has deeply polarized West Germany. However, the Social Democracy, in particular, is directing this widespread pacifistic sentiment into a resurgent German nationalism—anti-American and anti-Soviet—whose basic goal is to reconquer East Germany and restore German imperialist hegemony in East Europe. Thus, the anti-*bochisme* of Chevènement and the French Communist Party is mirrored by the ominous resurgence of German nationalism in social-democratic coloration. As the objective basis and need for unity in struggle of the French and German working classes becomes ever clearer and more urgent, the reformists on both sides of the Rhine step up their chauvinist demagogy. Against the new German nationalism of the "left" as well as of the traditional right, the Trotskyists call for the revolutionary reunification of Germany. A unified German workers state would be the industrial core for the socialist reconstruction of Europe.

But the spark for the revolutionary remaking of Europe could well come from the left bank of the Rhine as it has in the past. The Great French Revolution of 1789-93 is the fountainhead of social progress in the modern world. From Madrid to St. Petersburg generations of revolutionaries modeled themselves on the Jacobins. Lenin defined a Bolshevik as a "Jacobin who wholly identifies himself with the *organization* of the proletariat." The Paris Commune of 1871—the first workers government—directly inspired the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. May '68 not only shook the French bourgeois order to its foundations and toppled de Gaulle's throne, but set off alarm bells from the Frankfurt Börse and NATO headquarters in Brussels to the Pentagon and Wall Street. The answer to Mitterrand's austerity and the growing danger of rightist bonapartism is for the French working class to return to its world-shaking historic traditions and shatter the *ancien régime* of the decaying capitalist order. Forward to the Socialist United States of Europe! ■

Victory to the McDonnell Douglas Strike!

Stop IAM Scabbing!

LOS ANGELES—The strike of 6,800 United Auto Workers (UAW) members, now entering its fourth month against McDonnell Douglas aircraft plants in California, Oklahoma and Arkansas, is threatened from within by scabbing. The International Association of Machinists (IAM) earlier accepted the company's brutal giveback terms, and IAM bureaucrats have kept 4,000 aircraft workers in Douglas Aircraft plants, herding many of them across UAW picket lines.

The company's demands, modeled after a settlement between the IAM and Boeing Aircraft last year, are designed to rip up industrial unionism by pitting skilled workers against lower paid and newly hired workers. Douglas is demanding a total wage freeze, excepting a minority of higher paid workers; sharp cutbacks in cost-of-living (COLA) and other benefits, with COLA totally denied to the lowest paid section of the workforce; and a spurious 3 percent "bonus" in lieu of a wage increase.

Even more ominously, Douglas wants to establish vastly reduced pay and benefit scales for new hires. Jobs that now pay $11.50/hr. in California plants would start at $6.70, with periods ranging up to *25 years* before new hires would reach "full pay" (at levels substantially below what they are today). Such provisions, which have been incorporated in contracts at Boeing, Lockheed, American Airlines and most recently at Greyhound, do away with the hard-won gain guaranteeing equal pay for equal work. As one 20-year worker at Douglas Aircraft's Long Beach plant put it: "They want to take away what generations of union members have fought to win, what people deceased and buried fought for... they want to take it away so generations coming up won't have it" (*Los Angeles Times*, 3 January). But UAW officials are not opposing the lower scales for new workers.

The sharpest blow directed at Douglas workers has come from the IAM bureaucracy headed by "Wimpy" Winpisinger. The IAM settled with both Lockheed and Douglas *after* the UAW strike began, and have continued scabbing at McDonnell Douglas ever since. The same thing happened in 1978, when UAW members went out alone against Douglas for over 90 days, with both UAW and IAM officials demanding that IAM members stay on the job. And in 1975 it was the UAW that crossed IAM picket lines!

The orgy of scabherding led by union bureaucrats is killing the labor movement. Certainly for Winpisinger such backstabbing is nothing new. Wimpy, who is co-chair of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), was widely hailed by the fake-left as a new breed of "militant" when he became president of the IAM a few years ago. Then came PATCO. The IAM-organized airline mechanics were among several key unions with the power to *shut down the airports* and smash Reagan's union-busting. But Winpisinger kept them on the job, hiding behind the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's no-win "strategy" of an impotent consumer boycott. And the company cops in UAW's Solidarity House are no better; their latest exploit was to herd UAW-organized Greyhound baggage handlers and mechanics across the drivers' picket lines in Detroit.

This inter-union backstabbing must be halted now! For a joint industrywide strike of all aircraft workers! UAW workers must elect strike committees to mobilize their IAM brothers and sisters to join the picket lines. Scrap the sellouts at Lockheed and Boeing as well—and bring out on strike *now* the 55,000 UAW aircraft workers whose contracts expire later this year. For mass, militant picket lines that nobody crosses! Smash the bosses' takeaway demands: for full cost-of-living benefits, a big pay boost, equal pay for equal work at the highest levels!

The union-busting drive at home is the domestic side of the bourgeoisie's anti-Soviet war drive. Social-democratic labor traitors like Winpisinger and the UAW's Owen Bieber, who push chauvinist protectionism and ardently support the military rearmament of the imperialists, aren't about to stand up to the Pentagon and its friends at Lockheed, Boeing and McDonnell Douglas. To smash the bosses' union-busting drive, workers need a class-struggle program and leadership capable of mobilizing a real labor offensive against the capitalists. Such a leadership can only be forged through a relentless political fight to expose and defeat the traitorous, pro-imperialist labor bureaucracy. ■

Battle of Talbot...

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front of the '80s. Foreign-born industrial workers, fighting to save their jobs, were confronted by an offensive of the entire ruling class, from the little kings of Peugeot who believe in the "divine right" of private property, to the most "enlightened" managers, educated in the elite universities, who run the nationalized companies in the interests of French capital. On the side of the Peugeot bosses were the "left" government, the Socialist and Communist (PCF) parties, and the sellout leaders of the unions who fulfilled their role as firemen putting out the flames of the feared "workers' revolt."

Der Spiegel

Workers occupy Talbot-Poissy plant for 23 days in fight against mass layoffs. Reformist union leaders sold them out.

Last summer the management of the PSA group (Peugeot), owner of Talbot for the last two years, announced its intention to slash more than 4,000 jobs at the Poissy plant. Following walkouts by Talbot workers, the government decided to postpone the decision. In October the PCF minister of employment, Jack Ralite, accepted 1,000-plus job cuts accomplished through "early retirement." On December 7, as rumors spread that the projected 2,900 layoffs would be approved, several hundred immigrant workers occupied the plant. Ten days later the government announced with much fanfare a deal negotiated by Ralite, the company and the CGT (Communist-led union federation) which set the total layoffs at 1,900, with phony training programs for the fired workers. Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy spoke of "industrial reconstruction with a human face," but the Talbot workers affected by this plan rejected it almost unanimously. The explosive situation threw the Stalinists and Socialists into a total mess, both in the unions and in the cabinet.

The hard-line Peugeot management was determined to flush out one of the centers of working-class resistance, which played a vanguard role in the auto strikes of 1982-83. They wanted to reestablish the paternalistic labor relations of days past, when the bosses seemed like colonial plantation owners. The labor force was recruited in remote villages of Morocco, where the latter-day slave traders of Simca (later Chrysler-France, then Talbot, now a subsidiary of Peugeot) selected illiterate peasants almost exclusively. Once in the plant they were controlled by the scab "union" which includes a large number of poor white colonialists from Algeria and ex-legionnaire types. It was a reproduction of colonial society at the very heart of French industry. And when they went into revolt against Mitterrand's layoffs, these North African wage-slaves stood at the center of class struggle in France.

The Talbot strike ended in defeat. But it is a defeat that could anger the working class rather than demoralize it. Government plans call for "trimming" up to 40,000 jobs in auto, 20,000 in steel, thousands in shipbuilding, closing down whole regions of coal mining. This must be answered by joint strike action, leading toward a general strike. If the workers do not fight back, the reactionaries are waiting in the wings. The ultrarightist cop demonstration last June was an indication of the real bonapartist threat to replace one more of France's unstable bourgeois-democratic governments with a new "strong state," unless the proletariat takes its fate in its own hands.

Forging a Trotskyist Party

What is needed is a revolutionary party that told the truth about the Mitterrand regime from the beginning, and thus was prepared to organize a thoroughgoing class struggle against it. What is needed is a genuinely communist party that acts as a "tribune of the people," championing the immigrants' cause. From the beginning of the Talbot strike, the Ligue Trotskyste (LTF) sought concrete means to extend the strike and win it.

An LTF comrade at the Renault-Cléon auto plant in Rouen led a delegation of CGT members and other auto workers which visited the Talbot-Poissy plant on December 29 to show their solidarity with the striking immigrant workers. An open letter by the LTF comrade reporting to Cléon workers on the delegation (subsequently reproduced and distributed by the LTF in French and Arabic) called for the election of strike committees to lead a general strike of auto. Other demands included extension of the strike to supplier and dependent industries like steel and transport; immediate 24-hour strike at Renault-Cléon to lay the basis for a national strike; occupation of the plant protected by mass pickets; full citizenship rights for foreign workers.

The Ligue Trotskyste was virtually unique in linking the government/employer offensive against the Talbot workers with the racist campaign of cop and fascist terror against immigrant neighborhoods in France during the past year. At a January 14 march we chanted: "Cops out of the immigrant districts!" and "Against the fascists, against the racists—workers militias!" The LTF banner directly addressed the defeatist sentiments sown by the failure of the French workers movement to back up the strike; the banner declared: "Don't pack your bags—Not one layoff or deportation—For a general auto strike!" Another banner proclaimed: "French and immigrant workers—Break with Mitterrand and his left tails, liquidators of the Talbot strike."

While the pseudo-Trotskyists kowtow to the chauvinist union tops, the Ligue Trotskyste has the right to oppose the defeatism among North African and black African workers in France because of our consistent opposition to all forms of chauvinism. In the 1981 elections the LTF had raised the possibility of critical support to the PCF's Georges Marchais, until the PCF's bulldozer attack against the immigrant community in the Paris suburb of Vitry. We pointed out that the Communist Party's disgusting racism (shown also in the protectionist "Produce French" campaign) is support to one's "own" bourgeoisie.

Reformism is necessarily nationalist; revolutionary socialism is internationalist. Thus in crawling after Mitterrand, the "far left" has joined in the anti-Soviet war drive, whose architects are not only in the White House but also in the Elysée. Denouncing Mitterrand's anti-Sovietism, the LTF comrade's open letter to the Renault-Cléon workers pointed out: "By the way, comrades of the PCF, if the 'comrade ministers' were currently in a real workers government, the NATO generals would be counting the French missiles on the Soviet side instead of the reverse." With the arms buildup for an imperialist war against the Soviet Union already well advanced, with Reagan embarked on a wave of provocations from Central America to Lebanon, the question of "after Mitterrand, what?" takes on world importance. The French working class has the power and duty to answer: for a workers Commune! ■

Jail the Killer Cops!

D.C. Cops on Racist Terror Rampage

WASHINGTON, D.C.—It was a cold-blooded racist killing last December 15 when at least nine cops swooped down on 22-year-old black youth Darryl Rhones, pummeled him to the ground, then dragged him off to Third District police headquarters where he was later found strangled to death. The medical examiner labeled the cause of death "cardio-respiratory arrest attributed to neck compression." Translated, this means Rhones was the latest black victim of the murderous police "choke hold" grasp which "cuts off air to the lungs or blood to the brain." The pre-planned assault was another "kill mission" of the Third District hit squad—the notorious elite drug task force set up by D.C. black mayor Marion Barry in 1981. Two days later, the death of another minority man in police custody sent more shock waves through black Washington.

When on the night of December 15, after the cops said an "unidentified citizen" told them Rhones might have been involved in a shooting earlier that evening, they made their move. Without warning, the members of this elite killer squad jumped out of their unmarked cars and grabbed Rhones. In front of his 11-year-old sister and other horrified relatives and neighbors who were prevented from going to his aid, the cops beat Rhones to a pulp:

> "'They grabbed and handcuffed him.... They were hitting him with their billies, those little black things they wear. Hit him around the neck. His little sister, she's eleven, was hollering and screaming, "That's my brother."... They drug him to the car. Didn't even carry him. They drug him by his shoulders, with his feet dragging. They put him in the back seat. He had knots on his head. On the top of his head and on his face. His eyes looked like light bulbs.'"
>
> —*Washington Post*, 17 December 1983

This was how an eyewitness, Wanda Haire, described the incident. Other eyewitnesses say that *after* Rhones was handcuffed he was beaten for upwards of twenty minutes. One District official reported that the cops "accidentally [!] dropped Rhones, head first, onto a pavement as they struggled to put him inside a patrol car."

Rhones was hauled into Third District police headquarters shortly before 9 p.m. where he was carried to a secluded upstairs area near the detectives' office. Later they claim he was found in the cellblock "totally unconscious" and taken to George Washington Hospital where he was pronounced dead. It was not until early the next morning, more than five hours after Rhones was officially declared dead, that the cops began their *modus operandi* of declaring the dead victim guilty of the crime of "assaulting a police officer"!

In reward for their vicious killing, the nine cops were given "administrative leave with pay," (i.e., a paid vacation) pending a D.C. Superior Court grand jury investigation. But according to one eyewitness, one of the cops involved in the fatal beating is still on the job "investigating" the case. Two days after the Rhones killing, another minority resident, 29-year-old Loren Thomas, supposedly arrested for "disorderly conduct," was found suffocated to death in the back seat of a police car upon arriving at the self-same Third District headquarters. This racist cop rampage must be stopped! Jail the killer cops!

In the wake of this atrocity the bourgeois press has tried to alibi cold-blooded racist murder by screaming that Darryl Rhones' police record justified beating and choking him to death! Thus a 21 December *Washington Post* article grotesquely demanded to know why Rhones "had managed to remain on the streets despite serious pending charges and a seemingly endless series of court appearances." It went on to quote a "senior official in the U.S. Attorney's office" that "If I had my way, he would have been locked up, and I think a lot more people like [him] should be locked up too"! For the cops, and the *Post*, every black kid is guilty of *something*, first and foremost of the "crime" of being black in racist capitalist America where ghettoized, lumpenized, terrorized, they are picked up by the cops on the slightest infraction and then their "record" is used to justify any atrocity against them!

The Third Precinct was after Darryl Rhones, a youth from the devastated ghetto community which borders Howard University in Northwest Washington. To them his life wasn't worth a plug nickel. Ever since he was 18 years old the cops had had him in and out of court on charges of everything from burglary to possession of PCP to second degree murder; at the time of his death there were six outstanding charges against him. But the cops had never been able to make the charges stick. Like so many black young men in the so-called "land of the free," he was living on borrowed time. Rhones' mother, Joan Allen, charged: "A number of times they jumped on Darryl and they couldn't find anything.... It was the early part of 1983, Darryl said they told him that they were going to get him and that they were going to kill him. He came into the house and said, 'Momma, why do they want to kill me?' After that it was just constant harassment."

Indeed, D.C. mayor Marion Barry has given the terrorist squad from the Third Precinct a green light to run amok in the black community. The Shaw-14th Street district where Rhones was beaten is part of the "riot corridor" just blocks from the White House: the cops' "war on drugs" has been the justification for maintaining a reign of terror on the black population. Far from stopping drug traffic, as shown in New York City's famous Knapp Commission report in the 1960s, inner city cops are notoriously the biggest pushers of narcotics, while enforcing bourgeois "law and order" through racist intimidation and brutal violence. Police terror, layoffs of black city workers, killer cutbacks in basic social services—these are Mayor Barry's program: the big city Democratic mayors, black as well as white, function as the overseers on the capitalist plantation.

Killer cops and racist terror groups thrive in the political climate of the anti-labor/anti-black offensive in Reagan's America. To stop the race terrorists in white sheets and blue uniforms will require a revolutionary struggle for workers power against the racist capitalist system. A revolutionary party of the multiracial American working class must be built in class-struggle defense of the working people, especially the most oppressed sectors, against the brutal rule of decaying capitalism. This perspective was powerfully glimpsed on 27 November 1982 when over 5,000 black workers and youth took part in the Labor/Black Mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League which stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in the nation's capital. Jail the killer cops! For militant labor/black-mobilizations against KKK racist terror! For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

Reagan to Poor...

(continued from page 1)

oppression—at the heart of American capitalism—has become increasingly more open. That is why capitalism's answer to growing black poverty is: "Let them starve."

Capitalism isn't going to do anything about hunger except create more racist campaigns to deny its existence. What about the soup kitchens spreading out across the country? Oh, those—Reagan's vicious roly-poly adviser Edwin Meese summed up the case for the government: "People go to soup kitchens because the food is free, and that's easier than paying for it" (*New York Times*, 15 December 1983). But hungry people keep appearing with their empty bowls. So Reagan appointed a commission on hunger to expose these freeloaders once and for all.

Reagan's fat-cat panel was composed of "free enterprise" mouthpieces like Midge Dector of the "Committee for the Free World," concerned about "starving masses" only when they're in places like Poland (where nobody is starving). Like Dr. George Graham, an expert on taking food out of kids' school lunches, who thinks blacks haven't got any "food problem": "Look around at the black athletes on television," he said, "they're a pretty hefty bunch." They should have gotten Dr. Mengele to add his "scientific" opinions, too, though the Nazi torturer was probably too busy spying for the CIA in South America to make it.

Now Dr. Graham, one of Reagan's regular scientific advisers, is telling us a race that produced Kareem Abdul Jabbar and Moses Malone hasn't got anything to complain about. Well, we expect the slave gladiators in the old Roman arena were pretty well fed too. But at least along with their circuses, the old Roman tyrants occasionally distributed some bread.

Reagan's panel wrestled with the definition of "hunger" until they were able to effectively deny its existence. "Herr Doktor" Graham expressed the racism of the administration when he explained that the low birth weights of black babies (a standard evidence of malnutrition) was in fact part of the "black problem" and would best be addressed by "a series of cultural changes"—like "avoiding sex during pregnancy"! (*New York Times*, 10 January).

Hunger is at the extreme end of the attacks on all workers in this country. But what is to be done? The labor bureaucrats sell out the workers' struggles and say: vote for the Democrats. And the Democrats talk about Reagan's lack of "compassion," electioneering for a little more soup, while the reformist left follows along behind with their ladles. But it is the Democrats who began the attacks on the cities. And it is the Democratic mayors, and the black mayors at that, who act as overseers on capitalism's wretched plantations.

This attack on the poor is part of the generalized assault on the entire working class. It is either fight or starve. But a fight by labor has been crippled by the pro-capitalist labor "leaders" who sat by with folded hands and watched union after union smashed or defeated, from PATCO to the phone strike last year to Greyhound. And the black front men for capitalism like Jesse Jackson are racing madly around trying to sell blacks on the racist "American dream."

The ghetto and the factory are inextricably linked: the fate of one is the fate of the other in this country. Boarded-up small businesses and homes surrounding U.S. Steel's South Works, once Chicago's largest single source of jobs, stand as mute testimony to the destruction of a whole section of black and working-class Chicago. What's needed is militant action by labor and blacks to turn back the reactionary and racist offensive. One sit-down strike in Chicago or Detroit is worth all the soup lines and relief programs. Such action would mobilize the ghetto masses behind a fighting labor movement to begin to beat back the racist anti-labor offensive.

The recent break in the economic conjuncture may have the big stockholders cheering, but it has also rekindled the fighting spirit of the workers. In the face of the bosses' union-busting drive, aided and abetted by government strikebreaking, Greyhound strikers and copper miners in Arizona conducted themselves with courage and determination on the picket lines.

But without a revolutionary leadership that can unite the working class and oppressed in anti-capitalist struggle there has not been—and will not be—genuine victory. The utter bankruptcy of capitalism, with widespread hunger at the peak of "economic recovery"—speaks for itself. The task is to forge a revolutionary party of black and white workers that can organize a fight to do away with capitalist exploitation once and for all by ripping the productive wealth of this country, including all the idle factories, out of the hands of the capitalist class and replace it with a workers government and planned economy that can provide jobs and decent living standards for all. ■

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WASHINGTON, D.C.

Cockburn...

(continued from page 3)

Cockhurn doesn't account to anyhody for anything.

Cockhurn, 42, Scottish, hourgeois, grew up in Ireland, educated at Oxford. He seems to aspire to the old British tradition of the aristocratic radical. (To horrow a phrase from another context, one might say Cockburn is of ambiguous class orientation.) Perhaps he inherits it from his deceased father, who wrote *The Week* for years and after a stint in the British CP went on to *Punch* and *Private Eye*. Part of what makes his columns so hiting and effective is that he writes like an insider. The fact is Cockhurn shares the hourgeoisie's social world hut not their worldview. The most prominent left-wing journalist in America, Cockhurn prefers to associate with the hourgeoisie. He recently married Katherine Kilgore, daughter of an ex-editor of the *Wall Street Journal*. For a while he lived with *Washington Post* owner Katherine Graham's daughter, and before that had a child hy Emma Rothschild. We're told he hangs out with the rest of the hourgeois *literati* and aspirants to the fast lane. Cockburn is clearly more comfortahle on a UN receiving line than on a picket line. At the *Voice* he feels above the union (District 65) and voted against the 1982 strike (other rad-libs talked a lot and sold out later). But now he needs the union and the union ought to defend him.

For Cockhurn politics is literary; it does not touch his personal decisions. Revealingly, he used marital imagery to describe the *Voice*'s suspension of him on political grounds, terming it "a trial separation" (*New York Times*, 17 January).

The Irish have an expression for Englishmen who come to Ireland to trade on their sophistication: "Mickey dazzlers." Indeed Cockhurn has heen ahle to dazzle in America amid the wasteland of political culture. Where else could he take the academics to school over something as well known as Marx's (and Shakespeare's) use of the phrase "old Mole"? Cockburn is evidently the only left-leaning journalist in America capahle of recognizing a quote from Malraux when it really counts.

Cockhurn was doing all right as the ruling class's literary had boy. He has been the highest paid writer on the *Village Voice*, perhaps the highest paid print journalist on a weekly in America. But of course everyhody knows, including Schneiderman, that he is their only first-rate writer. In fact, were it not for Cockburn's political commentaries one would have to think twice before shelling out 90 cents for mediocre muckraking, eccentric culture criticism, mainstream Zionist haloney and some movie reviews.

Cockhurn surely knows the "Fool Tradition" in English literature. The fool is in the Court hut not of it. While at the hottom of Court Society, it is his privilege to say anything, even the truth, to the king. He can mock Royalty because he is recognized as an important critical voice in the system. Cockhurn wears his snotty wit like a suit of motley, as protection and a sign that at hottom he is powerless; his jihes are all part of the royal sport.

Contrast Cockhurn with a real class traitor to the ruling class, and one with an important political project—the great British spy for the USSR, Kim Philby. Philhy knew politics meant you have to roll up your sleeves and get your hands dirty.

Cockhurn thinks the ruling class acknowledges his right to say something approximating the truth because they see him as one of them. But this time he's managed to gore three oxes of the bourgeoisie: the *New York Times*, the Zionist Establishment and the Christian fundamentalists. He thought he was above the political fray, but now the fray has come for him.

The Failure of Appeasement

If Cockhurn has many of the right political enemies he has also gone out of his way to make political enemies of revolutionary Marxists. When his printed pages got too close to a hot dispute in the streets, Cockhurn offered up the Spartacist League as the proper target for those who found him too left-wing.

It started after the 1979 Greensboro massacre of hlacks, leftists and union organizers (which the *Times* was calling a "shootout" hetween "extremists" while the reformist left sat on its hands). When the murderers said they would "celehrate" their massacre hy rallying in Detroit the Spartacist League initiated our first lahor/hlack mohilization against Klan/Nazi terror. Cockhurn's *Voice* editorial, "Silent as the Graves" (19 November 1979), lashed out at the labor leaders and leftists who "are content to let consensus reign":

> "Dignity would at least have required labor and its liberal allies to issue some proclamation of grief, some demand for justice if not revenge. Courage would demand issuance of a call for anti-fascist demonstrations in every major city—like the one sponsored by the Spartacists in Detroit. But our liberals are too busy with Teddy, and labor is getting ready to elevate Lane Kirkland as Meany's successor. Action against native fascism is left in the hands of the Trotskyists and other sectarians, who at least can understand the meaning of murder when they see it."

UPI

Massacre of Sabra and Shatila: Cockburn defied the U.S. journalists' crime of silence over Zionist atrocities.

That already made Cockburn some kind of crypto-Spart in the eyes of his rad-lih admirers. But Cockburn didn't feel the heat until the line was drawn hard over the SL's call for "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents" in El Salvador. With Reagan in the White House, the reformist left saw hopes for a big new "anti-Reagan" popular front with the Democrats. The SL's call cut straight across the popular frontists' Democrat-dictated program for a "negotiated" El Salvador sellout. So the small-time goons with big appetites used the cops to enforce their policy of sealing our anti-imperialist contingents off from other demonstrators. In a small but important way a blood line was drawn in this country between revolution and counterrevolution.

WV Photo

Washington, D.C., 27 March 1982: SL-organized Anti-Imperialist Contingent sealed off in massive display of cop power. Cockburn joined with Big Liars in violence-baiting the SL.

Cockburn was for military victory and had said so often in the *Village Voice*. So now he tried to appease the anti-Spartacist cahal by distancing himself from us with a slew of sophomoric name-calling and the false (as he well knew) claim that "everybody" is for military victory. On 6 April 1982 he wrote: "The Spartacists are a flinty lot, with more than a whiff of Marxism-Leninism-Bonkerism, hut their line on victory to the FDR/FMLN is unimpeachahle. They should just learn to stop acting like assholes. After all, most of the demonstrators on the main march prohahly espouse victory for the FDR/FMLN too."

It didn't work; all the reformists saw in Cockburn's remarks was "their line is unimpeachable." There was a Big Lie campaign in full swing to justify the cop-protected violent exclusion of the SL; this time Cockburn's eccentric leftism would have consequences. So with cowardly mendacity Cockburn lined up with the anti-Spartacist slanders in an item titled "Assholes Revisited" (*Voice*, 13 April 1982). With the SL being baited hy the fake-left as "CIA" and by the ruling class as some kind of Soviet-surrogate "terrorists," Cockburn joined the chorus by writing that we had engaged in "low level violence" against the reformists at the March 27 demonstration in Washington. In our editorial reply, "So What Makes Cockburn Run?" (*WV* No. 303, 16 April) we put the point starkly: "The evidence is clear and complete, Cockburn—you did not distort, you lied in this particular matter ...a particularly nasty lie for you especially.... *You* claim to have that very position of military victory yet defend those who did their level hest—hy themselves and then backed by the police—to block such assembly. To liar, one must add hypocrite."

Cockburn's "membership" in the respectable left could be purchased with a nasty line. He no douht thought it cheap at the price. We however gave him some advice for free that turns out to have been pretty accurate:

> "Cockburn is a well-known columnist; doubtless he sees the Spartacist League as a tiny pariah group which he can do to as he sees fit. Well, he's not entirely wrong. But in this country we don't have a seamless set of 'old hoys' networks and it's not clear he's part of much of one anyhow...."

Overcoming Unemployment

So we defend you, Alexander Cockburn. This surely will help to secure your future. Perhaps there is an opening for "Keeper of the Queen's Pictures." But we understand you may want to stay in the U.S. where you are hot stuff. Well, we can do more than defend your civil liherties in the pages of *Workers Vanguard* (like a rope supports a hanging man?). Information on office hours for our journalistic staff—which works at subsistence pay and negative perquisites—is available on request. Since our wage scale will hardly keep you in cologne, if you come to work for us you can take Arab money so long as you tell us about it, and so long as we agree to any journalistic output you supply to *WV*. (In fact, if you work for us you will need Arab money.)

We note sadly that neither Arab money nor any other gusher of big bucks has come our way. We get the heat already, including from Alexander Cockburn; we could sure use the money. But we doubt that either big bucks or Alexander Cockburn will come our way. They are more likely to find each other than to find their way to the revolutionaries. ■

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El Salvador...

(continued from page 1)

has turned the struggle in Central America into a security and political problem for the United States...." Unfortunately, imperialist propaganda that behind every movement for social justice in the world lurks a Kremlin plot to spread "Marxist states" is not true. Soviet arms are not flowing to the Salvadoran guerrillas—although they could surely use them. Nor is the radical nationalist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua getting what it needs to wipe out the CIA-organized *contra* terrorists. But for Reagan's purposes that's irrelevant. He is posing the civil war in El Salvador and the *contra* war against Nicaragua as a confrontation with the Soviet Union and Cuba in order to mobilize American society for an *actual* war with the Soviet bloc. That is why the Spartacist League insists that the defense of the Soviet Union and Cuba—of the social gains of the October Revolution and its extension—is now posed in Central America.

Smash the Army! Workers to Power!

But Reagan's effort to drown the popular insurgency in El Salvador in blood by showering dollars and weapons on the kill-crazy army and death squads is increasingly viewed as hopeless. It becomes ever more clear that Washington's real options come down to three: accept a leftist military victory, make a deal with the petty-bourgeois nationalist leaders of the insurgency or send in U.S. combat troops. No section of U.S. imperialism is prepared to accept a leftist victory. Fearing another "Vietnam-type" defeat, Reagan's liberal critics offer an alternative strategy based on *betrayal* of the revolutionary masses by their own leaders. This is the meaning of their call for a "negotiated solution" with the opposition Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR)/FMLN. The basic aim: to preserve the core of the now-disintegrating bourgeois armed forces.

The FDR calls for a new "people's army" which, however, is to include "non-corrupt, patriotic and worthy elements of the present army." Worthy elements? The death squads will never be eliminated so long as the bourgeois officers corps which spawns them is left intact. The Salvadoran masses suffer the poverty and repression of backward *capitalism*, and they can only be liberated by a workers and peasants government—a proletarian revolution which sweeps away the landowners, industrialists, bankers and army officers who together form a single ruling class.

Now the moment of truth in El Salvador is at hand. After 50 years of repressive military rule, the last four an especially brutal reign of terror, it is urgently necessary to mobilize the urban working class to take power to end the bloodbath. It was the mass marches and labor strikes in San Salvador and its working-class suburbs that initiated the current revolutionary period. Now with the hated regime tottering, the mass uprising of urban workers and poor could drive the nails into the coffin of the rule of the oligarchs and their military guard dogs.

To be successful this fight must break the narrow bonds of nationalism in which the petty-bourgeois FDR/FMLN leadership seeks to confine it. Like their counterparts, the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, the FDR/FMLN tops seek to prevent class war and secure a separate peace with rapacious U.S. imperialism.

But Reagan has made it clear that Sandinista capitulations and FDR/FMLN peace proposals only whet his appetite. Reagan is backing his butchers with arms and money, has 5,000 GIs out on open-ended maneuvers in Honduras and has stationed war fleets off each coast with another 20,000 American troops aboard. U.S. bases at Comayagua and Choluteca in Honduras are within easy striking range of both El Salvador and Nicaragua. And the recent

Hoagland/Gamma-Liaison

Avenge victims of right-wing death squads!

shooting down of the U.S. army helicopter over Nicaragua shows just how explosive the situation is.

The U.S. is poised for invasion. To defeat U.S. imperialism's bloody designs requires the revolutionary mobilization of the Central American workers and peasants in a struggle without borders. This is the strategy that imperialism fears most and one that the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the FDR/FMLN and the Sandinistas will never lead. Only a Trotskyist party armed with the program of permanent revolution can provide that leadership.

Reagan's Butchers on the Run

The current rebel offensive in El Salvador began in September with a spectacular attack on the army barracks in San Miguel, the nation's third largest city. A full rebel brigade of some 1,000 soldiers laid siege for 10 hours, bombarding the government base with 81-millimeter and 120-millimeter mortars trucked into position on the outskirts of the city. This was the opening salvo of an offensive which has brought most of the eastern third of the country under guerrilla control. At least 31 towns and villages have been added to the 11 already under rebel control before the offensive began.

The rebel victory at El Paraiso was an indication of its growing superiority. A modern base designed by American military advisers, El Paraiso was supposed to be invulnerable. The guerrillas struck while much of the garrison was on patrol or on holiday leave. The rebels took control of the fort after a fierce mortar barrage. It was the biggest guerrilla victory of the war, with the government suffering over 300 killed (including two colonels), wounded or captured.

In the context of such defeats morale among the government soldiers is approaching rock bottom. As a result of the effective guerrilla tactic of releasing prisoners to the Red Cross, government soldiers increasingly are choosing to surrender when attacked in force. Since September well over 600 have surrendered. Entire companies have surrendered, such as in Anamorós last November where 135 men gave up and handed over their weapons in the single largest surrender of the war. Others simply run. In Tejutepeque a 180-man unit in defensive position broke under attack, many running to a nearby town where they changed into civilian clothes. This is an army on the point of collapse. Many of the government soldiers are teenagers press-ganged into service at gunpoint, with no loyalty and nothing to fight for but their own skins. When the final break comes, it could be a sudden coming apart at the seams, like the collapse of the ARVN in South Vietnam.

In its death agony the Salvadoran military command only becomes more desperate and bloodthirsty. In September in a battle for Tenancingo, government A-37 Dragonfly warplanes indiscriminately bombed the town, killing over 100 civilians and destroying 60 percent of its buildings. In a November atrocity involving the same U.S.-trained Atlacatl Battalion, another 100 civilians were killed in three separate incidents near Lake Suchitlán. In one incident troops firing automatic weapons forced 30 civilians into the lake where most drowned. In another, 20 women and children were herded into a house and machine-gunned.

The tragedy is that the FDR/FMLN leaders do not want to win the war, but cling to the notion of a "political settlement." FDR president Guillermo Ungo laid it out clearly in a 25 October 1983 *Village Voice* interview. "We are not looking for a military victory, because no one wants prolonged war. Such a victory could be achieved on a prolonged basis but leaves more chance of American intervention, and nobody wants that. So the best and safest way is to achieve a political settlement." What kind of government does Ungo propose? He favors a "balanced, broad-based government" in which left and far right share power. So the FDR/FMLN is prepared to trade its battlefield victories and the blood of 40,000 *compañeros* for a few cabinet portfolios and more empty promises. Anything to prevent social revolution. The coffee barons would maintain their stranglehold and the death squads would continue to ride.

As we have insisted, only military victory by the leftist insurgents can smash the death squads and open the way to a workers and peasants government. To preserve that triumph from Yankee imperialism the Salvadoran masses must link up their struggle with that of the Nicaraguan masses and spread social revolution throughout the isthmus. Ultimately the Central American masses must join forces with the powerful and restless Mexican proletariat to crush the oppressors and open up a future for the children who now have none. That is why we say, "Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents!—For Workers Revolution Throughout Central America!" ■

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CHICAGO

Angola...

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Angola.

After the battle with Cuban troops at Cuvelai, Pretoria claimed 342 enemy dead but admitted at least 21 of its own were killed—the highest number of South African casualties in any of its Angola invasions. And since these white supremacists, like the Israeli Zionists, believe one white South African is worth a hundred black Africans or Cubans, casualties have the corresponding demoralizing effect on their armed forces.

Talk about a "state-supported international terrorist conspiracy"! Consider the sinister Washington-Pretoria anti-Soviet axis. Ever since Angola and Mozambique won independence, South Africa routinely has engaged in terror raids, sabotage, espionage and economic warfare to turn these and other economically backward neighboring black states into vassals of South African imperialism. For example, in Mozambique disruption of communications by South African-backed rebels combined with a drought produced 40,000 deaths from starvation.

Sections of the American and West European ruling classes fear that Pretoria's imperial appetites could destabilize the region and the apartheid citadel as well. U.S. assistant secretary of state Crocker warned that southern Africa could "end up a replica of the worst aspects of the Middle East." These "enlightened" imperialists point out that Angola's two biggest industries, oil and diamonds, are still owned and controlled by U.S. and South African capital respectively. They propose to woo Luanda's bourgeois-nationalist regime away from Havana and Moscow. But the African nationalists know all too well that Reagan's "linkage" ("independence" for Namibia in exchange for withdrawal of Cuban troops) would only "link" Angola to South Africa in a Namibia-style colonial relationship.

In any case, however distasteful the apartheid butchers may be to liberal imperialists, South Africa has become an increasingly important ally of America's global anti-Soviet war drive. The necessary connection between hideous racist oppression and anti-Communism is graphically underscored by the thousands of Polish Solidarność-lovers who have emigrated from "totalitarian" Poland to South Africa where whites are "free" to live off the superexploitation of enslaved black labor.

The Soviet-backed Cuban military forces not only protect Angolan independence and the struggle for freedom in Namibia. They also shake South Africa from within. Every time they give the white supremacists a bloody nose in Angola, it emboldens the brutally oppressed non-white masses of South Africa to fight to throw off their shackles. The stinging defeat of South Africa's 1976 invasion was followed by the Soweto rebellion and a rising tide of black proletarian militancy and unionization struggles. From the gold mines of the Rand to the docks of Durban, this awakening black proletariat is the revolutionary powerhouse for the smashing of apartheid and for full emancipation throughout southern Africa through socialist revolution. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Cuban Troops Defend Black Angola

South African Racists Driven Back

"If Americans can afford a Grenada, so can we," bragged South African army chief Constand Viljoen. No doubt the sight of those white boys with guns pushing around black Grenadians and overpowering dark-skinned Cubans stimulated the salivary glands of Pretoria's apartheid butchers. In December they launched another major military offensive, the fifth in recent years, against black-ruled Angola, complete with Reagan-style denunciations of the Soviet "menace" and Begin-style calls for the blood of guerrilla "terrorists." According to Pretoria 2,000 of its troops (Luanda stated 10,000) drove 150 miles into Angola while its warplanes bombed villages. South Africa claims its targets were guerrilla bases of the South West

Salgado/Gamma-Liaison

Thousands of Cuban troops, armed with Soviet weapons, stand as border guards of Angola's hard-won independence against South African imperialists.

African People's Organization (SWAPO) who have been fighting for 18 years to liberate neighboring Namibia from the boot of South African colonialism; in fact, the hundreds of victims of the apartheid state's *blitzkrieg* were unarmed villagers.

But Angola is not going to be another Grenada, where a few hundred poorly armed but tenacious Cuban construction workers were finally subdued by 6,000 "crack" Yankee troops, 30 warships and dozens of warplanes after one week of fighting. When Angolan nationalists finally won independence in 1975 after a bloody decades-long struggle, South Africa launched a massive invasion, backed by the U.S., attempting to install its puppets in power. U.S. imperialism, fresh from its humiliating military defeat in Vietnam, was unable to intervene directly, and the apartheid terrorists were driven out of Angola through the introduction of thousands of dedicated Cuban troops. Now numbering between 25,000 and 30,000, these Cuban troops, armed with Soviet tanks and SAM missiles, are the border guards of Angola's hard-won independence against the apartheid regime in Pretoria and its big brothers in Washington.

As Pretoria's troops drove towards Luanda, Moscow initiated consultations with Cuba and Angola to further strengthen Angola's "defenses, independence and territorial integrity" (*New York Times*, 13 January). On January 15, South African troops withdrew from

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Freedom and Jobs Back for CWA Militants!

Supporters Fill Courtroom for Lauren and Ray

On January 6, 50 supporters of victimized phone-strike militants Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero filled the Hayward Municipal courtroom in Alameda County, California. It was the third time that unionists, socialists and other opponents of the government's vindictive frame-up were mobilized by the Phone Strikers Defense Committee (PSDC) to make their determined presence felt in the courtroom. In the fighting tradition of class-struggle defense work, the PSDC is pursuing every avenue of legal defense while placing no confidence in the class "justice" of the capitalist courts. It is through militant protest and public exposure of the racist anti-union frame-up that pressure can be brought to bear on the D.A. and the phone company to *drop the charges* and reinstate the militants in their jobs.

Lauren and Ray, an interracial couple, were targeted because they did their duty as unionists on the picket line during last summer's national phone strike. On picket duty in the Klan-infested suburb of San Leandro, Lauren was assaulted by a racist scab/manager, Michelle Rose Hansen, who called her a "black nigger bitch" and struck her in the face. Lauren defended herself, and Ray came to her assistance. For defending themselves and their picket line against racist attack, Lauren and Ray were fired and brought up on multiple felony charges that could put them in state prison for years.

As we go to press, Lauren and Ray are awaiting a court ruling, now scheduled for January 17, on a defense motion demanding the charges be dropped. The motion also asks for extensive "discovery" from the District Attorney's office of materials accumulated by various agencies before, during and after the strike. The defense charges that

WV Photo

such materials will show the massive *conspiracy* between the police agencies (cops, D.A.'s office, FBI, California attorney general, etc.) and the phone company, whereby the cops and courts have acted as strikebreakers in the direct service of Pacific Telephone, picking out and framing up picket-line militants while helping scabs intimidate and assault strikers.

In addition to the defense attorneys' declaration arguing the "discovery" demands, the defense motion includes 29 pages of testimony from phone workers active on the picket lines during the strike. These depositions reveal how the phone company used the cops as their private army of strikebreakers. They document a pattern of cop-protected management violence against picketers, for which *no scabs have been prosecuted*. (Excerpts from defense counsel Anne Flower Cumings' "Declaration" appear on page 6; excerpts from the phone workers' testimony appear on page 7.)

On this basis the defense is asking that all charges against Lauren and Ray be immediately dismissed on the grounds of "discriminatory prosecution": "The grounds for this Motion are that these charges are the result of intentional and purposeful discriminatory enforcement of the law" and violate constitutionally protected due process rights. The precedent for this motion in California is a similar challenge brought by the farm workers union in 1975.

The defense motion constitutes a forthright political counterattack against the union-busting cops and courts. It is because Lauren and Ray have taken a clear class approach, basing their political and legal strategy on the crucial right to have *real* picket lines and defend them, that unionists have rallied to their side. Among those

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 347

3 February 1984

Fight Cold War II Witchhunt!

Atlanta Journal-Constitution

Secret Service men panic on Georgia golf course.

Hosefros/NY Times

Bunkerizing the White House: cement barricades close "truck-bomb gap."

Why Reagan Needs "Terrorism"

It was Day One of 1984, so what could be more natural than the news that the FBI is planning "a major expansion of a national computerized file to distribute information about people who are considered suspicious but are not wanted for crimes" (*New York Times*, 1 January). Just who is Big Brother looking for? Drug traffickers, organized crime, "terrorists" (that is, anybody fitting the government's definition of terrorism). More generally, anybody who is "known to be, believed to be, likely to be..." will set the red lights flashing. To justify this major escalation of the state's repressive apparatus ("law enforcement capabilities") comes a mounting "terrorism" scare.

The 31 January *Washington Post* features a "leaked" front-page story on a new "crackdown" coming out of Meese's Justice Department. The article says new anti-terrorism laws are "in the final clearance stage at Justice." The proposals would use the "conspiracy" trap to go after U.S. citizens the government says "support" terrorism. (The West German government has used the same legal strategy to viciously prosecute lawyers who defend people accused of terrorism.) The new laws would create a kind of government "bounty" for private investigators of "terrorism" and would criminalize financial support to targeted causes.

The *Washington Post* article presents as justification for the proposed repression laws a big blast of CIA black propaganda worthy of Claire Sterling or the "Spike" gang. The paper's unnamed "source" declares that "terrorism is a growth industry abroad" and goes on to demonstrate that disinformation is a growth industry at home by dishing up the whole nonsense list, from the Bulgarian "pope plot" to allegations of "60 major training camps" for terrorists (the only terrorist named in the article is the indispensable phantom "Carlos").

Back in the McCarthy days it was "reds under the beds"; today, in Cold War II, you're supposed to find Carlos in the closet. So now, if you are known to be, believed to be, likely to be or may be on Ronald Reagan's "enemies list," you could be blown away in the night.

After the FBI announced its new Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines last March, we published the

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Red Squad Meets "Blue Thunder"

LAPD Martial Law Olympics

LOS ANGELES—The Reagan government's outcry against "terrorism" has as its real object gearing up the bourgeois state apparatus for witchhunting and destruction of its political opponents. Not far behind is the notorious Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD). The LAPD, working in close conjunction with the FBI, has seized on the upcoming Olympic Games as a pretext to virtually declare martial law. In recent weeks the bourgeois authorities have gone on a full-scale dress rehearsal for next summer, with everything from sweeps through black areas in Pasadena and South-Central Los Angeles to search for weapons, to an incredible "anti-terrorist" airport raid on LAX where two dozen cab drivers were rounded up as "illegal aliens."

Meanwhile, the city council is considering an ordinance to ban demonstrations during the Games, while the cops at the ritzy University of Southern California campus, which adjoins the Olympics site, have been granted special powers to arrest for "probable cause." Now any black seen on the USC campus after dark could easily wind up in jail—or worse. And that's nothing yet: come next summer, there will be 50 police agencies beefed up by *16,000* private cops crawling all over the L.A. metro area as part of "Operation Torchlight."

The LAPD is not only undoubtedly the best armed police force in the U.S., it behaves as a semi-bonapartist paramilitary operation which fantasizes itself the civilian equivalent of the Army Rangers or 82nd Airborne. At the time of Jimmy Carter's failed mission to rescue the hostages in Teheran, LAPD chief Daryl Gates was quoted: "Gates said he stood by his belief that given proper logistical support, 100 men from the Special Weapons and Tactics Team (SWAT) could rescue the hostages" (*Los Angeles Times*, 26 April 1980). The LAPD's targets, however, are not Shi'ite militiamen armed with AK-47s, but the civilian black population. For sheer cold-blooded murder—from the murderous choke holds which have claimed scores of victims, to the horrendous slaying of five-year-old black child Patrick Mason, to the execution of black football star Ron Settles—the racist police departments in L.A. and the surrounding towns have few equals.

Blue Thunder and the Olympics

So while the city fathers are drooling over the money they expect to rake in next summer, the black and Latin populace is already bracing for an intensification of racist terror. The cops' desires for extraordinary powers for the summer of 1984—and beyond—was dramatically portrayed in a recent Hollywood movie, *Blue Thunder*. The film, scripted well before serious prepar-

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Columbia Pictures

Blue Thunder: fact or fiction?

Fight the New McCarthyism!

The Partisan Defense Committee is appealing to all of you for financial help in fighting "McCarthyism with a drawn gun." If there is a simple, practical lesson to be drawn from the terrible times of Senator Joe McCarthy, it is this: better to organize and fight. When facing government set-up and fascist provocation, it is time to defend our rights and our lives with every resource we can muster. The PDC, founded on the principles of class-struggle defense work, is raising funds for the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League lawsuit against the FBI's new "Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines." These "Guidelines" are a mandate for new COINTELPRO-type operations of "disruption," set-up and outright murder against political opponents of the government, targeting particularly Marxist organizations and black groups.

The deadly new McCarthyism flows straight from the poisonous climate of anti-Soviet war preparation and rampaging racist terror. As the witchhunters' machinery is retooled, Marxists and others are branded as "terrorists" and violent criminals, as an excuse for them to be shot first and questioned later. The PDC calls on all those concerned about civil liberties, on black activists and defenders of black people's rights, on unionists and socialists to take a stand in their own defense by supporting the Spartacist lawsuit against the FBI.

The PDC backed the SL lawsuit and public campaign which in 1981 forced the California Attorney General to retract the characterization of the SL as "terrorist" in his "Organized Crime" report. Financial support raised by the PDC helped build the Labor/Black Mobilization of 5,000 which stopped the Ku Klux Klan in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982. The SL and PDC are still raising money to pay for the over $30,000 spent in the successfully concluded campaign which forced the *Washington Times*, sinister daily newspaper of the Moonie cult, to retract its libel of the Labor/Black Mobilization and its organizers, falsely portrayed as seeking violence against the cops—a libel which fit right in with the FBI "Guidelines" defining Marxists as terrorist criminals.

The PDC is proud to have helped secure these important victories for the democratic rights of the working class and the oppressed. We urge each of you to do your part with a generous contribution now. Send your contribution to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

Reagan Needs "Terrorism"...

(continued from page 1)

following scenario:

> "You are driving down a road one night and get pulled over by the cops. A name goes into the computer, and comes out 'terrorist'... 'member of a violent criminal enterprise.' What happens then? Ask some Black Panther survivors of the 1960s what it means to be tagged as a terrorist by the feds."
>
> —"FBI Red-Hunt," *WV* No. 327, 8 April 1983

Just a horror story? It can't happen here, not to me? This is Reagan's America; this year "war is peace," first-strike MX missiles aimed at Russia are called "peacekeepers," and political opponents of the government are "terrorists." The U.S. sends a "peace" force of Marines and battleships to Lebanon and infiltrates fascistic mercenaries called "freedom fighters" into Nicaragua. In 1984 the real terrorists with state power, armed with every available means of destruction, are hunkered down in the White House behind massive concrete barriers crying, "The terrorists are coming! The terrorists are coming!"

And now the man in charge of the Cold War II witchhunt will be Reagan's new attorney general, Edwin Meese, the man who laughs at hunger and one of the ideologues of the new McCarthyism. Meese participated in the nine-volume Heritage Foundation report which calls for a new era of "Un-American" committees and for the active legal legitimization of the COINTELPRO-style operations: the breaking-and-entering, the wiretaps, the provocateurs, the whole gamut of murderous dirty business that included shooting Black Panther militants in their beds. As deputy district attorney in Alameda County, California Meese busted the Berkeley Free Speech Movement in 1964; a decade later as Governor Reagan's chief of staff he ordered the fiery immolation of the Symbionese Liberation Army in a stormtrooper assault by more than 300 L.A. cops. Perhaps Meese, for whom soup lines are just people cashing in on a free lunch, will now discover that the hungry are really terrorists in disguise.

The new anti-terrorism got into high gear after the blowing up of U.S. Marine headquarters in Beirut last October 23. The Reagan administration countered with the Grenada invasion to divert attention from its Lebanon fiasco, and with the terrorism scare at home. We have to close the truck-bomb gap, said the Reaganites as they blocked White House entrances with sand-filled dump trucks. (When these were replaced by "anti-terrorist planters," Reagan called it "just normal security precautions.") Soon concrete highway dividers were being placed in front of the Pentagon; officials at the State Department no longer wanted offices facing the street. It was made known that the Presidential guard is equipped with "Stinger" surface-to-air missiles, to defend against air attacks.

Next to the terrorism scare, nothing was sacred. Take the case of poor Mrs. Rita Warren, who for years has set up the Christmas nativity scene complete with straw-filled manger on the Capitol Building steps. This year she didn't get away unscathed, as the anti-terrorism squad upended her large plastic figures looking for god knows what inside Mary, Joseph and the three wise men. "Not the Baby Jesus," said Mrs. Warren, noting that "It's terrible for Americans, this terrorism stuff" (*New York Times*, 20 December 1983).

Nothing is lacking in the anti-terrorism campaign except for the terrorists. What has there really been in the way of purported left-wing terrorism in the last 20 years? A few really nasty bombings—indiscriminate terror—by the Puerto Rican nationalist FALN, like the hideous Fraunces Tavern bombing; a bloody incident at La Guardia airport that no one took credit for; a New Leftist bombing of an army lab at the University of Wisconsin, killing one; the famous West 11th Street townhouse bombing when some Weathermen managed to blow themselves up. Indeed the scare campaign would benefit by a few more examples; since the U.S government already funds and directly or indirectly operates dozens of shadowy right-wing groupings of violent émigré and domestic "ultras," it's not hard to imagine a lucrative sideline of "left"-sounding provocations for these sinister formations. What's important is the mood the rulers are trying to create in this country, to justify increased secret police spying, harassment, disruption, sabotage, prosecution and jailing of labor, left groups, black militants and other perceived political opponents.

Anti-Terrorism '84 has already produced its bizarre episodes. In Texas an army general deep in debt decided to commit suicide, attempting to pin the deed on terrorists by leaving a note: "Captured, tried, convicted of crimes by the U.S. Army against the people of the world. Sentenced and executed." An American G.I. in West Germany who went AWOL after a quarrel with his wife claimed he was kidnapped by terrorists. But while the U.S. Navy battle fleet off Lebanon is training for defense against kamikaze attacks by Iranian-piloted Piper Cubs, in a more serious vein the city of Los Angeles is preparing to decree a virtual state of siege for the 1984 Summer Olympics (see "LAPD Martial Law Olympics" in this issue).

The Terror Times

Indeed the terrorism scare, for all its overtones of low comedy, is no laughing matter for any of its intended victims. It has a sinister and deadly purpose: to gear up America for war against the Soviet "evil empire" and for a red-hunt at home. The *New York Times*, a newspaper and so much more than a newspaper, has been leading the charge with scare headlines: "U.S. Seems to Be Target of New Strain of Terrorism" (13 December 1983), "Moynihan Sees Real Threat of Bombings in U.S. in 1984" (14 December), "Shadow of Terrorism Falls Across the U.S." (18 December). Since even the way the FBI counts, terrorist incidents in the U.S. have dropped, the *Times* has also practiced the fine art of turning the lack of credible menace into more grounds for the scare campaign: "F.B.I. Head Says Terrorism in U.S. Is Down but Fear Rises" (15 December) and "Most U.S. Cities Are Taking No Special Measures to Curb Terrorism" (27 December). To end the year came an extensive *Times* survey, "State-Sponsored Terror Called a Threat to U.S." (30 December). Another article the same day reports that, in addition to the traditional war games, U.S. generals are now to be put through "terrorism games."

The top cops explain that terrorism must be "stopped" before it starts, and only better repression ("intelligence") can do the job. And with a 43 percent budget increase since Reagan took office in 1981, the "Justice" Department is the only government agency whose expenditures have risen faster than "Defense" (war). Key to this "law enforcement" offensive are the new Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines and the expanded functions of the

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Terrorism and Communism

TROTSKY

LENIN

What we are concerned with is not at all the defence of "terrorism" as such. Methods of compulsion and terrorisation down to the physical extirpation of its opponents have up to now advantaged, and continue to advantage in an infinitely higher degree the cause of reaction, as represented by the outworn exploiting classes, than they do the cause of historical progress, as represented by the proletariat. The jury of moralists who condemn "terrorism" of whatever kind have their gaze fixed really on the revolutionary deeds of the persecuted who are seeking to set themselves free....

To-day the pious enemy of terrorism is keeping up by the help of organized violence a "peaceful" system of unemployment, colonial oppression, armed forces and preparation for fresh wars.

The present work, therefore, is far away from any thought of defending terrorism in general. It champions the historical justification of the proletarian revolution. The root idea of the book is this: that history down to now has not thought out any other way of carrying mankind forward than that of setting up always the revolutionary violence of the progressive class against the conservative violence of the outworn classes.

—Leon Trotsky, *Terrorism and Communism* (1920)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 347 **3 February 1984**

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How CIA and Church Smuggled Nazi War Criminals

The Vatican "Rat Line"

If it's Nazi war criminals you're after, a good rule of thumb is "look for the pope." The Catholic church's complicity with fascist war crimes has been known (and covered up) for years: how Pius XII turned a deaf ear to reports of Hitler's mass extermination of Jews during World War II; how after the war the church hierarchy helped fleeing SS officials escape to Latin America. Recently, as Nazi hunters have dug deeper into the Barbie affair, documenting how the Gestapo "Butcher of Lyons" was hired by U.S. army intelligence and later slipped into Bolivia, they have pinpointed a Catholic priest as one of the key links in the "rat line" which funneled Nazis out of Europe. Last week a top secret 1947 U.S. State Department report was leaked to the press which makes the Vatican Nazi connection official.

The 26 January *New York Times* revealed the existence of the 1947 report by a Foreign Service officer in Rome, Vincent La Vista, which "called the Vatican 'the largest single organization involved in the illegal movement of immigrants,' including Nazis." The report goes on to say that "in countries where the church is a controlling or dominating factor, the Vatican has brought pressure to bear which has resulted in the foreign missions of those Latin American countries taking an attitude almost favoring the entry into their country of former Nazi and former Fascists or other political groups, so long as they are anti-Communists."

La Vista listed the names of 22 clerics linked to the illegal emigration. But the key to the Nazi-smuggling operation was reportedly the notorious Dr. [Willi] Nix. As the *New York Times* quoted:

> "'After a very cautious investigation,' the report went on, 'this writer was able to learn that several weeks ago, the Italian Government after a secret investigation, had ordered the arrest of Dr. Nix.' Yet, it went on, 'only a matter of minutes before Dr. Nix's actual apprehension, he was able to learn of his imminent arrest and fled to the Vatican where he is now residing. It has always been suspected that Dr. Nix was operating under the benevolent protection of the Vatican. His flight and present sanctuary in Vatican City is positive proof of this fact'."

The *Times*, which obtained the report from Holocaust historian Charles L. Allen, confirmed its authenticity with the U.S. National Archives.

The 1947 State Department report came to light in conjunction with the current campaign by Paris-based Nazi hunters Serge and Beate Klarsfeld to extradite Nazi war criminal Walter Rauff from his lair in Pinochet's Chile. Rauff, a former SS colonel, was the inventor and overseer of the mobile death vans, the so-called "Black Ravens," in which hundreds of thousands of East European Jews were gassed. Rauff himself signed a secret report dated 5 July 1942 noting that since the previous December "97,000 have been processed." In the obscene tradition of Adolf Eichmann, Rauff told a Chilean court in 1962 that although "I helped organize the truck service" which was "used to produce death by asphyxia," he was only following "superior orders"! After the bloody 1973 Santiago coup, Rauff helped set up the infamous DINA, Pinochet's secret police responsible for the torture and murder of thousands of Chilean leftists. (Allende never touched the past and future mass murderer on the grounds that he didn't have the legal authority to do so! But Rauff and Pinochet put their class interests higher than capitalist legality.)

Rauff, together with Nazi "doctor" Josef Mengele, believed to be living in Paraguay, is one of the most wanted Nazi war criminals still at large. As a result of increasing publicity, Israel, which has excellent military/diplomatic relations with the Chilean dictatorship and has known of Rauff's whereabouts for years and done nothing about it, now has finally been induced to request his extradition. In his 1962 report to the Chilean court, SS killer Rauff testified how after his arrest by American troops he escaped and with the aid of the Vatican relocated himself and his family. "I was helped by a Catholic priest to go to Rome where I stayed more or less 18 months, always in convents of the Holy See," Rauff said. "With the help of the Catholic Church, my family was able to escape from the Russian-occupied zone in Germany and come to Rome."

While pointing to the Vatican connection, the *Times* article went out

Santiago, Chile—Nazi hunter Beate Klarsfeld demands extradition of SS mass murderer Walter Rauff.

of its way to insist that "Mr. Klarsfeld said he did not think that the Pope at the time, Pius XII, was aware Mr. Rauff had been given refuge in Vatican-connected facilities." If the pope didn't know, it would only be because at the time he had even bigger Nazis to hide. It was Pius XII himself who set the church's stand on the Nazis. German playwright Rolf Hochhuth in 1963 published the play, "The Deputy," exposing the pope's complicity in the Holocaust. When the church objected, Hochhuth fired back an historical memorandum detailing Vatican knowledge of the genocidal action of the Nazi extermination machine from 1941 on. We wrote in our article, "Polish Pope Can't Wash Hands of Auschwitz. Pilgrimage for Anti-Communism," *WV* No. 234, 22 June 1979:

> "The papacy kept silent for over nine months in 1943 while the Nazis shipped over 1,000 Roman Jews to Auschwitz—many grabbed in the very shadow of the Vatican itself. Above all, because of its fear of communism, the church supported the Nazis and fervently backed the crusade against godless Bolshevism."

The State Department's 1947 report said the Vatican justified Nazi-smuggling to "infiltrate" European and Latin American countries with people whose views were "anti-communist" and "pro-Catholic Church." U.S. intelligence used the same rationale to justify the fact that it took over the Nazi anti-Soviet spy network, the Gehlen organization, virtually intact after the war, removed entire East Europe *Einsatzgruppen* of pro-Nazi killers to safety in the U.S., and staffed its Radio Free Europe with erstwhile fascists-turned-"democrats." The most recently revealed examples, Barbie and Belgian SS officer Robert Jan Verbelen, are only a couple of the *thousands* of Nazi war criminals who continued their murderous anti-Communist work after the war while easily switching their allegiances from Hitler's Third Reich to the U.S. imperialist-dominated Free World. The Soviet Union, in contrast, thoroughly rooted out the fascist killers. We demand that Walter Rauff be handed over to the USSR, which has requested his extradition for years, so that he can be brought to justice before a tribunal of his surviving victims!

Pope John Paul Wojtyla has made it his mission to galvanize the Catholic church as the spearhead of the anti-Soviet crusade. Under Pius XII it certainly played that role during Cold War I, as Catholic Action was the cutting edge of anti-Communist purges in the labor movement both in Europe and America. This was the same purpose behind the church's inspiration of the clerical-reactionary dominated Solidarność "union," whose counterrevolutionary bid for power in Poland was spiked at the last minute on 13 December 1981. The church's allegiance can be seen clearly in Chile today. While it helped Nazi butcher Walter Rauff to escape ultimately to provide "technical advice" to the DINA killers, last week when Chilean MIR leaders sought refuge from Pinochet's secret police at the papal nunciatura, they were told there was no room in Vatican City. ■

Another Lynch Trial Set for Worrie Taylor

Stop Racist Vendetta Against the Taylor Family!

February 27 marks a year since the Taylor family from Michigan and Ohio gathered in Alabama to mourn the death of Mrs. Annie Bell Taylor. Montgomery mayor Emory Folmar is trying to finish the job in the courtroom that his dogs of war started that night when, with guns drawn and shouting racist slurs, plainclothes cops burst into the Taylor family home on Todd Road. But for their courageous self-defense against the marauders the Taylors would not be alive to tell about the assault today. The state couldn't make its monstrous frame-up charges stick last November against the first member of this victimized black family to stand trial. So now the legal lynching of Worrie Taylor resumes with his retrial in Montgomery Circuit Court on February 6.

Once again Worrie Taylor must sit across a narrow table from the armed intruders who would have destroyed his family had not the Taylors disarmed the cops. The state means to make the Taylors pay for their "crime" of exercising their legitimate right to self-defense. Folmar and the Montgomery police department are defending a way of life no less than the slave patrols of the Confederacy. Last November D.A. Evans asked in his summary, "If you break into my home, I'll kill you. Is that the message you want to send out of this community?" When 150 black people in the courtroom replied "yes," it sent shivers down the racists' spines.

Worrie Taylor, 49, was temporarily reprieved by a hung jury last November 27. But they cannot stand to let him go. They know they must get a conviction before they can move on to try four other members of the Taylor family also facing charges which could put them away for 20 years in the hellhole of Alabama state prison. Montgomery blacks are just as aware that this vicious frame-up must be defeated. Despite the presence of virtually the entire police force in the courtroom last November, hundreds of black people jammed the courtroom. In the North, hundreds of supporters have come out to black church rallies in Pontiac, Michigan and Warren, Ohio. Last fall 139

Lillie Bell Taylor and Worrie Taylor in Montgomery court.

Detroit area unionists, labor and black leaders, principally UAW workers at Ford's River Rouge, signed an urgent telegram demanding "No Extradition of Chris Taylor!" They know that the *lives* of these Northern black workers are at stake at the hands of Alabama-style lynch-law "justice." This consciousness must be mobilized in massive protest actions, North and South, of support for the Taylors to keep the racist thugs at bay. Drop the charges against the Taylors! No extradition of Chris Taylor! Jail the racist cops! A million dollars compensation to the persecuted Taylors!

Scab Kills Picket in Bay Area OCAW Strike

Avenge Labor Martyr Gregory Goobic!

OAKLAND, January 25—Over 500 unionists from more than a dozen union locals marched today in poignant silence from the small OCAW (Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers) Local 1-326 union hall in Rodeo, California to the Union 76 oil refinery where 330 workers have been out on strike against company takebacks since January 17. The workers mobilized in protest and outrage against the January 20 murder of their fellow unionist and well-liked coworker, 20-year-old Gregory Goobic. Goobic was killed instantly when the scab driver of an 18-wheeler accelerated into Goobic and Paul Griffith, the 19-year-old black union member on picket duty with him that night. Griffith said the scab "went for both of us. I barely jumped out of the way" (*Contra Costa Times*, 20 January).

Two hours later, Goobic's body still lay on the ground behind a line thrown up by the police, his hat and fallen picket sign on the ground and his bicycle parked nearby. Though his union brothers and even his weeping parents (except for a brief look) were kept back from the body, a company boss was allowed in close enough to stand gloating in Goobic's blood. Union secretary John Billecci said, "When (the strikers) saw the refinery manager standing in (Goobic's) blood, it was really upsetting.... They came back with tears in their eyes. They said he was just standing there, staring down the strikers with his arms crossed and his feet in the blood." The killer, 51-year-old Robert Earl Carper, was booked only on vehicular (involuntary) manslaughter charges and released on $3,000 bail. We say: Scab Carper is guilty of murder—Lock him up for good!

The tragic death of young Gregory Goobic follows an escalating pattern of company violence against strikers at Union Oil (where another picketer suffered leg injuries when he was struck by a company security guard's car), in the Bay Area and nationally. Demonstrators took hundreds of *Workers Vanguard* supplements to read about the case of Ray Palmiero and Lauren Mozee, the two telephone strikers facing four-year prison terms for the "crime" of self-defense against a racist manager's assault on a CWA picket line in San Leandro, California last August.

One rally speaker, ILWU Local 6 president Al Lannon, cited the shooting deaths of two strikers that sparked the 1934 San Francisco general strike and also recalled the 1976 killing of a Local 6 member on the Handyman picket line.

Strike Update

The OCAW strike at Rndeo and Wilmington, California ended January 30. The wage terms follow the rotten Gulf Oil pattern (increases of less than 2 percent a year, which in many loeals have heen totally offset hy large inereases in employee-paid insuranee ensts). Although Union 76 did not get the full-blown two-tier wage strueture it sought, the sellout deal included several further concessions, such as a wage freeze for lower-paid workers, a new lahorer's elassifieation exempted from union wage levels, and lesser pay fnr trainees.

Gregory Goobic

WV Photo

Black armbands placed at site of anti-labor murder.

Another spoke of Randy Hill, the Teamster killed by a scab driver in nearby Vacaville in 1978. Mike Kirchanski of ATU Local 1225 referred to Ray Phillips, the Ohio picket captain killed by a scab driver during the recent Greyhound strike. Kirchanski also addressed the main issue in the strike, the so-called "two-tiered" wage system where a lower wage is instituted for new hires or anyone transferred into a different job classification, amounting to a 40 percent wage cut. "Greyhound gave it to us; they're going to try to give it to you. Don't take it! It's the end of your union, the end of your ability to stay unified!"

Other union officials from OCAW and the Central Labor Council spoke about how the attack on Union Oil workers began with the defeat of the PATCO air controllers union, and blamed Goobic's death on the anti-labor climate fomented by labor-hater Reagan. But aside from impotent gestures of a personal consumer boycott ("I'm throwing away my Union 76 credit card until this strike is over") and vague promises to send (a few) members from other locals to walk the picket lines, the piecards who show up for such rallies to proclaim their "solidarity" have no program for winning strikes. Cowed by the threat of injunctions from the bosses' courts limiting the number of pickets, and fearing the mobilized might of their own membership, the bureaucrats do the bosses' own work in keeping the picket lines small and ineffectual. They oppose the action needed to win: mass picketing to stop all traffic in and out of the plant. The picket line is the battle line where strikes stand or fall. Labor must fight to re-establish *in practice* that picket lines mean you *better not cross!*

Contra Costa oil workers are no strangers to the picket line. There were veterans of the 1948 Union Oil strike at today's march. Many strikers recalled the 76-day strike of 1980 and said they felt the gains won then are being stolen back now. There were speakers from OCAW Local 1-5 (Chevron) who won bitter picket line battles with the support of other unions in Richmond in 1969.

But far from learning the lessons of how to win a strike, OCAW leaders have agreed to a company-dictated set of "ground rules" for picketing that guarantee scabbing! In exchange for the union's guarantee of *safe passage* for all scab vehicles and occupants, this is what the union got: "We were given assurances by management that traffic would stop and give pickets an opportunity to present their case in an attempt to turn people around, or let them go through if unsuccessful. Picket captains were reassured. Management said all vehicles would stop," said local recording secretary John Billecci (*Oakland Tribune*, 21 January). But the scab killer didn't stop, Gregory Goobic is now dead, and the scabbing goes on.

At the end of today's march and rally a memorial wreath was fastened to a sign in the intersection where Greg died, and unionists tied their black armbands of mourning to a nearby fence. The demonstrators were then sent home while union officials went back to the hall to plan for another demonstration February 6. Many union members were angry and frustrated. One worker who trained on the job with Goobic bitterly remarked, "A man lost his life, and the refinery's still open and running. Nothing's changed."

Nationally, all the oil companies' union contracts expired January 7, but they were extended under the union's scheme of "pattern bargaining" on a one-company-at-a-time basis where the others supposedly follow the terms of the first settlement. In fact this has the effect of chopping up the striking strength of the workforce. Despite the fact that the profit-bloated oil companies have one of the lowest labor costs in relation to profits of all major industries, this year oil companies are refusing to go along with the Gulf Oil "pattern" because they think they can get on the "concessions" bandwagon. And, unlike the auto industry and most others, where the majority of issues are settled on the national level, in oil the reverse is true. So not only are the oil workers divided up company by company, but even local by local. Thus the Union Oil workers in Rodeo are fighting over a completely different local agreement than their striking brothers and sisters in Union Oil in Wilmington, California, near Los Angeles. For an industrywide strike of all oil workers!

Strikers in the heavily automated refineries traditionally face the fact of scab/managers maintaining high levels of production. Powerful class-struggle weapons like plant occupations and sit-down strikes are necessary to bring to heel the arrogant oil companies. This must be backed up by real labor solidarity from other unions. Workers in maritime, trucking, all unionized workers who are involved in transport, must refuse to handle struck oil!

The speaker from the Greyhound drivers union left the meeting of labor officials shaking his head in frustration, saying, "They just don't understand." But in fact the union bureaucrats do understand: they have an "understanding" that the capitalists have a "right" to own industry and exploit labor; the bosses' government has a "right" to tie labor's hands; and labor should "rightfully" subordinate itself to the bosses' politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties. Their conciliationism has been paid for in the members' blood, and the illusions they build in labor/management cooperation have been proven again to be literally fatal illusions.

The pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy must be dumped and the anti-union tide reversed with a new leadership of labor committed to class struggle. Labor must break with the twin parties of capital, Democrat and Republican, and build a workers party fighting for a workers government. Profit-bloated and price-gouging Big Oil, above all industries, is overripe for expropriation. Gregory Goobic and all of labor's martyrs will be avenged when the ruling class that killed them is replaced by a workers government running society and producing for the benefit of the whole population and not the profits of the few. ■

WV Photos

Rodeo, California, January 25—Over 500 Bay Area unionists march in outrage over scab murder of striking oil worker.

Donkey Work for the Democrats

CWP Caboose on the Jesse Jackson Train

UPI

Jesse Jackson is the shill in Walter Mondale's crooked game.

"You cannot serve the age of those who sat in, you cannot serve the age of those who rode the flaming buses, you cannot serve the age of those who fought the Vietnam War....

"We need not explode through riots as we had to in '63 to be heard.... We can use the ballot to bring about change and transition through elections and not bloody revolution."

Thus speaks the Reverend Jesse Jackson. Among his converts can be counted the ex-radicals who populate the reformist American left. From the Communist Party to Workers World to the Communist Workers Party, Jaekson's campaign for the Democratic Party presidential nomination has been hailed as a symbol of "resistance" and "unity" for all good progressive people. When Jackson preaches to the angry and hideously oppressed black people of this country, "There's a freedom train a comin', but you got to register to ride," these fake-lefts respond with "Amen."

That Jackson is Mr. Black Capitalism himself—Coca-Cola's man in the ghetto—that he is a strikebreaker, a purveyor of chauvinist "protectionism" and an anti-Soviet "patriot" who is hustling black votes for the party of George Wallace presents no problem of "principle" for the reformists. The more practiced sellouts simply assume that support to the black front man for Walter "Fritz" Mondale's race against Reagan is the correct "communist" thing to do. After all, the Communist Party has been electorally supporting the class enemy for over 40 years. (And look where it's gotten them—nowhere).

The ex-Maoist Communist Workers Party (CWP) is having a rougher go in justifying their overt support to Jackson. A national tour this fall by CWP leader Phil Thompson seemed mainly pitched at lining up the CWP membership. Kicking off the tour at Laney College in Oakland, Thompson remarked, "A year ago...if you had told us that we would be sitting here discussing the Jesse Jackson presidential campaign, we would have thought you were crazy." What has changed? "Tens of thousands of people are getting involved" and "if the masses of people are around Jesse Jackson that's where we have to be." In other words, if J.J. can hustle the black vote by selling them a bill of goods, these pseudo-socialists want to get rich quick by feeding the illusions. Hungry? Jobless? Illiterate? Ghettoized? The CWP's program for black America is: let them eat lies.

The CWP wants to get "in on the ground floor of what is becoming a mass movement for Black political power." Since when has the Democratic Party had anything to do with black political power? As Malcolm X put it in 1964: "When you keep the Democrats in power, you're keeping the Dixiecrats in power." In fact, selling your political soul to the racist Democratic Party means betraying the aspirations and struggles of black people in the most crass ways. The CWP is for that reason quite touchy about Jackson's well-publicized glad-handing of George "Segregation Forever" Wallace. As Thompson writes in his article on support to Jackson (*The Eighties*, Fall 1983):

> "A wholly obnoxious and useless poster was printed by the African Peoples Socialist Party showing a picture of Jesse Jackson shaking hands with

continued on page 10

On Jesse Jackson's Campaign

Some People Are Just Waiting in Line To Be Hustled

By Cliff Carter

Cliff Carter, a black trade unionist, is a frequent guest contributor to Workers Vanguard.

Jesse Jackson is making all kinds of promises about what he is going to do, but his promises are impossible for him to fulfill simply because he doesn't have a program to implement any promises. Jesse Jackson is an all-star between the nose and chin.

Jesse Jackson, the politician, will talk and make all kinds of promises the same as Jesse Jackson the preacher will make promises about sending souls to heaven, for the only, only way you can go to Jesse's heaven is to die. And the only way you can get what Jesse the politician promises is to die trying, so either way Jesse's rewards are after death.

Jesse Jackson or any other Democrat (or Republican) cannot give the people one thin dime unless Big Business (the owners of the factories, mines, companies and etc.) gives him permission. The Democratic Party just doesn't have a program to do right for the workers of the United States, and Jesse "James" Jackson is certainly a part of the Democratic Party. Jesse is nothing but a puppet with a big mouth, and this can be said about any other capitalist nominee running for the Democratic or Republican Party to be president.

UPI

J.J. glad-hands George "Segregation Forever" Wallace.

The last presidents were nothing but puppets, Nixon, Ford, Carter and so is Ronald "Wrinkles" Reagan. So Jackson and all the other nominees cannot be anything other than potential puppets. And if you want to "mess up" a puppet show (Jesse Jackson), just go after or stop the puppeteer (Big Business).

It is a crying shame that Jesse James Jackson has a large majority of college and university students believing that he is capable of changing things in the country.

Sometime in August 1983, I predicted that Jesse Jackson would not run for president, simply because the Democratic Party only needed Jackson to get people to register to vote, mainly black people. But the Democratic Party feels as though more blacks will register and vote if "Mister Goodie Two Shoes" Jesse James Jackson is in the presidential running. But now my prediction is, after the Democratic Party feels all the blacks are registered to vote and potential Democratic voters, Jackson will come up with some cock and bull story to drop out of the presidential race.

Jesse Jackson is a sophisticated house negro with a new suit of clothes, top hat and all. Jackson is letting his mouth write checks that his behind cannot cash and he knows this to be true. But, too, a puppet will only dance when his/her strings are pulled.

What the workers need is a Workers Party which is independent of the Democratic and Republican Parties.

Jesse Jackson is a professional hustler with a crooked deck of cards sitting at a game with all the chairs filled and people waiting in line to be hustled. Jesse Jackson went to Alabama and broke bread with George (Segregation Forever) Wallace if nothing else but to show he is a good house negro from another plantation.

Jackson is a member of the Democratic Party, and if you asked him to separate from the capitalistic system and form a Workers Party independent of the Democratic and Republican Parties, poor Jesse would have a fit. Jesse would say the same words as when the house negro was asked by the field negro to run away from the plantation: "Where could I get a better job, where could I get better food to eat, where could I get better clothes to wear and a place like this to stay, man you must be crazy." Jesse is eating good, wearing good clothes and sleeping just fine and he isn't about to change parties where he would have to oppose the capitalistic system which the Democratic and Republican Parties are members of. Poor Jesse would have all kinds of people and groups against him, and too, the Ku Klux Klan would hate Jesse. Jesse must be pro-Klan, for the Klan has proposed to march in any number of cities in the last couple of years and Mr. Jackson hasn't shown up at the spot to stop them yet. How about this Jesse?

Jesse Jackson says he is going to make some changes if he becomes president, and I say to Jesse that he is full of junk, because the only way these changes can be made is start a revolution and Sweet Jesse wouldn't last three minutes as a revolutionary. He would break out in a cold sweat and crawl on his hands and knees back to the Democratic Party. To make changes in the United States (and the whole world) you must have a program, and to make this program work, you must be willing to do some hard and difficult work, Jesse boy.

Jesse James Jackson is anti-trade unions and anti-anybody who is against the Democratic Party.

On December 4, 1983, Lieutenant Robert O. Goodman Jr., a bombardier, was captured by Syrian forces when his plane was shot down during a 28-plane United States air strike against Syrian anti-aircraft positions west of Beirut, Lebanon. Jesse Jackson formed a delegation of clergymen and campaign aides, went to Syria and had a meeting with Syrian President Hafez Assad and on or about January 3, 1984, Lt. Goodman was released to return with Jackson and delegation back to the United States.

This release of Goodman by Jackson and delegation made front page in newspapers around the country, *but* until Jackson and his delegation of clergymen go into the prisons of the United States and give support and voice his opinion concerning all the poor working people that have been wronged (black and white, but especially black), that are victims of this racist capitalist system, then he and company haven't done anything to shout about.

The Democratic Party, and Republican too, have sold the working people down the river long enough for us to see that there isn't any good coming from these two Parties. But sweet words coming out of Jesse "All Star Lip" Jackson such as "I am going to feed everybody" are a whole lot of Bullshit and Jesse knows this to be true. What we need is a Workers Party to take control of working people's needs. ■

Reagan Needs "Terrorism"...

(continued from page 2)

FBI's National Crime Information Center (NCIC), hooked into virtually every cop computer in the U.S. Their data: not crimes or acts, but in FBI chief Webster's words, testifying before Congress in 1982, "What you have is a smell" (quoted in Nat Hentoff, "The Devil and William Webster," *Inquiry*, June 1983).

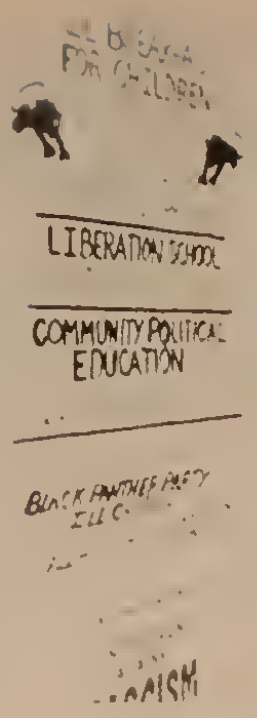
To Webster's sense of smell, there's just one big terrorist group out there, which he connects up by sniffing out "similarities of technique and *rhetoric*" (*New York Times*, 27 December 1983, our emphasis). Webster's special assistant John B. Hotis explained how "With the new guidelines we look at people not just directly involved in violence." So it's back to the old Big Brother McCarthy days of creating and prosecuting thought-crimes and speech-crimes ("advocacy"), with this difference: the Cold War ideological criteria of the '50s are to be combined with the direct COINTELPRO-type hit-squad methods of the '60s. The speech-crimes are equated with "terrorism" and the cop agencies are to behave accordingly; we have called this "McCarthyism with a drawn gun." The government recognizes only two categories of political opponents: either you're a priest or professor who writes a letter to the *New York Times* suggesting that the Salvadoran butchers ought to get a lower grade on their "human rights" report card, or else you're some kind of terrorist.

One of the more sinister aspects of the FBI's computer witchhunt is its use of the Secret Service list of "dangerous persons." This is the first instance of NCIC official monitoring of "political" as opposed to "criminal" subjects. The Secret Service list gets around the 1974 Privacy Act (which says surveillance must be based on bona fide crimes) by claiming the need to track people *potentially* dangerous to the protectee. (Of course the Nazi-cultist Hinckley who shot Reagan was not on the list.) This lays the basis for a computerized ideological hit list.

"Files," observes Frank Donner in *The Age of Surveillance*, "are the cornerstone of all domestic political intelligence systems":

> "The mere fact that information appears in a file in itself becomes a warrant of its truth and accuracy, automatically raising it above the level of its source, however dubious it might otherwise be.... [Files] 'document' the intelligence thesis that dissent is a form of political original sin, permanent, ineurable, and contagious, and impose on the political life of the individual a 'record' that he cannot change...."

Americans don't much like the police-state methods of the FBI. And particularly after U.S. imperialism was defeated in Vietnam, in the post-Watergate exposures tens of thousands of Americans learned they had become "subjects" in FBI files such as the "Stop Index" because of legal antiwar or civil rights activities. The "Stop Index" of 44,000 "subjects" was sent directly to the Secret Service. These exposures led to the Privacy Act and Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). Under that climate of opinion, the secret police claimed to have dismantled files like the "Stop Index." But the FBI has maintained files on those deemed "subversive" for decades. When the old "Security Index" of the 1950s (which designated its "subjects" for concentration camps) was "dismantled," it was resurrected phoenix-like as the "ADEX File." Among the organizations targeted for "special attention" in the ADEX File is the "SPL—Spartacist League." ADEX was supposedly abolished in 1974, but like others we have documentary proof—in the ultra-expurgated FOIA files on SL national chairman James Robertson—that the ADEX was still in operation long after its "abolition," and his name was sent to the Secret Service as a "dangerous person." Indeed the FBI has made it quite clear that they do not destroy files "related to subversive, terrorist, or extremist activities" and such hit lists remain "readily retrievable." Why should anyone believe the new FBI Guidelines will not continue this practice, creating a new "Stop Index" or ADEX list for the COINTELPRO computer?



UPI

Bullet-riddled apartment of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton, murdered by FBI/Chicago red squad in 1969.

State-Supported Terrorism: Made in USA

"International terrorism will take the place of human rights as the chief concern of U.S. foreign policy," declared General Alexander Haig three years ago in his first speech as Reagan's secretary of state. In late 1981 the White House practically declared a state of emergency over a mythical Libyan "hit squad" coming to get the president. By adopting the "international terrorism" vocabulary (the Soviet Union is the "source of all evil," and everyone else the U.S. doesn't like, the Libyans for example, become "Soviet surrogates"), the Reagan gang has taken a leaf from the Israelis' book. For the Zionists all Palestinians are "terrorists" and, in Begin's words, "two-legged beasts" to be destroyed without pity. So when the U.S. government labels Soviet leaders "terrorists" it intends to deal with them like Begin/Shamir want to deal with the Palestinians: to wipe them off the face of the earth. Fortunately for the future of mankind, the Soviets have the wherewithal to defend themselves against the madmen in Washington.

The Reaganite version of the Soviet Union is straight out of James Bond fantasy. When a right-wing Turkish Islamic fanatic shot the pope, Claire Sterling et al. claimed that Yuri Andropov was the man behind the man with the gun in Vatican Square. State Department disinformation mills ran overtime charging the Russians with dropping deadly chemical "yellow rain" on the populations of Laos, Cambodia and Afghanistan. When a top U.S. scientist—formerly a consultant to the State Department and Pentagon—reported that "yellow rain" was actually bee excrement, he became a purported Soviet "dupe."

What's really happened is that the Yanks have suddenly discovered, in their all-out drive to reassert themselves as global gendarmes (and especially after the Beirut bombing), that they are vulnerable. "Terrorism" has come to be synonymous with any reasonably effective assault, or with simple militant opposition. If Arab kids throw rocks, that's "terrorism"; if Israeli troops level a village, that's a legitimate government administering "law and order."

There are some terrorist groups operating in this country—the right-wing ultras: Croatian fascists who plant bombs in airports; anti-Castro Cuban *gusanos* who regularly attempt to assassinate Cuban diplomats and did murder former Chilean ambassador Orlando Letelier in Washington, D.C.; the Jewish Defense League which targets Russian embassies and airline offices. And America's got its native fascists, the Ku Klux Klan and homegrown Hitlerites. In 1979, Klan/Nazi terrorists opened fire on an anti-racist demonstration in Greensboro, North Carolina, killing five supporters of the Communist Workers Party. The fascist killers were acquitted of murder by the courts; now the federal government is staging a cover-up trial with another all-white jury on charges of "civil rights violations."

The real force for state-supported international terrorism in this world is of course the American imperialist ruling class. More than 200 innocent people died when Korean Air Lines Flight 007 was sent over sensitive Soviet military installations in a Cold War provocation engineered by U.S. spy agencies. They use anyone for their dirty jobs—Nazis, Mafia, international drug rings, mercenaries and *gusanos*. From the carpet-bombing and napalming of Indochinese women and children to arming the death squad regimes of Central America, the professional torturers and architects of mass murder have behind them the force and finances of U.S. imperialism. Contrast the firepower of the *USS New Jersey* with that of a booby-trapped Mercedes truck! As always, the strong fight the weak one way, while the weaker forces fight the strong another way—typically using the element of surprise and surreptitiousness. In the eyes of the strong, these tactics are "crazy," "immoral," "terroristic." For the bourgeoisie, "terrorism" is violence associated with causes of which they disapprove, the use of force outside their own monopoly of violence: strikers defending their picket lines, black people protecting their communities against racist nightriders, Central American peasants fighting back against the landlords' army and hired killers.

Fight the New McCarthyism!

The physical destruction and associated political implosion of the Black Panther Party demonstrated in gunfire and blood how the state comes after those tagged as terrorists. So we knew how dangerous it was when in 1981 we discovered our Marxist organization included on a list of left-wing "terrorists," "a dangerous faction with which law enforcement would have to deal."

AP

Oakland cops' high-tech weapon has gun mount, can fire tear-gas cannisters.

The list, issued by George Deukmejian, then the attorney general of California, was a pioneering effort in slandering Marxists as terrorists. It was none other than Edwin Meese who braintrusted this "report" setting up leftists for cop terror while at the same time preparing to use against Marxist groups new legal weapons like the anti-"racketeering" RICO laws. To fight this branding of us as outlaws, we sued witchhunter Deukmejian—and we won. The SL was removed from the hit list and Deukmejian's office had to send the retraction to cop agencies across the country. "Marxists Not Mobsters" was the headline the *San Francisco Examiner* used to sum up this early victory against the government's new red-hunt.

A Spartacist supporter had earlier won another important victory against "terrorist"-hailing. Jane Margolis was an elected delegate to the 1979 national convention of the Communications Workers of America. When President Jimmy Carter came to address the convention, his Secret Service grabbed Jane right off the convention floor, handcuffed her and held her incommu-

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Forum

U.S. Hands Off the World!

Reagan Is War Crazy! Defend the Soviet Union!

Speaker: **Tweet Carter**, SL Central Committee

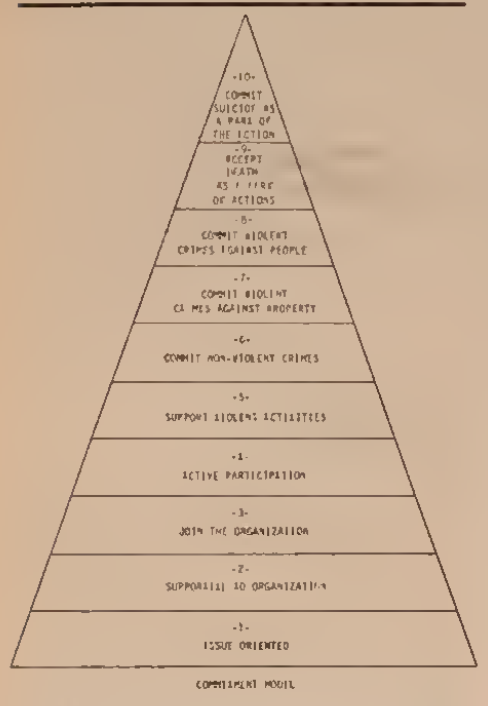
Saturday, February 4
7:30 p.m.
Hyde Park Hilton
4900 South Lake Shore Dr.
For more information
(312) 427-0003
CHICAGO

Saturday, February 11
7:30 p.m.
Cleveland State University
University Center, Rm. 110
For more information
(216) 621-5138
CLEVELAND

Sunday, February 12
7:30 p.m.
Oberlin College
Wilder Hall, YW Lounge
For more information
(216) 775-5839
OBERLIN

nicado. To prevent her from taking the floor as a delegate to voice her political opposition, the Secret Service treated Margolis as if she were a physical threat to the president. But a union-centered campaign, including a lawsuit, by the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment, forced the Secret Service to publicly apologize and hand over $3,000 which Margolis donated to the union defense fund. Now the Secret Service has added its own hit list to the FBI's Big Brother computer.

Last month the Spartacist League secured another very important victory against the witchhunters by forcing a



Pyramid of "terrorism"—A 1976 California "report" on "organized crime" included this diagram, "a conceptual organization model of contemporary urban terrorist groups." In this witchhunters' fantasy, left-wing groups function to link the "issue-oriented" do-gooders at the base to the more "committed" forces who practice violent crimes; the ultimate in "commitment" is portrayed as "revolutionary" suicide.

retraction of "libel that kills" from the Moonie-operated daily, *Washington Times* (see "SL/SYL Vindicated—Moonies Forced to Retract Deadly Libel," *WV* No. 345, 6 January). The Moonies had targeted the Spartacists—falsely charging us with seeking to provoke violence against the police—after we initiated and organized the massive Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the Ku Klux Klan in Washington on 27 November 1982. The Moonies' grotesque lies portraying us as a violence-crazed paramilitary outfit fit in perfectly with the government's terror-smear tactics. The FBI can file lying newspaper stories on suspected "terrorists," give the lies the "authority" of the FBI, build up a fat file on the "subjects," zip it all around on the computer and...the cops have reason and excuse to blow the "terrorists" away.

Our successful lawsuit, forcing the *Washington Times* to publish a retraction, was a victory for the Spartacist League, for the 5,000 mainly black protesters who stopped the Klan and for all the many others who have hailed this anti-racist mobilization, the largest and most militant anti-fascist action in this country in many years. And it struck an important blow at one of the most rabid, lying anti-Communist outfits in America. The Moonies advertise their daily as "the newspaper Moscow hates," and you can be sure the *Washington Times* is a prime source of public "information" for the FBI files. Our victory has helped spike the Moonies' bid for respectability in Reagan's America.

The new McCarthyism must be fought! That's why the SL has mounted an aggressive legal challenge to the new FBI Guidelines, the government's most ambitious attempt to date to legitimize this brand of shoot-first McCarthyism. The SL legal Complaint (see *WV* No. 340, 21 October 1983) argues that the government targets left-wing organizations, not for acts but for their ideas. Despite decades of vicious and intensive investigation—over 60 years for the Communist Party, over 40 years for the Socialist Workers Party and 20 years for the Spartacist League—there have been no prosecutions for violent crime or terrorism. This is "a rather remarkable record considering the duration and scope of such investigation," states the Complaint.

As Reagan's "state-supported" anti-Soviet global terrorism increases, the machinery of open witchhunting goes into place. New laws are drafted for the prosecution and jailing of political opponents. Congress and the courts move toward an "official secrets act" to stop the "leaks"; loyalty tests and polygraph tests for federal employees, "reclassification" of documents, and squeezing off the "Freedom of Information" loophole. During Reagan's three years in office "the number of federal wiretaps and bugs has doubled," reports the *Los Angeles Times* (16 December 1983).

Ominously a federal judge in San Francisco recently ruled that a 49-year-old engineer convicted of espionage can be sentenced to death. In a statement that is practically a word-for-word echo of the infamous Judge Kaufman at the Rosenberg trial, he wrote that "this court finds that capital punishment for espionage is not uniformly disproportionate to the severity of the offense" (*New York Times*, 13 January). And as the Cold War winds blow, so the social democrats are moved to try to kill the Rosenbergs all over again. As we wrote in "FBI Red-Hunt," (*WV* No. 327, 8 April 1983), it is in this context that the FBI Guidelines "represent the culmination of a Cold War witchhunting process."

We're locked into a battle with the forces of terror—the capitalist state. We did not ask to be in the vanguard in fighting the new McCarthyism. But the fight has come to us. As the anti-Soviet war drive heats up and the reformists retreat with ever greater speed, our organization sticks way out as defenders of the Soviet Union and in opposition to the Democratic Party's anti-Reagan popular front. We have taken up the fight first of all in our own self-defense. As we have said, we do not intend to be blown away in the dead of night, nameless, faceless victims. Thus as we defend ourselves we are in the forefront in the fight against this new "McCarthyism with a drawn gun." And this is clearly not only the fight of the Spartacist League but a fight on behalf of all perceived opponents of Reagan reaction.

Government witchhunts are nothing new. Secret police activities are a constant fact of political life in the U.S.A. But intense waves of witchhunting are part of a larger plan to mobilize the population through coercion. Sometimes it is the threat of losing a job. Sometimes it is "just" a file. Sometimes it is direct police terror. But in the modern world, the domestic witchhunt is a reflex in imperialism's war—sometimes hot, sometimes cold—against the gains of the proletariat, above all the gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution. The Palmer Raids were part of the "red scare" after the Bolshevik Revolution shook the world. The McCarthy "Un-American" committees were part of the mobilization for the Cold War after the popular front alliance with Russia in World War II. Preparing the machinery for this wave of witchhunting for Cold War II, the government's "terror scare" has not even a grain of political reality. But the guns of this murderous capitalist state are real enough. And its many intended victims are real. Your "terror file" may already be in the FBI's Big Brother computer. Fight the new McCarthyism—Support the SL suit against the FBI Guidelines!■

We Beat Back "Terrorist" Smears
Fight the New McCarthyism!

The SL has a proud record of fighting this dangerous new red-hunt. In self-defense we have battled the attempt to falsely brand us as terrorists, outlaws to be shot first and questioned later. Under the banner: "A Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!" we have been in the forefront against the Cold War witchhunt. With our suit against the sinister new FBI Guidelines, we continue to defend ourselves and all those targeted by the new McCarthyites.

WV Photo

Moonies Retract Libel That Kills

Letters

The Labor-Black Mobilization march story

Editor's note: On Nov. 30, 1982, The Washington Times ran a story on [illegible] in regard to its [illegible]nstration. We no longer charge that the Spartacist League-Spartacus Youth League provoked the violence on that day.

The Washington Times

[illegible], D.C. on Nov. 27, 1982. The Labor-Black Mobilization was [illegible] and trade unionists, who listened to speeches and took part in militant [illegible] monitor squad, including [illegible] from the [illegible] At 12:40 it was learned that the Klan would not march and as the police withdrew, the demonstrators spontaneously [illegible] Ave. and Lafayette Park, the Klan's intended destination. Thousands streamed up what was to have been the KKK march route, stopped traffic, and exchanged victory salutes with drivers.

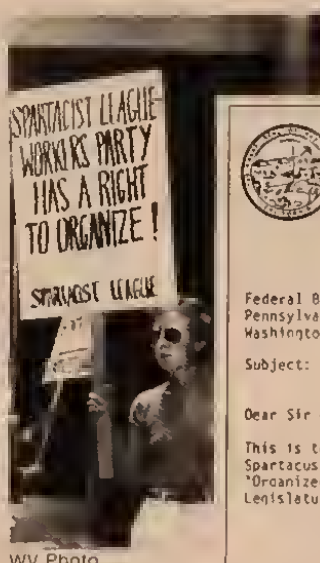
Prior to and during the time the Labor-Black Mobilization demonstrators entered Lafayette Park, on the opposite side of the Park police operations were in progress with police using tear gas against others who had assembled near Lafayette Park. The Labor-Black Mobilization demonstrators were directed by our monitors to the center of Lafayette Park. A brief rally was held to assert the absence of the Klan. After this rally the monitors successfully, peacefully, and in an orderly manner led the demonstrators away from the police and tear gassing [illegible] of the park, without incident. Many hundreds of protestors then attended a victory party at the Sylvia Hotel in the Capitol area.

What happened on Nov 27 was that the Klan did not march. The media — with the notable exception of the black press — portrayed the anti-Klan demonstration as wide spread violence and looting. But it was only The Washington Times that named the SL and the SYL as the [illegible] of violence against police.

We believe that through the mobilized presence of the Labor-Black Mobilization the Klan was stopped. Neither the SL, the SYL nor any other component of our class Labor-Black Mobilization demonstration sought, participated in, or condoned any violence against police.

JAMES M. ROBERTSON
National Chairman
The Spartacus League
EMILY TURNBULL
National Secretary
Spartacus Youth League
Washington

Deukmejian Retracts "Terrorist" Smear



WV Photo

State of California
Department of Justice
George Deukmejian
Attorney General

P.O. BOX 1437
SACRAMENTO 95810
(916) 322-2430

December 14, 1981

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Pennsylvania Avenue between 9th & 10th NW
Washington, D.C. 20535

Subject: Correction of Department of Justice's Publication

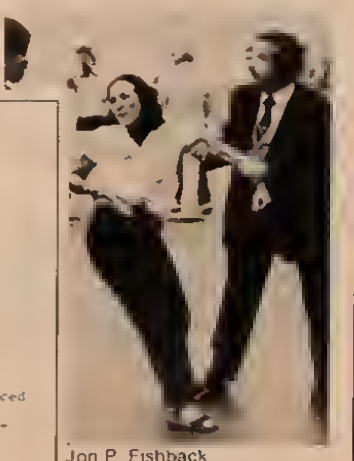
Dear Sir or Madam:

This is to inform you that the inclusion of the Spartacist League and of the Spartacus Youth League on page 13 of the Department of Justice's publication, "Organized Crime in California . . . 1979, Annual Report to the California Legislature, Part 2 Terrorism," was in error.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES W. CASEY
Chief, Bureau of Organized Crime and Criminal Intelligence

Secret Service Apologizes to Jane Margolis



Jon P. Fishback

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20223

Ms. Jane Margolis
475 Alvarado Street, #3
San Francisco, California 94114

Re: Alleged False Arrest/Jane Margolis/CWA Convention
Detroit, Michigan; July 16, 1979

Dear Ms. Margolis:

Please be advised that in response to the above referenced matter the Secret Service Office of Inspections was directed to look into this claim to determine, as accurately as possible, what did in fact occur at the time of the original incident. Based upon this inquiry it is the opinion of this Service that a misunderstanding between a Secret Service Agent and a Detroit police officer resulted in your being removed from the convention floor.

The Secret Service, of course, regrets that this incident occurred. Obviously, due to the extreme complexity of supplying protection to the President and others, and the sensitive and sometimes conflicting interests that come into play, the Secret Service cannot be absolutely certain that other misunderstandings will never occur. You can be assured, however, that every effort will continue to be made to assure that errors of this nature are kept to a minimum.

Again, the Secret Service regrets that this misunderstanding has caused you distress.

Sincerely yours,

Myron I. Weinstein
Deputy Director

Olympics...

(continued from page 1)

ations for the Olympics were undertaken, is uncanny for the way it projects the government's "anti-terrorist" preparations for the Olympics as a screen for state terror. The movie stars a maverick helicopter cop (Roy Scheider) who uncovers a plot involving a heavily armed surveillance copter (Blue Thunder). The chopper is equipped with centralized access to the data banks of the FBI, IRS and police agencies all over—along with a super electronic detection system—that gives the cops a ready-made hit list and capacity to "search out and destroy" their victims without recourse to trial or legal proceeding.

Operation THOR (Tactical Helicopter Offensive Response) is the code name to introduce this chopper into the LAPD's arsenal. "Blue Thunder" is armed with a 20-mm cannon that fires 4,000 rounds per minute, aimed by an electronic device that automatically targets whatever the pilot, wearing his special helmet, looks at. This is every cop's dream—patrolling with a drawn gun. As Blue Thunder swoops down on a mock Olympic village filled with athletes, tourists and kids (all white statuettes), terrorist pop-up targets (painted red, of course) appear. Blue Thunder is supposed to blast the red targets while leaving the whites unharmed. It blows every red target to smithereens but also leaves a mangle of smoking and mutilated white targets in its wake. While the federal honcho is ecstatic, Scheider is horrified and this leads him to expose the plot.

It is no accident that this movie is widely discussed in the ghettos. While Scheider's role of "good cop" is Hollywood fiction, the appetite of the cops to use armed helicopters is not. A typical L.A. evening features an LAPD chopper circling in a tight arc with its powerful searchlight pinpointing a target for the cops' ground forces. These helicopters fly numerous sorties into the black areas of L.A. and are known there as "ghetto birds."

Undercover Cops and Retrievable Records

The liberal makers of *Blue Thunder* never question the legitimacy of the anti-terrorism campaign; Scheider is upset only because some innocent bystanders get it as well as the "terrorists." But the real criminal terrorists are the cops and the bourgeois authorities. Recent public revelations of the LAPD's secret police squad activities paint a vivid picture of the cops' crazed racism, brazen criminal disregard for the law, and their years-long campaign to infiltrate, disrupt and ultimately set up their victims for murder.

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has combined six separate lawsuits, representing 108 individuals and 23 organizations, into a common civil libertarian legal suit seeking damages against the LAPD and its old "red squad," the Public Disorder Intelligence Division (PDID). The PDID was formed in 1970, after the turbulent '60s, the Black Panther Party and particularly the Watts rebellion. The PDID maintained files on 200 different organizations, including the Spartacist League. ACLU "discovery" hearings established the not very surprising fact that the PDID's main targets were black organizations and leaders, especially those who supported busing or stood against police brutality. In a confidential interview given to the *Herald Examiner*, two former PDID agents revealed that every major black organization in L.A., including the NAACP, SCLC, Jesse Jackson's PUSH, as well as black city councilmen and even ex-cop Mayor Bradley, were under surveillance. One of the officers summarized PDID activities: "They were trying to destroy the black movement in L.A." (*Los Angeles Herald Examiner*, 16 June 1980).

Hands Off Soviet Olympic Athletes!

LOS ANGELES—The bourgeoisie's anti-"terrorist" preparations here intersect an escalating campaign to ban Soviet athletes from the Olympics. In the wake of Reagan's KAL 007 provocation against the USSR last September, California state senator John Doolittle got unanimous approval in the state legislature for a resolution urging "appropriate action to oppose Soviet aggression" including banning Soviet athletes from the Olympics.

Doolittle along with assorted ultrarightist L.A. businessmen and Korean anti-Communists formed a "Ban the Soviet Coalition" which launched a nationwide petition drive to bar Soviet athletes with a petition ominously warning of "acts of violence" against them. (One black Olympic gold medalist—Rafer Johnson, a member of the Los Angeles Organizing Committee executive board—has publicly opposed such a ban.) On September 21, Soviet authorities canceled plans to send a hockey team in December, charging that its safety was jeopardized by anti-Soviet actions being whipped up by U.S. officials.

In October Jody Powell, former presidential press secretary under Jimmy Carter, called for street demonstrations against the Soviet athletes. "Let them come, but let them know that when they get here they're going to face the sort of expression that we allow in this country... the demonstrations and statements from a free people," said Powell (*Los Angeles Times*, 20 October 1983). This unusual call for public activism comes after mobs of Moonie cultists and other screaming ultrarightist punks have been permitted repeatedly to direct their outrageous violent stunts against Soviet embassies and their personnel from Long Island to California.

The centralizing agency of these sanctions and provocations is the White House. The State Department prevented San Francisco-based TASS correspondent Yuri Ustimenko from attending an L.A. Olympics press conference on December 7. Most of L.A. County, even including strategic Disneyland, remains off limits for Soviet diplomats, journalists and athletes. Down with the bipartisan anti-Soviet Olympic bans, provocations and travel restrictions!

WV Photo

Santiago, Chile 1973 or Los Angeles 1984? LAPD's arsenal includes armored personnel carrier to terrorize black and Hispanic masses.

Certainly among the most vicious exploits of the PDID—and one that has gotten relatively little publicity—was its role in the disruption and dismemberment of the Black Panther Party. The bloody persecution by the FBI and local cops led to the murder of at least a dozen Panther leaders nationwide with scores more imprisoned on frame-up charges. In L.A., Panther leader Geronimo Pratt has been in jail for eleven years (six spent in solitary confinement) while his wife along with other local Panther members were murdered. In another case, in classic agent provocateur fashion, the PDID got one of its agents into a position of security chief for the Southwest Community Justice Committee, which organized the 1979 march on city hall to protest the brutal murder of Eulia Love, a black mother of three murdered by the LAPD.

The PDID only got into hot water when it ran afoul of the bourgeois politicians themselves. In 1978 the PDID was discovered surreptitiously videotaping a city council meeting called to discuss a local nuclear power plant. Gates' response to allegations of secret police tactics was his infamous statement, "I don't know what police spying is!"

While the Police Department was trying to stonewall it, two incidents boiled so hot that the PDID was formally disbanded by city officials. The first crack in Gates' armor came from the idiotic Revolutionary Communist Party's May 1980 "Days of Rage." A chance discovery identified the RCP's hillborn pointman, who led a charge into police lines, as a PDID agent. It was later disclosed that the same undercover cop was five feet away from RCPer Damien Garcia when he was murdered nine days before. The RCP managed to find competent lawyers whose discovery proceedings were so effective that Gates was forced to strike a deal. In exchange for the abrupt curtailment of release of PDID documents to RCP attorneys, Gates agreed to drop all charges against the May Day demonstrators.

Jay Paul and the Western Goals Connection

The incident that really blew the lid off started when an associate school superintendent told the press in November 1982 that he was approached by PDID officers offering him files on school desegregation that the Police Commission had ordered destroyed in 1975. This public exposure sent PDID agent Jay Paul into a frenzy of activity to retransfer thousands of files he had been storing at his home to circumvent the order. Nobody in the LAPD wanted this hot potato and when it was finally bounced to Internal Affairs, it was leaked to the press. After 180 cartons of documents were discovered in Paul's possession, the PDID was disbanded. Paul now claims that LAPD heads had full knowledge of his activities—and for once he's probably telling the truth!

Jay Paul was no ordinary cop. He was linked with Western Goals, a privately funded and tax-exempt intelligence data bank founded in 1979 by John Birch Society chairman Rep. Larry McDonald, whose fanatical anti-communist career was ended on KAL Flight 007. Among other functions, Western Goals enables the cops to avoid pesky civilian scrutiny by providing a safe house and access to their murderous hit lists. According to a 1981 fund pitch, Western Goals' computer capabilities make it "the first and only public foundation to enter this area and fill the critical gap caused by the crippling of the FBI, the disabling of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the destruction of crucial government files" (*Los Angeles Times*, 24 May 1983).

Jay Paul tied the video display terminal in the PDID office in Parker Center to the Western Goals data bank. Paul's activities were so extensive it took Internal Affairs 250 hours to interview

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—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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New York, N.Y. Phone (212) 267-1025

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Toronto
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299 Queen St. W., Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario Phone (416) 593-4138

At Local 6 Convention

ILWU Ranks Beat Back Gag Rule

OAKLAND—Delegates to the annual convention of Local 6 (warehousemen) of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) held January 28 rebuffed efforts by the bureaucrats to line the union up behind the bosses' anti-Soviet war drive. By an overwhelming three-to-one margin, they voted down a proposed gag rule that would automatically refer all foreign policy questions raised in the local to International president Jimmy Herman, the State Department's messenger boy in the ILWU.

The issue came to a head after Reagan's 007 spy plane provocation last fall. Herman and ILWU officials responded by joining forces with the Moonies in preventing a Soviet ship from being unloaded in Los Angeles. Herman also issued a policy statement lining up with Reagan, which denounced the USSR for "outrageous violation of civilized behavior" (see "The Shame of the ILWU," *WV* No. 338, 23 September 1983). When Local 6 president Al Lannon attempted to ram this through at a September meeting of the local's East Bay division, the class-struggle Militant Caucus led a successful fight to vote it down. In the November issue of the Local 6 *Bulletin*, the officers then announced their intention to enforce a gag rule. For good measure, these Cold War trade-union fakers laced their article with a good dose of McCarthyite witchhunting and redbaiting, whining that "The 'People's World' and 'Workers Vanguard' newspapers attacked the ILWU (the 'Workers Vanguard' called the ILWU leadership 'pro-imperialist swine' and the 'People's World' accused the Union of supporting Reagan.)"

At the convention, Jimmy Herman interrupted the discussion on the officers' report to deliver a lengthy harangue in support of the gag rule, but it didn't work. Even retired ILWU leader Harry Bridges showed up to lecture his former protégé on the union's history of refusing to be gagged by the ILA or even the CIO. But what the bureaucrats are afraid of is not simply paper differences over foreign policy—the pro-Stalinist Bridges regime, after all, specialized in empty and cheap proclamations of "international solidarity"—but the prospect of militant labor *action* against imperialist war. Only the Militant Caucus has fought for this perspective and squarely addressed the need for defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist reaction. That is what underlay the attempt by ILWU officials last summer to purge Stan Gow, a Militant Caucus spokesman in longshore. The attack on Gow was scotched when hundreds of angry unionists turned up at a membership meeting to overturn the railroad job. Gow, who was recently re-elected to the Local 10 exec board, helped organize picket lines against cargo headed for Reagan's bloody junta in El Salvador and later picketed a South Africa-bound ship following the murder of three anti-apartheid fighters. At stake here is whether the ILWU will be an instrument of the State Department, or use its great potential power to further the interests of the American working class and its class brothers and sisters abroad.

The resolution opposing the gag rule was put forward by the Rank and File Coalition, a hodgepodge of aspiring bureaucrats, aging New Leftists and supporters of the Communist Party. Despite their opposition on this resolution, the Coalition supports Herman and Lannon's class-collaborationist program and their subordination of the union to the Democratic Party. But the Democrats are part and parcel of the anti-Soviet war drive, from Afghanistan to Poland to KAL 007. And only recently the Democratic Party mayors went to bat once again for the union-busters, when they unleashed their cops at Greyhound strikers.

Moreover, two business agents who are supporters of the Coalition signed the officers' report, whose thrust was to scapegoat the membership for labor's defeats, calling for a "war on apathy," i.e., condemning the ranks for not turning up in great enough numbers at the polls to vote Democrat. To make sure the point was crystal clear, the only concrete action proposal in the report was a call for a July 15 "Labor Parade for Jobs and Justice," to be scheduled one day before the Democratic Party convention opens in San Francisco! This is a repeat performance of last year's Solidarity Day II demo held two weeks before the elections, where the entire fake-left bought the line that it was something other than a rally for the Democrats.

The *People's World* wasn't exactly pushing CP leader Gus Hall's campaign for president either, demonstrating to anyone naive enough to believe otherwise that the Hall "campaign" is simply a fig leaf to cover up their support to the Democrats. Indeed, a comic sidelight to the convention was the sight of veteran CP supporters like Joe Figueiredo busily hawking "Run, Jesse, Run" buttons. Jackson's campaign is simply a cynical ploy to bring disaffected blacks back into the Democratic Party fold, only to deliver their votes to Mondale next November. And Figueiredo went to great lengths to assure Lannon that a Coalition-sponsored resolution to welcome Jackson into "the people's campaign to dump Reagan in '84" was not an endorsement of Jackson—which might offend the pro-Mondale ILWU tops—but simply a "welcome"!

The final resolution considered at the conference was a motion to endorse the demands of the Phone Strikers Defense Committee against the racist anti-labor frame-up of CWA members Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. The motion was initiated by the Militant Caucus and cosigned by 28 East Bay members. In spite of a campaign of redbaiting and slander against the Defense Committee by Lannon, the motion received 27 votes in favor, including many of the younger black workers, as against 40 opposed. A great many delegates abstained. Demonstrating its inability to take a clear stand on a basic issue of working-class defense against racist, scab violence, the Coalition split all over the map. One of its business agents voted with the officers, another abstained. The pro-CP component split between abstention and support. Lauren was well received by convention delegates earlier in the day outside the convention. And credit is due to those delegates and members for whom the ILWU slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all!" is more than just empty phrase-mongering.

Conditions in the ILWU, as in other unions, have gone from bad to worse. In Local 6 alone, over 2,000 jobs have been lost to layoffs and union-busting runaways in the past five years, while union gains and contract provisions have been surrendered in many houses. Squarely posed is the question of leadership. Those like the Coalition and the Stalinists who want "détente" with the pro-imperialist bureaucracy end up swallowing the labor fakers' entire program of class betrayal. What is necessary is an uncompromising fight for the class independence of the unions. As a 23 January Militant Caucus leaflet, addressed to convention delegates, put it:

> "The anti-communist American labor bureaucracy is more anti-Soviet than Reagan. Their alliance with the Democrats means preventing militant action by the labor movement. Simple self-defense of the working class requires a political struggle to break with the Democrats by ousting their agents in the labor movement. That means building an organized opposition, based on a political program which can organize a labor offensive to reverse the givebacks. Labor-hating Democratic politicians, like [San Francisco mayor] Feinstein, can't be 'pressured' into defending the interests of working people and blacks. We need our own political party which will unite the millions of oppressed with a fighting labor movement to get rid of this oppressive, racist capitalist system that threatens to blow us all up." ■

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him. When ACLU attorneys got these tapes turned over to them, Gates ordered all future Internal Affairs interrogations not to be taped, so embarrassing material would not fall into the hands of the ACLU.

Freedom of Information Act Fiasco

It's instructive that despite the snowballing revelations of illegal police spying, not even the most liberal politicians in L.A. could get up the nerve to take a forthright position for the abolition of Gates' secret police squad. This cowardice underlies the farcical five-year debate over a proposed Freedom of Information Act for the city. With Gates pounding away at the theme that such a law would cripple security at the Olympics, amendment after amendment was added to the bill to render it virtually toothless. The day prior to the initial vote on the measure last May, Gates released the contents of a timely letter he received from the FBI that the act would have a "chilling effect" on exchange of information between the FBI and LAPD. The measure was not passed until two months later after a further amendment was added, allowing the LAPD to refuse to release files without giving any reason except that the law forbids it!

The gutless liberals claimed a victory but it is the cops who won here. Since this ordinance passed, 122 out of 123 requests for PDID files have been denied! The cops' dirty work and racist brutality continue unimpeded, while the temporarily disbanded PDID has re-emerged as the Anti-Terrorist Division.

The ACLU suit will no more stop the kill-crazed LAPD than the council's impotent city ordinance. To be sure, we hardly oppose the victims of police spying suing for some modest financial relief. But the ACLU is not opposed to police spying, as long as it's "clean spying." The maximum these civil libertarians asked for in their attempted out-of-court settlement was civilian surveillance of the PDID. Having bought the Big Lie terrorism scam, the liberals end up swallowing the secret police and everything that goes with it. At bottom they can live with Gates' kill-crazed cops because they buy the capitalist system which requires the services of these murderous hit men, racists and dirty spies to preserve it. As Marxists, we call for the full publication of the entire PDID files now—lay bare the LAPD's monstrous crimes against working people and minorities, which go far beyond the cops' well-publicized spying on the capitalist politicians. Abolish the Anti-Terrorist Division! Down with the FBI, CIA and all the dirty secret police apparatus!

Smashing the secret police gangs will be achieved not through endless courtroom proceedings and parliamentary haggling, but through revolutionary mobilization of the working class and oppressed. As long as the bourgeois state exists, its repressive forces will exist. Only successful proletarian revolution can sweep the racists in blue off the streets for good. Then and only then will the murderous assaults on blacks and other minorities stop. Real justice will be brought to bear when Gates and his ilk are brought before a labor/black tribunal in Watts. That is the only way the past and future victims of racist cop terror will ever be avenged. ■

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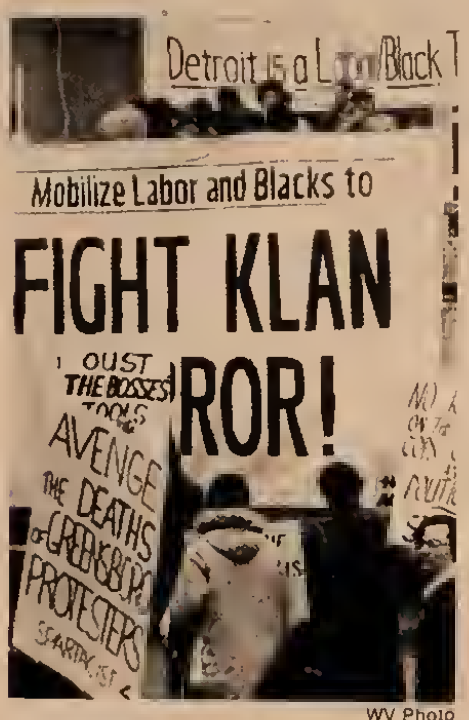
CWP...

(continued from page 5)

> George Wallace. The poster says that Jackson will lead Black people back to the plantation."

Thompson continues, "Such opposition would be more understandable if the various mass movements were in high gear and tearing up the streets." At Laney College, he remarked that "nobody is going to jump up and grab guns and start shooting and stuff, unless they're absolutely convinced that there is no other way." So for the CWP the alternative is ghetto riots or the Democrats. Here the CWP shows its fundamental pessimism on the possibility for mobilizing the working class and oppressed in social struggle against Reagan reaction. The criterion for their support to Jackson is that he's popular, "is doing an effective job of arousing the grassroots." Denouncing the "ultraleft" critics of Jackson and all the "quibbling over Jesse Jackson's program" the CWP adopts the famous watchword of German social democrat Eduard Bernstein: "The movement is everything, the goal is nothing." Bernstein coined this three quarters of a century ago to accommodate the workers movement in Germany to small-change parliamentarism.

For what is Jackson "arousing the grassroots"? Certainly not for even a minimal fight against the brutal racist oppression endemic to capitalism: he doesn't even support school busing to achieve integration (but then, come to



WV Photo

SL-initiated demonstration in Detroit stopped Klan from "celebrating" Greensboro massacre.

think of it, neither did the CWP). He can hardly be credited with the absurd, utopian "butter not guns" pipe dream of reformists who believe capitalism's "priorities" can be altered through rational argument: Jackson calls only for freezing military spending at its current astronomical level. Thompson gives Jackson credit for the "objectively revolutionary" demand for full employment. But Jackson is in fact an anti-union scabherder whose main answer to unemployment is racist, chauvinist protectionism, railing at "Honda and Toyota, Suzuki and Yamaha, Sony and Panasonic, being unloaded at the docks and replacing Buick and Chrysler in the American market" (*Washington Post*, 25 May 1983): When the majority *black* Chicago Teachers Union struck in 1976 and 1983, Jackson attempted to organize "alternate" scab schools and sued the union, cynically claiming the strikes were against the black community (see "Jesse Jackson: Front Man for the Racist Democrats," *WV* No. 344, 16 December 1983).

Some of J.J.'s attitudes may be rubbing off on the CWP. At the Laney College talk, Richard Bradley—black Spartacist candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1982—called on the audience to support Lauren Mozee, a black phone worker, and her companion Ray Palmiero. The two militants were victimized for defending themselves and their union picket line during last August's national phone strike. Even though CWP leader Nelson Johnson has endorsed the Lauren and Ray defense case, a CWP spokesman sneeringly replied from the platform, "That issue was one the sister got emotional about—people were out on the line and they called her a nigger and you grab that." But not Thompson & Co.—they're into "a movement here that's a little bit more sophisticated"—too "sophisticated" to defend a former Black Panther victimized in a racist, anti-labor frame-up!

From Greensboro to Jesse Jackson

The CWP needs to hide the political reality of Jackson's gambit, i.e., locking up those black Southern votes for the Democrats in 1984. Defensively, Thompson insisted in his New York talk on November 19 that "Supporting Jackson just to get black people...to hoodwink them into supporting Mondale is racist, it's treacherous, it's a sell-out of what the movement is all about." Sure it's racist and treacherous—qualities not lacking within the Democratic Party. A Spartacist spokesman countered Thompson from the floor during the discussion period:

> "Well, that comes to the crux of it: I think that is in fact the purpose of the Jesse Jackson campaign, and that has to be your purpose whether or not that is your subjective desire. The Democrats need the South to defeat Reagan. To get the South they need the black vote. And they know they're not going to vote for Mondale, they know he was the vice president of Jimmy 'Ethnic Purity' Carter. Therefore they need Jesse Jackson to go out there and make that voter registration campaign and stump for votes in order to turn them over to Mondale at the Democratic convention. That is the political reality."

This is a particularly bitter pill for the CWP. Mondale was Carter's vice president and Democrat Carter was in office when the Klan/Nazi murderers shot in cold blood and in broad daylight five CWP members protesting the Klan in Greensboro, North Carolina. Carter/Mondale were in office when these fascist scum were acquitted by an all-white jury, giving the green light to racist terror all over the country. Greensboro was racist murder, aided and abetted by the government: from the planning of the attack on the CWP demonstration right through the kangaroo court which acquitted the killers. Undoubtedly there are those among the CWP membership who gag at the sight of Jackson yucking it up with George Wallace, who find it disconcerting to cover up for the very party which worked hand-in-glove with the murderers of their comrades.

To overcome this, the CWP tries to build up Jesse Jackson's "movement" credentials. Jackson is the man who smeared his shirt with Martin Luther King's blood to claim the mantle of MLK, and now Thompson claims "King was developing into a revolutionary who was beginning to define a socialist party for the U.S." At his New York talk the SL spokesman exposed this cynical attempt to rewrite the history of the civil rights movement: "You play the same role as the Communist Party did 20 years ago when it stood with King against the left wing of the movement, against the masses of blacks in the ghettos who broke with King when he called the cops to go into Watts to smash the ghetto rebellion, against the left wing in SNCC, who in Lowndes County organized the Black Panther Party against the policies of King for support to the Democrats."

In an attempt to gain respectability, the CWP has recently been making a show of democracy. But the fist of Stalinist thuggery emerged from behind the red roses in the ushers' lapels when a second SL supporter and trade-union militant spoke:

> "My name is David Brewer. I'm a member of Local 100 of the Transport

Greensboro Daily News

Greensboro massacre, 3 November 1979—Five CWP supporters were shot down with impunity by Klan/Nazi killers.

> Workers Union here in New York City. We're the guys that run the subways.
> "First of all, we're in a time called November. And November...will be an important month in the future American workers government. One, we'll have a holiday of mourning for the martyred comrades in the CWP in the Greensboro massacre. And two, we'll have a holiday of celebration—November 27—when the Ku Klux Klan was stopped from marching in Washington.
> "Now I was reading this [CWP] statement on why we should support the Jackson campaign, and I noticed a quote from Lenin, from 'Left-Wing Communism.' And I think the quote is misleading. [He says] you must not sink to the level of the masses, to the level of the most backward strata of the class, says you must tell them the bitter truth. And I believe, comrade Phil, you're not telling the masses the bitter truth about Jesse Jackson....
> "We can debate [Martin Luther] King's trajectory if he had lived...forever. That's not important. What is important is at the crucial time of the 1963 march, when you had masses of black people converging on Washington, D.C., the role that Martin Luther King played. You said in your speech that King got his dream from the grassroots movement. He got his dream in the Oval Office, arm-in-arm with Robert Kennedy, Jack Kennedy.
> "Listen, this is the bitter truth, like Lenin said you have to tell. He [JFK] said [to King], you better get out there and control this thing. And it's the same reason that the national Democratic Party went into Chicago and told those racist Democrats out there, let's cool it, we got to have the black vote to get elected in this country and you better shake hands with Harold Washington. And it's the same reason that Jesse Jackson...[Chair: "Sum up and sit down! You got a new point to make, a new point, it's the same one, don't repeat the same one...."]
> "The point is, you claim to be the vanguard of the American working class, the only people who fight against oppression. That after Greensboro everybody ran and hid. That's not true. It was the Spartacist-initiated demonstration that stopped the Klan from 'celebrating' the massacre of your comrades. We stopped them in Detroit, we stopped them in Washington. But it's based on the labor movement. That's what you guys miss. So you go from Greensboro to Jesse Jackson...." [Pandemonium. CWPers shout, "One Trotskyite is enough!" Others in the crowd demand, "Let him speak!"]

At this point, the TWU brother was surrounded by goons, grabbed from the mike and thrown out of the hall. A walkout by several Spartacists and other disgusted leftists followed thereafter. Political struggle was not over for the evening, however. A black unionist demanded the floor, announcing himself as "a member of the Committee for a Fighting TWU, from the island colony of Puerto Rico, and a supporter of the Spartacist League." After denouncing the CWP's cowardly exclusion, he concluded:

> "I've been sitting here a long time, listening to your logic...Jesse Jackson ...he went and shook hands with George 'Segregation' Wallace. The great Jesse Jackson—he's anti-abortion, he's into protectionism.... We blacks are sick and tired of Republicans and Democrats and Democrats and Republicans. We need our own organization."

Whereupon he, too, stomped out of the room, fist high in the air, shouting "Viva Puerto Rico Libre!"

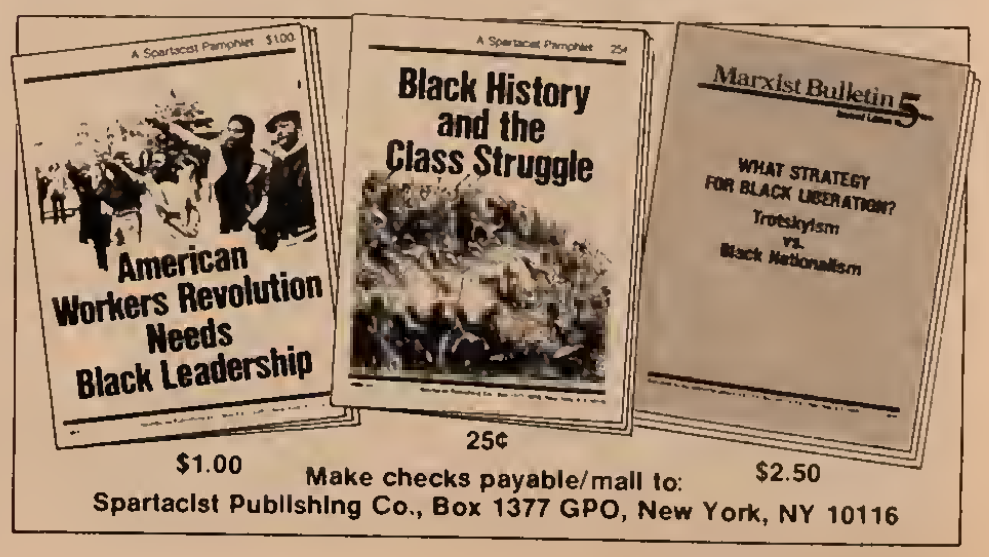
Back to the Outhouse

In its Maoist heyday, the CWP was verbally far to the left of today's CWP's parliamentary cretins who now write that "If the working class and oppressed people were to gain a fair share—consistent democracy, it would be possible to transform the U.S. into a socialist U.S.A. through peaceful means" (Thompson, *The Eighties*). This is worthy of the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), notorious for their imbecilic "consistent whatever leads to socialism." Thompson himself—who could often be recognized in Cambridge by the fact that he was tossed out of as many Maoist meetings as the SL, who was instrumental in recruiting leftist black youth to a supposedly "hard" "Marxist-Leninist Mao Tse-tung Thought" group—now indeed sounds like some SWPer when he writes:

> "If Black people could truly elect their representatives to positions of power in government in a fair proportion to their numbers, Black people could bring the functioning of state monopoly government to a standstill."
> —*The Eighties*

This is not only anti-Marxist to the core—but the arithmetic is all wrong. Just how does comrade Thompson envision a minority of 20 percent bringing the state to a standstill, "fair proportion" or not?

Racist oppression is integral to the functioning of capitalism, and the



struggle against it—the quest for black freedom—has been a motor force for social progress and social revolution in this country. Thompson writes that "At one point, Martin Luther King believed, and Jesse Jackson today believes, they are saving Blacks from communism. However, the process of struggle itself inevitably leads to communist conclusions." Genuine struggle for black liberation does, in fact, require an attack on the fundamental social structure of capitalist society. But the tailing of those forces who seek to derail and defuse the fight for black liberation only serves to perpetuate the racist status quo.

After Greensboro, the CWP has desperately sought to end its isolation by joining—or even inventing, if necessary—a popular front with the Democrats. Seeing there was no longer any mileage in being a Maoist, "ex" or otherwise, they abruptly switched their line on the Soviet Union (see "Why CWP Flip-Flopped on Russia," *WV* No. 283, 19 June 1981). From adventurist substitutionism, the CWP has zigzagged to liberal electoralism. So, in San Francisco in April 1980 when some home-grown Nazi punks wanted to come out on Hitler's birthday, the CWP sought the endorsement of San Francisco mayor Feinstein and held a "peaceful, legal" rally of a few hundred some blocks away while the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League mobilized militants from two dozen unions in a crowd of more than 1,200 that occupied the site where the fascists had intended to goose-step. (CWP leader Nelson Johnson also accepted our invitation to speak at the militant rally.)

Similarly, in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982, the CWP and its front group PARK appealed to D.C. mayor Barry to "ban the Klan" while the SL initiated the Labor/Black Mobilization to occupy the area of Capitol Hill where the Klan had threatened to begin its march. Five thousand overwhelmingly black workers and youth—the best of Washington's black and labor militants—turned out to the SL-initiated call and stopped the nightriding Klan terrorists cold. But the CWP and a few dozen supporters were meanwhile reduced to wandering from our Labor/Black Mobilization to the popular-front palaver at McPherson Square, designed for the Democrats as a diversion from a massive, labor-centered confrontation with the Klan.

Eschewing the necessary communist duty of mobilizing the working class and its allies among the oppressed, the CWP has come full circle from New Left/Maoist adventures back to the Democrats. It is the Trotskyist Spartacist League that has sought to avenge the Greensboro massacre through the successful mobilization of blacks and labor to stop the fascists' provocations in the black industrial centers. These mobilizations break the masses from their Democratic Party bosses *in action* and give them a taste of workers' power on the streets. The black Democrats are not halfway to somewhere. They are a necessary pillar in the racist capitalist status quo—there to keep the lid on black struggle.

The CWP wants to "get in on the ground floor" of the anti-Reagan popular front, and that's where they'll be, all right. While Jackson makes a show of running for the White House, munching pecan rolls with Wallace at the Alabama State House, the CWP's going to be back at the outhouse, shoveling the shit for the Democrats while chanting, "Run, Jesse, run!" Until the red-baiting begins, as happened to CWPer Nelson Johnson as soon as he raised his head as a lefty in the National Black Independent Party a few years ago. Anyone who wants to go "all the way with J.J." will soon get rid of all the "red" trappings anyhow. So while the CWP campaigns earnestly for Mondale's black front man, we will continue to defeat the racist terrorists—and their bosses in Washington—through the program of integrated class struggle. ■

Chicago...

(continued from page 12)

> buildings, they said. In at least two buildings, the garbage compactors had to be turned off when they were flooded after pipes broke, officials said. Garbage piled up in the chutes of those buildings, and residents used the stairwells and galleries to dispose of trash. ...
> "Hundreds of residents had to use their kitchen stoves around the clock to keep warm. At least a dozen tenants have been sickened by the fumes from their stoves and have had to be treated at nearby hospitals.
> "In addition to the lack of heat and hot water, hundreds of tenants have had to contend with water pouring into their apartments from broken pipes."

It was a disaster. Around the Christmas holidays, garbage went uncollected for two full weeks. Faced with unbearable squalor, the tenants tried to fight back. Several hundred tenants went on a rent strike. They demanded Robinson's head.

So Harold Washington, in a face-saving measure, found a new chief for the CHA and rehired the fired workers, giving them a total of $400,000 in back pay and damages. Washington stated it was all a "mistake." It was a "mistake" for Washington and Robinson because they didn't get away with it. Although Washington has lately been quite visible visiting the projects vowing "aid" for residents in the 1,300 CHA buildings, the election of the city's first black mayor has meant just more of the same. Chicago is the city where, according to recent findings, blacks live further below whites than in any major city in the country. Yet the new "scattered site" desegregation housing plan is a cruel joke, with only a measly 400 units to be placed in "mostly white areas" (and none at all in Daley's Bridgeport).

CHA residents have also been "promised" increased police presence. Robinson, in fact, had plans to create a mini-police force (probably made up of his buddies) just for the projects. In the ghetto, police department Gestapo-style raids have long been the norm. And it is particularly dangerous whenever some bourgeois politician decides to "clean up"—witness when former mayor "Crazy Jane" Byrne descended upon Cabrini Green in 1981, equipped with an occupying army of Chicago police, forcing tenants behind on their rent out on the street (see "Mayor Byrne's Racist Stunt," *WV* No. 278, 10 April 1981). The call for more police in black communities is always an invitation to increased cop violence!

After Washington's primary victory, in the face of the racist backlash led by the local Democratic Party Machine, we insisted that Washington had the right to take office with all the normal prerogatives. But we did not give one ounce of *political* support to this black *capitalist* politician. In contrast, the fake-lefts jumped on the Washington bandwagon and have continued to support his cutbacks and layoffs down the line. Thus the ultra-reformist Communist Party (CP) in an article by Illinois CP head Ted Pearson in the journal *Political Affairs* (November 1983) fully enlists in the anti-labor offensive. Pearson praises Robinson for his firing of the CHA repairmen and their replacement with "trainees selected from among the impoverished residents ...at regular union wages." Actually, these "trainees" were never hired. The whole scam was pure and simple union-busting by the city, with the active approval of the CP.

The Communist Workers Party, which called Washington's election "a political earthquake for blacks," was even more grotesque. CWP honcho Phil Thompson, on a national tour stumping for Jesse Jackson, said:

> "Harold Washington fired the elevator repair company that wasn't repairing the elevators in the projects. We're still living in the projects, nothing has changed there, but the elevators are working a little bit better."

Oh yeah? Thompson ought to try giving his "elevators run on time" speech today on the 17th floor of some tower in the Robert Taylor project!

Far from making things a "little bit better" for black people, the black mayors of America's big cities are there to carry out Reaganomics with a vengeance on a local level. The black overseers are there to keep the lid on the ghetto and crush the heavily black city unions for the white capitalist masters. Thus in ATU Local 241, where transit workers are threatened with 1,000 layoffs if they don't eat a rotten sellout, Washington made a personal appearance to campaign for his scheme to loot the union pension funds to bail out the city bosses. Today, Chicago remains "Segregation City" because the oppression of blacks and other minorities is built into American capitalism. What's needed is not more Harold Washingtons to shove Reagan cutbacks down the throats of the ghetto masses, or Jesse Jacksons to con impoverished and powerless black people with the illusion of "black power" in the racist Democratic Party, but a multiracial workers party fighting on behalf of all the oppressed.

In the teachers strike last fall we insisted that this key integrated union must "mobilize all Chicago labor and the black masses to stop the austerity/cutbacks drive which affects every area of city life, leading all the oppressed in a fight for survival" (see "Victory to Chicago Teachers Strike!" *WV* No. 339, 7 October 1983). To link the workers movement to the ghetto—through demands for more and better schools, for a program of busing to the suburbs, for the formation of labor/black defense guards to protect the minority kids and stop the racists. To put an end to residential segregation requires more than a few "open housing" marches against "red-lining," as Martin Luther King discovered in his failed attempt to take the civil rights movement north to Chicago in the mid-'60s. Revolutionary socialists call for a vast program to build high quality, low cost integrated housing throughout Chicago and its lily-white suburbs. In the unions we fight for a class-struggle leadership to put labor in the forefront of the battle against racist terror, recruiting minority youth into union-run training programs and fighting for jobs for all.

This is the kind of united class struggle which could beat back all the union-busters, from city school chief "Ruthless" Love to Harold Washington to the race-hate mongers around "Fast Eddie" Vrdolyak. You just have to look at the broken-down elevators, smashed windows and burst pipes in Cabrini Green to know Chicago has *never* been a city that worked for black people and the poor. From the ramshackle tenements bordering the stockyards where East European immigrants were packed in the earlier part of the century to the sprawling South Side and West Side ghetto firetrap apartments, the shame of American cities will only be swept away and genuine equality and freedom for blacks will only come through socialist revolution! ■

Steel...

(continued from page 12)

the result is that workers unite with their "own" bosses instead of fighting them, while the bosses rake in the profits. Ultimately this escalating trade war will lead to imperialist shooting war.

The only Steelworkers' spokesman presented by Donahue was Alice Peurala, a former president of USWA Local 65 who was dumped by the members in her re-election bid. When U.S. Steel began to chop South Works to bits, the "progressive" Peurala opposed labor *action* to fight back. Now her proposal is to go crawling to the Reagan government to run the South Works mill. Similarly, reformists like the Communist Party's Gus Hall have proposed such schemes as a "call on Congress to immediately enact a labor law and a program to save the steel industry," including a call for "nationalization" (*Daily World*, 29 December 1983). These demands boil down to a Chrysler-style government bailout of the bosses at the taxpayers' expense. At best it would lead to a European-style steel industry, such as in France, where the social-democratic-administered capitalist government is laying off thousands of steel workers in the name of austerity.

If there were ever a prime candidate for expropriation, it's certainly the steel bosses who have run the industry into the ground. The American steel industry is a prime example of the utter decay of capitalism itself. Unlike Chrysler, U.S. Steel is not about to go under. Instead, the industry has been bled to death by the "robber barons" of steel, who repeatedly refused to invest in new plant and equipment and chose instead to squeeze out every last penny for their personal profit. As a result, the U.S. steel industry is crippled with 19th century plant in a world approaching the 21st century. The most recent example of the steel bosses' shortsighted rapaciousness was U.S. Steel's $6.2 billion investment in Marathon Oil, a transaction designed to please coupon-clipping stockholders while hastening the decline of steel.

The fight for jobs in steel is a fight against capitalism itself. As one black woman noted on the Donahue show:

> "I think the changing times is the general crisis that we find capitalism in at this time. It's not just steel, but it's every segment of this society—the hospitals, housing, the schools, and it's not just in Chicago, but it's all over the world of capitalism. And I think that we have to go according to what the Constitution says—any time a system gets so it can't take care of the people, not only do we have the duty to get rid of it, but the obligation.... The plight of labor is a product of the nature of this system."

The first step in this fight must be the ousting of the class-collaborationist labor leadership, who are responsible for the givebacks, the no-strike ENA, the backstabbing of PATCO, the betrayal at Greyhound. We need a class-struggle workers party, to fight for a workers government that would expropriate the parasitic steel bosses and establish a planned economy in the interests of working people! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Black Mayor Fired Craft Workers

Chicago Public Housing: Frozen Hell

CHICAGO—In the mayoral elections last spring when black Democrat Harold Washington was pitted against the racist Republican Bernard Epton, we warned: "Harold Washington Will Betray Black Chicago." And this is exactly what has happened. First Washington announced some 700 jobs would be slashed in an all-out assault on city labor. Then last fall a union-busting pay-cut-or-job-cut contract "offer" provoked a strike by the 55 percent black Chicago Teachers Union, as Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH unsuccessfully fanned the flames of racism trying to isolate the teachers from the black and Hispanic communities. Currently transit workers are on the top of the list facing the cutback ax. And in the middle of this brutal winter, black residents of Chicago slum housing projects are literally freezing to death following the firing of the maintenance workers. Conditions are so bad that last week 4,000 people mobbed State Street when HUD was handing out federal rent-subsidy applications for private apartments. The crowd, desperate for a chance to move out of the dilapidated public housing, jammed South State Street and blocked traffic for several hours until the Chicago cops on horseback moved in to break it up.

Chicago Tribune

WV Photo

Blacks in city housing projects suffer massive garbage pile-ups, flooding, broken elevators and freezing temperatures.

Just look at the horrors they face in the projects: Evellean Upchurch, a Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) resident, mother of two, died when she was forced to walk down ten flights of steps to a waiting ambulance. Older and disabled tenants are trapped on the upper floors because only a handful of elevators in the entire CHA are functional. Mothers are afraid to send their children to the store or to school because of possible attack by gangs. The prison-like atmosphere of the high-rise buildings is intensifying. The gangs now charge "fare" for the right of residents to use what elevator service is left. The buildings are in such poor shape that any other landlord other than the CHA would in typical Chicago fashion have them burned then condemned and demolished by the city.

In the 1950s, under "Boss" Daley, miles of South Side slums were torn down and replaced by high-rise monoliths. (This was when the term "urban renewal means Negro removal" was coined, and segregation patterns were rigidly enforced by constructing freeways like the Dan Ryan to fence in black areas.) The projects, due to criminal neglect by past and present mayors and other crooked, thieving politicians, have been allowed to deteriorate for years and have now become "vertical slums." In fact, the CHA has been for the Democratic Party what Las Vegas is to the Mafia—a way to skim off the bucks—and everyone gets a cut.

Recently, though, things came to a head. Ex-cop Renault Robinson, former head of the Chicago Afro-American Patrolmen's League and one of Harold Washington's most loyal supporters, was awarded the chairmanship of the Housing Authority. Robinson's first act in office was to appropriate for himself a $14,000 limousine and a chauffeur. He told outraged CHA residents whose elevators don't work, "It's my business," then proceeded to refurbish his office at a cost of $20,000. Robinson "got his," so to hell with the black masses.

In late September he announced the firing of 259 craftsmen (mostly white) whom he demagogically blamed for the terrible conditions in the projects. Then he went after the janitors (who are black), squealing that they were "lazy." The city incredibly claimed the fired CHA workers could be replaced with senior citizen details armed with minimal training and wrenches to "fix" the elevators and decrepit plumbing! So when the sub-freezing weather hit in late December, the buildings fell apart. Water pipes burst, elevators stopped and heating plants went out. As the *Chicago Tribune* (1 January) described the chain reaction after the pipes burst:

"The broken pipes, in turn, forced the shut-down of furnaces in about 20 CHA

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Steel Militant Says: Oust the Giveback Bureaucrats!

South Works on the Slag Heap

"The unions have lost their power. Not surprisingly, when a fellow has to eat, and feed his kids, he's going to be less militant. It's inevitable," taunted TV talk show emcee Phil Donahue. His audience consisted of steel workers and their families, many of whom have been out of work for years now. The January 20 NBC-TV program came on the heels of U.S. Steel's recent announcement of shutdowns at 23 more mills, throwing thousands of steel workers out of jobs, including those at the South Works plant in Chicago. This follows billions of dollars of union concessions supposedly to "save jobs"—and workers are hopping mad.

One laid-off South Works steel worker in the audience, Damon Lewis, called for a class-struggle response:

> "That's not true at all. Labor is feeling it really hard and they're willing to fight. But the problem that they're facing is that their leadership cowers. So that the Greyhound [strike] there is sold out. In the last miners strike in 1978 they had a rotten contract shoved down their throats after refusing it time and time again. And there is no one in their leadership that stood up and said, 'We've got to oust the present leadership and get a new one'....
>
> "At U.S. Steel there's no fight and they've lost 15,000 jobs with the recent decision by U.S. Steel to close those plants.... There was no fight. There was just givebacks, givebacks, givebacks."

Lewis was followed by an older worker, who interjected: "Our first mistake in labor is that situation with Reagan. Believe me, when he brought that downfall on PATCO, Lane Kirkland should have stood up the next day... and shut down the whole country and you'd see Mr. Reagan back off of that, I'd guarantee that."

Mass sit-down strikes which physically hold the bosses' sacred private property hostage, mass picket lines which nobody dares cross—these are the kind of class-struggle tactics which built the unions and which are needed today to reverse the bosses' offensive.

But that was not the talk from the union officials present on the show. United Mine Workers (UMW) president Richard Trumka could only offer protectionist schemes against foreign steel, playing into the bosses' plans to pit U.S. steel workers against their brothers and sisters abroad. This is in line with the official policy of the United Steelworkers (USWA), which has joined with the corporations in protectionist suits to limit steel imports in the U.S. Needless to say, trade-union bureaucrats in Britain and elsewhere play the same game against American steel, and

Kagan/NY Times

Chicago South Works, one of 23 U.S. Steel mills slated to be entirely or partially shut down.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 348

17 February 1984

U.S. Out of Near East, Central America!

Reagan's Lebanon Mess

"I don't want to be killed here. It's crazy. They are crazy. We are crazy."
—Israeli soldier in southern Lebanon

FEBRUARY 12—"We are making progress in Lebanon," proclaimed Ronald Reagan in his State of the Union speech in late January. A week later he baited Congressional Democratic leader Tip O'Neill for proposing to pull the Marines out of Beirut: "He may be ready to surrender, but I'm not." Yet within days the macho man president was forced to eat crow, ordering the besieged Marines evacuated to warships offshore within the next few weeks. And to make it look like he didn't "cut and run," he ordered the Sixth Fleet to open up with the USS *New Jersey*'s 16-inch guns, killing who knows how many hundreds or even thousands of Druze villagers.

For domestic consumption the cowboy in the White House declares that "America is standing tall," but when the fighting broke out in West Beirut last weekend the American press reported with relief that the Marines were safely hunkered down at the airport while bullets whizzed around them. Some "peacekeeping" troops! With consummate cynicism Reagan offered naval and air cover to the British, French and Italian contingents of the "multi-national force" he was leaving in the lurch. The British bugged out the next day, the Italians ordered a "gradual" pullout and the French replied, "thanks, but no thanks." If Mitterrand wants to regain some credibility he might throw in with the Shi'ites and Druze and start shelling the U.S. fleet.

Shi'ite militiaman battles Gemayel's forces.

Also left high and dry by Reagan's announcement were American civilians in Beirut. When U.S. citizens called up to ask about evacuation, embassy officers told them they were on their own or simply hung up. State Department officials were worried about giving the "wrong impression" in Damascus. When the Committee to Re-Elect the President discovered this was creating the wrong impression in Dubuque, Washington suddenly switched gears and started copters ing them out by the hundreds. The last thing Reagan needs is hundreds of American "hostages" trapped in Lebanon on November 4. Just ask Jimmy Carter.

As the U.S. Navy was indiscriminately bombarding villages in the Shuf Mountains surrounding Beirut, Druze leader Walid Jumblatt (who named a son after Tamerlane) vowed: "We will not allow our people to be killed without taking revenge." This is no idle threat, as the Maronites or the French Foreign Legion can attest (see box page 9). The Druze have a long memory of the wrongs done them, and a history of doing something about it. Suddenly the *New Jersey* stopped its shelling and Druze militiamen showed up with flowers in their gun barrels at the U.S. Embassy to help in the evacuation. "I am here just to make sure that no one bothers the Americans," said one (*New York Times*, 11 February). What happened to all those "bloodthirsty Druze gunmen" the U.S. was vituperating against a few days ago?

Almost all Americans want out of the bloody mess Reagan has gotten himself into in Lebanon, but some right-wingers were shocked that their hero came off looking like a paper tiger in his first serious test. The ultra-hawkish *Wall Street Journal* (8 February) wrote in dismay:

> "President Reagan's decision to move U.S. Marines from Beirut to ships off the Lebanese coast is a stunning defeat

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Time

He sought to curb the worst excesses of the bureaucracy.

He sought to increase the productivity of the Soviet masses.

He made no overt betrayals on behalf of imperialism.

He was no friend of freedom.

YURI VLADIMIROVICH ANDROPOV
1914-1984

BLACK HISTORY MONTH

John Reed Speaks to the Communist International, 1920

Blacks and Reds

SEE PAGE SIX

An Exchange: Yuri Andropov and Soviet Defensism

When the Spartacist League initiated the Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the Ku Klux Klan from staging a race-terror provocation in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982, we never imagined that one result would be an interesting hot debate with some of our ex-members on the question of Stalinism. But when the charter busload from Norfolk, Virginia took the name "Nat Turner Battalion" and the New York comrades followed suit with the "Yuri Andropov Brigade," the self-styled "External Tendency" (ET) in Toronto said it was a new low even for us. In our reply to their first letter, we observed that our Stalinophobic critics, who claim that the "Yuri Andropov Brigade" means we have sold out to Stalinism, evidently have no objection to the "Ulysses S. Grant Division," named for a Republican capitalist politician. We publish below the second letter on the subject from the Toronto "External Tendency" along with our reply.

Dissidents Denounce "Andropov Brigade"

ET Letter

Toronto
October 28, 1983

Dear Comrade Robertson:

Thank you for being so good as to send us a copy of your reply to our letter of 13 December, 1982. Please be assured that we have given it our most careful consideration.

Frankly we were a bit disappointed with your letter. You defend so adamantly (but so poorly) what is so clearly a mistake. Perhaps it is a mistake that you feel some personal responsibility for. We sympathize with the inherent difficulties of attempting to develop a coherent defense of the "Yuri Andropov Brigade" within the programmatic framework of Trotskyism, but even so we were disappointed. We had somehow expected more from you.

You quote a line from our letter that "On the most general level Andropov and the bureaucrats he represents are counterposed to everything that Trotsky fought for." We would have thought that this was a fairly unobjectionable statement among Trotskyists. Leon Trotsky throughout his life fought for international proletarian revolution; Stalin was the "gravedigger" of revolutions.

But after quoting the above line you choose not to take it up at all. Instead you attempt to substitute a position which we do *not* hold which, you assure us, is only a "more poetic version" of the same thing. But it is not. We reject the erroneous position of the Dobbs-Cannon SWP majority in 1952-53 with which you attempt to saddle us ("Stalinism is counterrevolutionary through and through and to the core"). We reject adulation of Yuri Andropov for the same reason—because it negates the *contradictory* character of the Stalinist bureaucracy and thus constitutes a

continued on page 3

Lenin's Last Struggle

TROTSKY

On his deathbed in late 1922-early 1923 Lenin fought to prevent the bureaucratic degeneration of the Communist Party in power. He therefore proposed to broaden working-class representation on the Central Committee and to remove Stalin from the powerful post of secretary-general. Lenin's testament was subsequently suppressed by Stalin for three decades.

LENIN

Stalin is too rude and this defect, although quite tolerable in our midst and in dealings among us Communists, becomes intolerable in a Secretary-General. That is why I suggest that the comrades think about a way of removing Stalin from that post and appointing another man in his stead who in all other respects differs from Comrade Stalin in having only one advantage, namely, that of being more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and more considerate to the comrades, less capricious, etc. This circumstance may appear to be a negligible detail. But I think that from the standpoint of safeguards against a split and from the standpoint of what I wrote above about the relationship between Stalin and Trotsky it is not a detail, or it is a detail which can assume decisive importance.

V.I. Lenin

January 4, 1923

—*Collected Works*, Volume 36 (Moscow, 1966)

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No. 348 **17 February 1984**

In Defense of Trotskyism

SL Reply

3 January 1984

Dear Comrades,

Your reply of 28 October 1983 regarding the "Yuri Andropov Brigade" collapses the contradictions inherent in the Soviet bureaucracy and Soviet degenerated workers state, thereby vitiating the Trotskyist position of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union when that question has become most urgent.

You consider the key point made in your original letter your paraphrase of our slogan "You Can't Fight Reagan with Democrats" as "You Can't Defend the Soviet Union with Yuri Andropovs." Our slogan is based on the fact that there is no class difference between the twin parties of the American imperialist bourgeoisie. Do you mean to imply that there is no class difference between imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy? Then you thereby reject Trotsky's analysis of the Soviet degenerated workers state as well. "Oh, no," you protest. But your all-too-clever and very revealing paraphrase of our slogan is ambiguous at best. Can the Soviet Union be defended with Marshals Ustinov and Ogarkov, who are also part of the bureaucracy and who helped engineer Andropov's rise to power? Is the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan then not to be hailed and the Soviet handling of the KAL 007 provocation to be condemned?

Your position is reminiscent of the statement: "We have never supported the Kremlin's international policy." Before you grow too enamored of that formula let me remind you that its author was Max Shachtman in the 1939-40 fight over the Russian question. About it Trotsky observed:

> "In its present foreign as well as domestic policy, the bureaucracy places first and foremost for defense its own parasitic interests. To that extent we wage mortal struggle against it, but in the final analysis, through the interests of the bureaucracy, in a very distorted form the interests of the workers' state are reflected. These interests we defend—with our own methods."
>
> —"From a Scratch to the Danger of Gangrene," *In Defense of Marxism*, p. 127

Trotskyism provides a coherent worldview in which the contradictory character of the Stalinist bureaucracy is reflected. Your assertion, "On the most general level Andropov and the bureaucrats he represents are counterposed to everything that Trotsky fought for," is both undialectical and very distant from Trotskyism.

Do you not believe that under the gun of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive the Soviet bureaucracy may be compelled to take certain measures, albeit deformed and partial, to defend the state power from which they reap their privileges? It is no accident that in this hour of grave peril the bureaucracy has placed at its head Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov. An interesting account of Andropov's character and rise to power can be found in Zhores Medvedev's recent book *Andropov*. There is no love lost between this Soviet biologist and dissident and the former head of the KGB who incarcerated him in a mental hospital and exiled him. Nevertheless, Medvedev contrasts Andropov to Brezhnev, who "was not a real leader in 1964, but the representative of the bureaucracy which sought a quieter, safer, more secure, privileged life" (p. 196). Andropov is known as a decisive and efficient administrator who used the KGB not only to persecute dissidents but to fight crime and corruption in the highest levels of the bureaucracy, including Brezhnev's immediate family. Confronted by Reagan's nuclear Armageddon, the bureaucracy evidently felt the need for a leader who would shake out the sloth, corruption and mismanagement of the Brezhnev years.

Of course the bureaucracy cannot reform itself as neo-Bukharinites like the Medvedev brothers believe. It will take the restoration of soviet democracy through proletarian political revolution to unleash the productive resources of the Soviet workers state. And as comrade Robertson wrote you, in our view, that political revolution is inextricably linked to the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against American and other imperialisms.

Your comparison of Andropov with Stalin and Beria, the mass murderers of tens of thousands of Communists and Red Army officers, is an obscene amalgam worthy of the pages of *Commentary*. Andropov's entire political career was shaped by a more tranquil period domestically. To hold him personally responsible for the psychopathological mass crimes of Stalin reflects the methodology that holds the bureaucracy to be a homogenous reactionary mass counterrevolutionary through and through—i.e., a new exploiting class. Given this methodology there is no distinction between a Guevara heroically fighting for social revolution arms in hand and a Corvalán who disarmed the workers in the face of counterrevolution, since they both were Latin American Stalinists. It is worthy of those who make no distinction between a Ramón Mercader and a Leopold Trepper, between a Mark Zborowski and a Kim Philby, since they were all agents of Stalin's murderous secret police. This methodology can never account for, much less attract, an Ignace Reiss. He served as an officer of the GPU at the very height of Stalin's terror, and declared for the Fourth International at the cost of his life precisely because he saw in it the unstained banner of revolutionary *Soviet defensism*. To paraphrase comrade Robertson's reply to you: sitting at the summit of the Soviet bureaucracy, Andropov is unlikely to follow the path of Ignace Reiss. But it is infinitely easier to see him in that role than (if you will not have Sakharov) the Douglas Frasers of the world who have placed themselves countless times in the direct service of the *imperialist* secret police.

Truth is concrete; therefore it is hardly surprising that there is not a word in your letters about the concrete conditions in which the Russian question is posed today: the crisis of U.S. and other imperialisms finds no other escape than thermonuclear Armageddon against the Soviet Union, imperiling not only the working-class gains of the Russian October but the very survival of humanity. This is manifestly a period of enhanced dangers for our small revolutionary party. It is as well a time of enhanced opportunities for us, as shown for example by our demonstrated capacity to lead large numbers of blacks and other working people in mass struggles against the fascist race-

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ET Letter...

(continued from page 2)

departure from Trotskyism. Of course, from your point of view the position has the advantage of being considerably easier to knock down—an attribute it shares with other straw men.

If all you are searching for is a more lyrical rendering of the idea which we were seeking to convey, you might wish to consider the following passage by Trotsky:

> "Stalinism originated not as an organic outgrowth of Bolshevism but as a negation of Bolshevism consummated in blood. The process of this negation is mirrored very graphically in the history of the Central Committee. Stalinism had to exterminate first politically and then physically the leading cadres of Bolshevism in order to become what it now is: an apparatus of the privileged, a brake upon historical progress, an agency of world imperialism. Stalinism and Bolshevism are mortal enemies."
>
> ("A Graphic History of Bolshevism," 7 June 1939)

Not merely "counterposed," but "mortal enemies!" He puts it so nicely. Of course despite this assessment Trotsky remained, as do we, firmly Soviet defensist. The two positions are mutually exclusive only in the minds of Stalinist sycophants. Surely we could agree that "on the most general level" Glenn Watts and Lane Kirkland are counterposed to class-struggle militants in the unions? Yet is it not easy to imagine situations where we would both find ourselves in a military bloc with these treacherous parasites? Same thing.

Of course the Soviet bureaucracy has a dual nature. But your reply dodges the key point that we made in our original letter: "You can't defend the Soviet Union with Yuri Andropovs." You claim to continue to recognize the "inextricable" connection between military defense and political revolution in the Soviet Union. But, those who adulate Stalin's heirs act to *undermine* the defense of the Soviet Union. Let us refer you once again to comrade Trotsky:

> "...I consider the main source of danger to the USSR in the present international situation to be Stalin and the oligarchy headed by him. An open struggle against them, in the view of world public opinion, is inseparably connected for me with the defense of the USSR."
>
> ("Stalin After the Finnish Experience," 13 March 1940)

Of course, one cannot rule out *in theory* the possibility which you raise that a Stalin or an Andropov might throw in his lot with the insurgent proletariat in the course of a political revolution. (We imagine that such a development is somewhat less probable than the prospect of you declaring for the External Tendency.) Obviously, openly pro-imperialist elements, like Sakharov, are even *less* likely to support the workers than Andropov. So what? The necessity for an "open struggle against" the Stalinist oligarchs is in no way obviated by that.

As for the hypothetical glee experienced by blacks in D.C. upon hearing of the advent of the Yuri Andropov Brigade, would they have been any less happy about a John Brown, Frederick Douglass or Leon Trotsky Brigade? As a matter of fact, we have our doubts as to whether any of the "ground-down black people of D.C." actually ever heard of the Yuri Andropov Brigade. How could they—it wasn't among the endorsers of the demonstration. If any of Washington's black population *did* feel gleeful about that name on a bus from New York, imagine their pleasure had the Yuri Andropov Brigade ventured a little further out of the closet and paraded down Pennsylvania Avenue in front of the White House holding aloft pictures of its namesake! But of course to do that, the "semi-facetious" semi-disclaimer would have to be discarded and you would no longer be the leader of a Trotskyist organization.

We can only imagine that the final "illuminating" red herring that you toss our way regarding a united front with the Kremlin for Soviet defensism is intended to distract the attention of the unsophisticated readers of your internal bulletin. (Just to be absolutely clear, let us assure you that we entirely agree with the point which Trotsky makes in the quote you cite.) Or are you perhaps trying to suggest that parading around Washington as the "Yuri Andropov Brigade" would somehow constitute a military bloc with the Kremlin for the defense of the USSR? If that's what you mean why not come out and say so?

Calling yourselves the "Yuri Andropov Brigade" was a mistake. All of your very considerable political experience as well as the talents of the capable and devoted Marxists who produce *WV* can't change that. If we were to offer you some advice it would be this: don't try to defend the indefensible, it can only produce bad results.

For several decades you played a critical role in preserving, defending and even developing the Trotskyist program. But you didn't thereby acquire proprietary rights to it. Adulation of a Stalinist bureaucrat can neither be squared with fidelity to Trotskyism in general nor with Soviet defensism in particular. We doubt that you would even have tried ten years ago.

The fact that you find it so necessary to cling to this error, indeed the fact that it could occur in the first place, is evidence that the leadership of the SL/US, with you at the apex, is losing its political bearings. This can only be a reflection of the atrophying of confidence in the possibility of building a mass Bolshevik party capable of leading the seizure of power by the working class.

There is a necessary and reciprocal relationship between the loss of communist cutting edge and the destruction of internal democracy in a revolutionary organization. For a Bolshevik tendency, especially a small propaganda group in conditions of bourgeois democracy, a vigorous and democratic internal life is not a desirable option but a *vital necessity* if the organization is to be able to respond effectively to the changing developments of the class struggle. Unfortunately the SL/iSt is no longer an organization which has a healthy internal life—a development for which you more than any other individual must be held accountable.

Bolshevik greetings,
External Tendency of the iSt

SL Reply...

(continued from page 2)

terrorists. A number of our softer and weaker members, intimidated by the dangers (and often equally intimidated by the obligations posed by our new opportunities), have departed the Spartacist tendency, including yourselves. But when the KKK threatened to march on 27 November 1982 the issues posed prompted many ex-members from New York to head for D.C. with us. We were pleased to have so many former members turn out (without of course making any political concessions to them). Fascists are the domestic shock troops for Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive; therefore it was entirely appropriate as well as ironic to dub this contingent in the Labor/Black Mobilization the "Yuri Andropov Brigade," which was appreciated by most if not all of its participants. The only protest has come from the "External Tendency," which while capable of traveling all over the country to attend SL functions (and speaking without hindrance) were at this historic victory conspicuous by their absence.

And no one in Washington that day would have mistaken the Yuri Andropov Brigade as a concession to Stalinism. The real Kremlin sycophants and Stalinoids, the Communist Party and its various satellites (Marcyites, Guardianites, Trendites, CLP, CWP, etc.) were busy in the service of the anti-Soviet popular front building a Democratic Party rally at McPherson Square. Or, not wanting to confront the Democrats in Congress and City Hall, they were, like yourselves, absent.

Lochon/Gamma-Liaison

In late 1979, when Soviet forces intervened against U.S.-backed Afghan feudalists, Spartacists said: Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!

Finally, we note—and your puerile affectation of superciliousness does not disguise—that despite yourselves you must pay the Leninist democracy of the Spartacist League its due. For as you attest, this exchange, as with any serious (and even not so serious) criticism or polemic against the SL, will find its place in an internal bulletin or some other suitable format. What other tendency is so solicitous of healthy internal life and education of its membership as to publish a series like *Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League*? No, comrades, we esteem that rich party democracy necessary to forging centralized revolutionary clarity and determination in action, that democracy which you voluntarily placed yourselves outside of in this period of urgent revolutionary tasks.

We know what our duty is and we stand at our posts. As Trotsky wrote on the eve of the Second World War:

> "The workers' state must be taken as it has emerged from the merciless laboratory of history and not as it is imagined by a 'socialist' professor, reflectively exploring his nose with his finger. It is the duty of revolutionists to defend every conquest of the working class even though it may be distorted by the pressure of hostile forces. Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones."
>
> —"Balance Sheet of the Finnish Events," *In Defense of Marxism*, p. 178

Fraternally,
Reuben Samuels

Kangaroo Court Suspends CWA Militant

Fight the Witchhunt of Kathy Ikegami!

SAN FRANCISCO, February 10—A kangaroo court in phone workers union (CWA) Local 9410 has just handed down its frame-up verdict against Kathy Ikegami, a leader of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC). Local 9410 president Jim Imerzel's hand-picked trial body, chaired by his girlfriend, pronounced Ikegami guilty after an 18-month inquisition.

According to Imerzel's witch-hunters, Ikegami "brought the union into disrepute" because, as the verdict statement put it, she "divided the leadership of this Union and its Rank-and-File members." In short, she told the CWA membership the truth about Imerzel's prostration before Ma Bell. The CWA bureaucracy has for decades refused to fight the phone company and now wants to blame phone workers' demoralization and disgust on militants like Kathy Ikegami. Imerzel wants to get rid of Kathy and the MAC because they exposed his collusion in concealing projected layoffs; because they fight to win strikes through mass militant picket lines that nobody dares to cross; because they stand for an end to the union's notorious ties to the CIA and for a workers government to put an end to capitalist oppression.

Most of the trial was spent "proving" the well-known fact that Kathy is a Spartacist supporter, an association she termed "a badge of honor" in her closing trial statement. Ikegami was also declared guilty of "willfully violating" union bylaws because, as an exec board member, she refused to rubberstamp Imerzel's appointments to steward and committee posts. Kathy and the MAC want a fighting union whose officials should be elected by the membership to represent them, not beholden to patronage from the sellout bureaucrats.

Imerzel's brazen frame-up verdict comes down now when phone workers are still reeling from the debacle of last summer's strike and the continuing victimization of picket line militants like Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. Busy witchhunting Ikegami for a year and a half, Imerzel & Co. are protecting some real criminals in the union. The MAC brought out during the trial that Imerzel's buddy, former secretary Joe McKenna, had attended meetings of the Ku Klux Klan. This racist has no place in any labor organization! And the bureaucrats have protected the scabs who crossed CWA picket lines last summer. Imerzel's side is with open racists, strikebreakers and the company against militant unionists.

Imerzel's trial body has fined Ikegami $300 and suspended her from the union for six months—an open invitation to the company to fire her. Ikegami now has 30 days to appeal this verdict to the membership—and there is no membership meeting scheduled, of course. During the trial, over a thousand CWA members signed petitions demanding the dropping of the frame-up charges against Ikegami and the recall of the Imerzel clique. Now it's up to Kathy's union brothers and sisters to act again in defense of Kathy Ikegami—the union needs more fighters like her! As Kathy put it in her statement January 16 before walking out of the kangaroo court:

> "Purging fighters from the union... [is] a policy of making enemies of those who want to make our union strong. It's the militants who build unions and win strikes. Imerzel is playing right into the hands of Ma Bell."

Smash Imerzel's purge of Kathy Ikegami!

$$$ Urgently Needed to Pay the State's Ransom

Taylor Family Saved from Alabama Legal Lynching

The state of Alabama couldn't get away with its attempted racist legal lynching of the Taylor family, five black working people from the North who faced monstrous frame-up charges in Montgomery. Although the court is demanding ransom in a settlement reached on February 3, the state was not able to send the Taylors to jail where, as black men branded as would-be cop-killers, they would face almost certain death. Under the terms of the settlement reached in Judge Randall Thomas' chambers last Friday, Worrie, Elbert and Willie James Taylor and Larry Hill each pleaded guilty to one count of third-degree assault (a misdemeanor). Although they faced charges which could have put them in jail for 20 years, each received a six-month suspended sentence and a year's probation to be served not in Alabama but in their home states of Ohio and Michigan. Charges against Chris Taylor, who has been fighting extradition to Alabama, were dropped.

Justice in this case would have been to drop the charges against the Taylors, jail the killer cops and give millions to this tormented black family. Instead, the Taylors must pay $11,000 to the despicable nightriding cops, Ed Spivey and Les Brown. But it was not money the racists were after here in the Deep South. The lynch mob wanted the deaths of the Taylors as an "example" to all black people in Reagan's America who dare to defend themselves against KKK-style attack. Chris Taylor expressed the relief of every supporter of the Taylors when he told *WV*: "This case was a really racist thing and it's unfortunate for us that justice wasn't served.... They [the family] feel it was unfair too, but it was something they had to accept because our lives are so much more valuable than the $11,000."

Almost a year ago, 30 members of the Taylor family gathered in Montgomery to mourn the death of Annie Bell Taylor. Racist plainclothes cops Brown and Spivey, seeing "shiny new cars with out-of-state plates" outside the dilapidated shack, burst into the Taylor gathering with their .357 magnums drawn and shouting racist slurs. The Taylors, thinking they were under Ku Klux Klan attack, disarmed the thugs (one of whom was shot in the process), and called the cops. But the racist thugs *were* the cops. For the Taylors' elementary act of self-defense they were beaten bloody, official police tapes doctored and the full weight of the state of Alabama was brought against them to finish in the courtroom what failed on Todd Road that night of February 27.

WV Photo

The Taylor family.

It sticks in the craws of Mayor Folmar and D.A. Evans that the Taylors who whipped the police are alive to tell about it. But the racists couldn't make their frame-up stick. What stayed the hand of Alabama lynch law was primarily the black people of Montgomery who saw the case as their own and came forward in courageous support of the Taylors. Last November a hung jury refused to convict Worrie Taylor, 49, of Warren, Ohio, the first member of the family to stand trial. Three black jurors stood firm for acquittal, able to resist some 20 hours of deliberation and pressure from the judge. These jurors knew that black Montgomery was behind them because each day of the trial they saw 80-100 of the Taylors' supporters from 9 a.m. when the court opened to 10 p.m. each night. The spirit of defiance was particularly loud and clear when District Attorney Evans asked the jury in his summary: "If you break into my home, I'll kill you. Is that the message you want to send out of this community?" An estimated 150 blacks in the courtroom replied, "Yeah."

The trial had touched a nerve among these black people who understood what was at stake in this case and were not afraid to face down Mayor "Führer" Folmar and his Confederate troopers each day in court. "I wouldn't be satisfied unless the man who shot and assaulted those officers are behind bars.... But this was the best we could do," said Folmar (*Montgomery Advertiser*, 5 February). It was the spectre of further mobilization of blacks around the case which led D.A. Evans to seek a settlement on the eve of Worrie Taylor's scheduled retrial.

While Montgomery's black people were on the front line of the battle to save the Taylors, they had powerful allies from working people in the plants and ghettos in the North. In Pontiac, Michigan the Taylor family's union brothers and sisters in the UAW came out to show support; hundreds came out to black church rallies there and in Warren, Ohio. Early on, the Spartacist League took up the cause, seeking to mobilize labor/black support around the country, publicize and raise funds for the Taylors' defense. With demonstrations at Wayne State University and outside the giant Ford River Rouge complex in Detroit, we sought to enlist the support of black workers and students at these key centers. In the campaign to stop Chris Taylor's extradition from Michigan to face the Alabama legal lynch mob, the Partisan Defense Committee, Labor/Black Struggle League and Rouge Militant Caucus initiated a petition signed by 139 Detroit area unionists, labor and black leaders, including 95 workers in UAW Local 600.

The Taylors have acted courageously from the first moment the cops burst through their door. Their attorney Troy Massey reported that with the plea settlement, the Taylors "still feel that they were morally and legally justified in doing what they did" (*Alabama Journal and Advertiser*, 5 February). It may well give the next set of nightriding cops who plan to attack some black homes something to think about. The Taylors have made their contribution to black Southern self-defense. We must continue to defend the Taylors by helping pay Alabama's racist ransom. The price of black courage in Alabama must not be borne by the Taylors alone—they shouldn't have to pay a dime! *WV* urges its readers to send generous contributions to: Taylor Defense Fund, c/o Central Bank of the South, 150 Dexter Avenue, Montgomery, Alabama 36104. ■

WV Photos

PDC Jazz Benefit A Big Hit

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Over 200 people packed the second floor of the Ibex Club in Washington, D.C. on February 1 for three sets of great jazz from saxophonist Houston Person and his group, featuring vocalist Etta Jones, in a benefit performance for the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC). The PDC is a nationwide class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. The enthusiastic, integrated crowd came to hear the popular jazz artists and to celebrate the victory achieved when the SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in the nation's capital on 27 November 1982.

The PDC has been raising funds to cover the costs of the legal campaign which successfully forced the *Washington Times*, organ of the anti-communist messiah Sun Myung Moon, to retract its deadly libel against the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (see *WV* No. 345, 6 January). The Moonie press had accused us of provoking violence against the cops in the November 27 anti-Klan mobilization. The PDC is also supporting and raising funds for the defense of victimized Bay Area phone strikers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. Lauren, a former ten-year member of the Black Panther Party, and Ray were fired from their jobs and are facing years in the state penitentiary for defending themselves and their picket line against a violent racist assault by a scab manager during last summer's nationwide telephone strike.

Houston and Etta gave one of their best performances ever for the benefit/fundraiser for the PDC. The audience, more than three-quarters black, was a congenial mixture of labor militants, jazz buffs and socialists—quite a few were all three at once. Before the second set, the master of ceremonies, Gene Herson, a militant oppositionist in the National Maritime Union, read greetings from Lauren. The audience cheered at Mozee's remark that "Labor/black mobilization stopped the KKK from marching in Washington,

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British Spartacists Slam Sheffield Ban

Martyrs of "Bloody Sunday" Remembered

EXCERPTED FROM
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Bloody Sunday, January 1972: the day 14 civil rights marchers were gunned down in the streets of Derry [Northern Ireland] by British troops. Now the fascist National Front (NF) wanted to make the annual commemoration march, slated for Sheffield 29 January, the scene for another bloody Sunday. When Sheffield's Labour-dominated City Council, headed by Labour "left" rising star David Blunkett, imposed a ban on use of council facilities by march organisers in the wake of the Harrods bombing, the NF saw a green light for race-hate provocation. Emboldened by the Labour bureaucracy's cowardly treachery in the face of the Tory onslaught against the NGA [printers union], feeding off the anti-Soviet war drive, the NF crawled out of the sewers in an attempt to prove itself as the bourgeoisie's shock troops for anti-Irish reaction. What was called for was English and Irish workers and all racial minorities joining together in struggle against a common, deadly enemy: a mass trade-union/minority mobilisation in this solidly trade-union city to demand the imperialist troops get out of Ireland and to inflict a crushing and humiliating blow against the NF race-terrorists. That's what was needed. That's what the revolutionary Trotskyists of the Spartacist League (SL) fought for.

What happened instead was an anti-democratic ban on all marches, initiated by Blunkett and imposed by Tory Home Secretary Leon Brittan, in towns and cities throughout the region. For the first time in 12 years, there was no Bloody Sunday march in England. Instead of being crushed under the heel of labour and minorities, the fascists got off scot-free with the knowledge that the streets of England were off limits to opponents of British imperialism that day. That this outrage could come to be was bitter testimony to the state of the opportunist left in this period of Cold War.

The Labourite misleaders bent over backwards to prove themselves loyal lackeys to the imperialist ruling class. The Communist Party, with its industrial base in Sheffield, stayed invisible. The fake-Trotskyists, like Socialist Action and Socialist Organiser, erstwhile cheerleaders for Provo-nationalism now ensconced in the Labour Committee on Ireland (LCI), dropped the question like a hot potato rather than come out against Labour "left" Blunkett. And the nationalists of Sinn Fein and their fake-left press agents at the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), its Irish Freedom Movement (IFM) front group and the centrist Workers Power (WP), who were meant to be mobilising the Bloody Sunday march, did everything to demobilise it. For weeks their only response to Blunkett's ban was an impotent petition campaign, to be followed by an even more impotent call to reselect the Labour councillors. In the end, they abandoned their march without any warning, criminally setting up militants and minorities for a potential fascist rampage as they turned tail and ran.

Spartacist League/Britain protests ban on demonstrations in Sheffield, England, January 27.

Bloody Sunday, 1972

The martyrs of Bloody Sunday were remembered in Sheffield last month—by the Spartacist League. Our supporters distributed thousands of leaflets [excerpts printed below] agitating for mass trade-union/minority mobilisation at pits and steel plants and minority communities in the Sheffield area as well as elsewhere. We canvassed dozens of Labour Party and trade-union officials in an attempt to unlock the potential social power of the labour movement. On Friday 27 January, the day Brittan announced the ban, we organised a protest picket outside Sheffield Town Hall. Thirty protesters picketed behind banners which pointed the way forward: "Smash Britain's Torture Camps—Troops Out Now!" "Labour Council's Anti-Irish Ban is Green Light for NF—Trade Unions, Minorities, Drive the Fascists Off the Streets!" And on the Sunday, while the Republicans and their fake-left friends were nowhere to be seen, we held a well-defended public meeting, "A Commemoration of the Centuries of Celtic Struggle Against English Domination. The Role of Sheffield and its Labour Movement."

When we proposed to the Bloody Sunday "mobilisers" that they join us in the picket of Sheffield Town Hall, a number of their supporters initially agreed. But the leaders moved in to quash any suggestion of joint action, hastily conjuring up a wimpy "alternative"—a "picket" to accompany the submission of their pleading petition, deliberately scheduled to take place an hour and a half before our proposed picket. And when we mobilised our forces to get there at the same time, these hardy souls wrapped up their banners and fled.

As late as the Saturday afternoon edition of the [Sheffield] *Star*, the Bloody Sunday "mobilisers" stuck to their story that coaches would be leaving from Sheffield Poly for a march, destination unstated. But on the Sunday, there were no coaches, mobilisers, no march. Twenty minutes after the buses were meant to depart, two Sinn Fein supporters showed up to announce the cancellation of the march to any who might have turned out. At that very moment, four coaches filled with skinheads—one emblazoned with the Cross of St. George—were being detained and turned around at the Sheffield spur off the motorway by the cops.

Having seen to it that there would be no Bloody Sunday march, the powers-that-be now tried to make sure that there was no public expression of opposition to British imperialism at all that day. Three hours before our scheduled public meeting, a representative of the Sheffield Poly Student Union Executive notified us that our room booking there had been cancelled because they did not want a public meeting on Ireland. They didn't stop us—our meeting went ahead at an alternative venue. *Be remembered Bloody Sunday!*

In the wake of their criminal betrayal, Sinn Fein and its RCP and WP camp followers attempted to cover their tracks. Having abandoned their Bloody Sunday demonstration, they held a meeting subsequently to concoct an after-the-fact "alternative"—to bus people to Wakefield prison where Irish hunger striker Frank Stagg died. To exculpate their consistent refusal to do anything to stop the National Front, they now try to claim there was no NF, dismissing our report of the coaches turned around by the cops as a "slander," claiming they were IFM and not NF supporters. An SL supporter at the meeting made short shrift of this crap by describing the coaches with their skinheads and banner and asked, "That couldn't have been IFM supporters—could it?"

In their thirst to tail after some force or another, these opportunists exposed their hollow pretensions to "anti-imperialism" and "anti-racism." Clinging to the coattails of the Sinn Fein nationalists, their only strategy for fighting the oppression of the Irish Catholic people is to scream about "self-determination for the Irish people as a whole," endorsing the nationalist project of a united Ireland forcibly incorporating the Protestant people. In contrast revolutionaries understand that the fight against the special oppression of Irish Catholics in the North requires the unity of Catholic and Protestant workers in a struggle for their common class interests.

Racist British imperialism will meet its downfall only at the hands of a unified working-class assault led by a revolutionary vanguard party which acts as tribune of all the oppressed. Around the events of the Bloody Sunday march, the Labour-loyalists and vicarious nationalists demonstrated where they stood. This year's Bloody Sunday march should have been a victorious rout of the fascist rabble by thousands of militant workers and minorities. That is what we fought to build. To make sure that happens next time, the task facing us today is to build the Spartacist League into the mass revolutionary workers party this country needs.

Excerpts from the Spartacist League/Britain leaflet dated 24 January are reprinted below.

Labour Council Anti-Irish Ban: Green Light for NF Provocation

Troops Out of Ireland Now! Crush the Fascists Through Mass Trade-Union/Minority Mobilisation!

The National Front's threat to stage a race-hate anti-Irish provocation in Sheffield Sunday 29 January must be stopped! That these racist anti-working-class scum dare even to show their faces in this solidly pro-union, working class city is the direct result of the green light given them by the Labour-dominated City Council's anti-Irish ban....

The Harrods [department store] bombing was an indefensible act of indiscriminate terrorism. Marxists oppose the strategy of individual terrorism as a futile diversion from the task of mobilising the masses, while defending against state repression the perpetrators of attacks aimed against military targets and imperialist leaders. But attacks like the Harrods bombing, aimed against a random civilian population, are simply criminal acts. Such nationalist crimes deepen and exacerbate national and racial divisions within the working class. But they pale beside the mass terrorism of the imperialist ruling class. We deplore the Harrods bombing—as we deplore Ulster Protestant terror against Catholics, as we deplore the razing of countless Irish villages over the centuries by English overlords, or Edward I's use of Yorkshire levies to massacre and raze Berwick. The Celtic nations have suffered the atrocities of English domination for hundreds of years. But the Labour Party leaders of the "Socialist Republic" rant only against those "who advocate, support or are involved in the taking of life of civilians of Great Britain." They amnesty the blood-stained ruling class who invented concentration camps and mass terror bombing of civilian centres, who carried out mass murder in India, blew up the Belgrano, who "shoot to kill" in the streets of Belfast day in and day out. Scratch the "socialism" of Blunkett and you find a "little England" chauvinist. Thatcher hardly needs the PTA [Prevention of Terrorism Act] when "lefts" like Blunkett are around to do the dirty work. We say: Damn you England—leave the Irish alone! Troops out of Ireland now! Smash the Prevention of Terrorism Act! Trade union blacking ["hot-cargoing"] of military goods to Northern Ireland! Not Green against Orange, but class against class! For anti-sectarian workers militias to combat communal terror and imperialist

continued on page 10

John Reed Speaks to Communist International, 1920

Blacks and Reds

The "Manifesto of the Communist International to the Workers of the World," written by Leon Trotsky and adopted by the Comintern's First Congress (1919), proclaimed: "Colonial slaves of Africa and Asia! The hour of proletarian dictatorship in Europe will strike for you as the hour of your own emancipation!" The Bolsheviks had led the Russian Revolution to victory by championing and awakening the subjugated nations of the tsarist empire. Now they hammered home the need to unite behind Communist banners the struggle of oppressed peoples against imperialism. This was a sharp break from the traditions of social democracy, which gave short shrift to the colonial question and too often echoed the bourgeoisie's racist hypocritical talk of a "civilizing mission." Regarding the U.S., Lenin urged American Communists to reach out to the doubly oppressed black masses with a program of special demands: "The black question has become an integral part of the world revolution," declared the Comintern.

James P. Cannon, founder of American Trotskyism and one of the foremost leaders of the early Communist Party, stated categorically: "Everything new on the Negro question came from Moscow—after the Russian Revolution began to thunder its demand throughout the world for freedom and equality for all national minorities, all subject peoples and all races—for all the despised and rejected of the earth" (see "The Russian Revolution and the Fight for Black Liberation," *Young Spartacus* No. 111, September 1983). Previously American Socialists had been at best "colorblind," as with Eugene Debs who stated that "we have nothing special to offer the Negro, and we cannot make separate appeals to all the races. The Socialist Party is the party of the whole working class, regardless of color...." At worst, as with Victor Berger's reformist "sewer socialists," they shaded over into open white racism. It was as part of the Bolsheviks' struggle to convince American Communists to recognize the *special oppression* of blacks as a matter of *strategic* importance that John Reed was designated, at Lenin's personal request, to report on the "Negro Question" at the Communist International's Second Congress.

Communist International

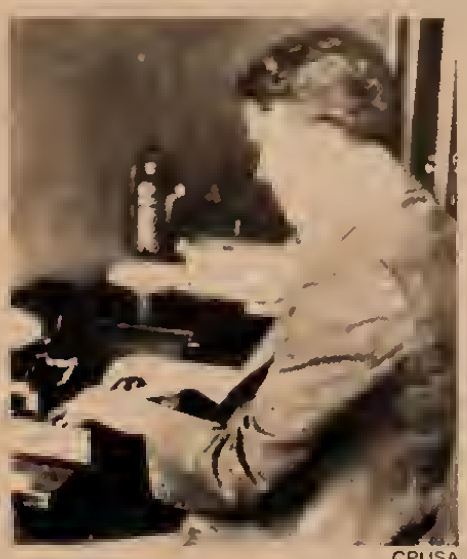
Lenin addresses Second Congress of Communist International, 1920.

The popular movie *Reds* is a generally faithful account of John Reed's evolution, under the impact of the October Revolution, from America's foremost radical journalist into a committed Communist. But the movie makes a serious omission. It notes Reed's desire to attend the Second Congress in order to get the Comintern mandate for his faction of the American Communist movement and to argue against work within the old AFL craft unions. But *Reds* omits Reed's reports at commission and congress sessions on the national and colonial questions. In his speech to the congress, reprinted below, Reed powerfully portrayed the Southern lynchings, Jim Crow segregation and the impact of proletarianization and imperialist war on radicalizing blacks. Here he made great strides in transcending the Debsian tradition, declaring that Communists must use the rapidly growing *race consciousness* to expose the lie of bourgeois equality and draw oppressed minorities into the struggle for socialist revolution.

It took a decade before Reed's exhortation to the Communist Party to take the lead in the struggle for black emancipation was translated into action. Although the CPUSA had by then become fully Stalinized, raising its diversionary "Third Period" call for "Negro self-determination in the Black Belt," its recruitment of thousands of militant blacks reflected the early Comintern's commitment to fight against special oppression. The CP's militant fight for black rights in the early 1930s, particularly around the racist frame-up of the Scottsboro Boys, was subsequently betrayed on the altar of the popular front, of support to Roosevelt and the racist Democratic Party. Only the Trotskyists can rightfully claim the Leninist heritage of revolutionary mobilization of the oppressed. Today, John Reed's stirring speech and the Communist International's clarion call to the black masses are carried forward in the Spartacist League program: Finish the Civil War—Forward to a Workers State! Black Liberation through Socialist Revolution!

SPEECH BY JOHN REED

In America there live ten million Negroes who are concentrated mainly in the South. In recent years however many thousands of them have moved to the North. The Negroes in the North are employed in industry while in the South the majority are farm labourers or small farmers. The position of the Negroes is terrible, particularly in the Southern states. Paragraph 16 of the Constitution of the United States grants the Negroes full civil rights. Nevertheless most Southern states deny the Negroes these rights. In other states, where by law the Negroes possess the right to vote, they are killed if they dare to exercise this right.

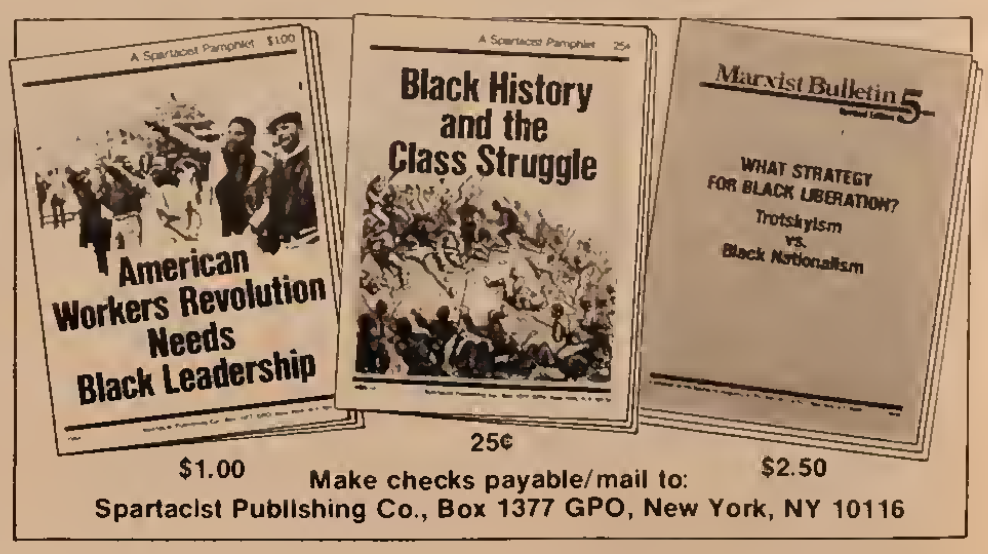


CPUSA

John Reed

Negroes are not allowed to travel in the same railway carriages as whites, visit the same saloons and restaurants, or live in the same districts. There exist special, and worse, schools for Negroes and similarly special churches. This separation of the Negroes is called the "Jim Crow system," and the clergy in the Southern churches preach about paradise on the "Jim Crow system." Negroes are used as unskilled workers in industry. Until recently they were excluded from most of the unions that belong to the American Federation of Labour. The IWW of course organized the Negroes, the old Socialist Party however undertook no serious attempt to organize them. In some states the Negroes were not accepted into the party at all, in others they were separated off into special sections, and in general the party statutes banned the use of Party resources for propaganda among Negroes.

In the South the Negro has no rights at all and does not even enjoy the protection of the law. Usually one can kill Negroes without being punished. One terrible white institution is the lynching of Negroes. This happens in



the following manner. The Negro is covered with oil and strung up on a telegraph pole. The whole of the town, men, women and children, run up to watch the show and take home a piece of the clothing or the skin of the Negro they have tortured to death "as a souvenir."

I have too little time to explain the historical background to the Negro question in the United States. The descendants of the slave population, who were liberated during the Civil War, when politically and economically they were still completely underdeveloped, were later given full political rights in order to unleash a bitter class struggle in the South which was intended to hold up Southern capitalism until the capitalists in the North were able to bring together all the country's resources into their own possession.

Until recently the Negroes did not show any aggressive class consciousness at all. The first awakening of the Negroes took place after the Spanish-American War, in which the black troops had fought with extraordinary courage and from which they returned with the feeling that as men they were equal to the white troops. Until then the only movement that existed among the Negroes was a semi-philanthropic educational association led by Booker T. Washington and supported by the white capitalists. This movement found its expression in the organization of schools in which the Negroes were brought up to be good servants of industry. As intellectual nourishment they were presented with the good advice to resign themselves to the fate of an oppressed people. During the Spanish War an aggressive reform movement arose among the Negroes which demanded social and political equality with the whites. With the beginning of the European war half a million Negroes who had joined the US Army were sent to France, where they were billeted with French troop detachments and suddenly made the discovery that they were treated as equals socially and in every other respect. The American General Staff approached the French High Command and asked them to forbid Negroes to visit places used by whites and to treat them as second-class people. After the war the Negroes, many of whom had received medals for bravery from the English and French governments, returned to their Southern villages where they were subjected to lynch law because they dared to wear their uniforms and their decorations on the street.

At the same time a strong movement arose among the Negroes who had stayed behind. Thousands of them moved to the North, began to work in the war industries and came into contact with the surging current of the labour movement. High as they were, their wage rates trailed behind the incredible increases in the prices of the most important necessities. Moreover the Negroes were outraged by the way all their strength was sucked out and the terrible exertions demanded by the work much more than were the white workers who had grown used to the terrible exploitation in the course of many years.

The Negroes went on strike alongside the white workers and quickly joined the industrial proletariat. They proved very ready to accept revolutionary propaganda. At that time the newspaper *Messenger* was founded, published by a young Negro, the socialist Randolph, and pursuing revolutionary propagandist aims. This paper united socialist propaganda with an appeal to the racial consciousness of the Negroes and with the call to organize self-defence against the brutal attacks of the whites. At the same time the paper insisted on the closest links with the white workers, regardless of the fact that the latter often

Harlem blacks protest racist rampage in East St. Louis, 1917.

Schomburg Library

took part in Negro-baiting, and emphasized that the enmity between the white and black races was supported by the capitalists in their own interests.

The return of the army from the front threw many millions of white workers on to the labour market all at once. The result was unemployment, and the demobilized soldiers' impatience took such threatening proportions that the employers were forced to tell the soldiers that their jobs had been taken by Negroes in order thus to incite the whites to massacre the Negroes. The first of these outbreaks took place in Washington, where civil servants from the administration returning from the war found their jobs occupied by Negroes. The civil servants were in the main Southerners. They organized a night attack on the Negro district in order to terrorize the Negroes into giving up their jobs. To everybody's amazement the Negroes came on to the streets fully armed. A fight developed and the Negroes fought so well that for every dead Negro there were three dead whites. Another revolt which lasted several days and left many dead on both sides broke out a few months later in Chicago. Later still a massacre took place in Omaha. In all these fights the Negroes showed for the first time in history that they are armed and splendidly organized and are not at all afraid of the whites. The results of the Negroes' resistance were first of all a belated intervention by the government and secondly the acceptance of Negroes into the unions of the American Federation of Labour.

Racial consciousness grew among the Negroes themselves. At present there is among the Negroes a section which preaches the armed uprising of the Negroes against the whites. The Negroes who returned home from the war have set up associations everywhere for self-defence and to fight against the white supporters of lynch law. The circulation of the *Messenger* is growing constantly. At present it sells 180,000 copies monthly. At the same time, socialist ideas have taken root and are spreading rapidly among the Negroes employed in industry.

If we consider the Negroes as an enslaved and oppressed people, then they pose us with two tasks: on the one hand a strong racial movement and on the other a strong proletarian workers' movement, whose class consciousness is quickly growing. The Negroes do not pose the demand of national independence. A movement that aims for a separate national existence, like for instance the "back to Africa" movement that could be observed a few years ago, is never successful among the Negroes. They hold themselves above all to be Americans, they feel at home in the United States. That simplifies the tasks of the communists considerably.

The only correct policy for the American Communists towards the Negroes is to regard them above all as workers. The agricultural workers and the small farmers of the South pose, despite the backwardness of the Negroes, the same tasks as those we have in respect to the white rural proletariat. Communist propaganda can be carried out among the Negroes who are employed as industrial workers in the North. In both parts of the country we must strive to organize Negroes in the same unions as the whites. This is the best and quickest way to root out racial prejudice and awaken class solidarity.

The Communists must not stand aloof from the Negro movement which demands their social and political equality and at the moment, at a time of the rapid growth of racial consciousness, is spreading rapidly among Negroes. The Communists must use this movement to expose the lie of bourgeois equality and emphasize the necessity of the social revolution which will not only liberate all workers from servitude but is also the only way to free the enslaved Negro people ■

Black History Month

Spartacist Events

Spartacist Forums

Black History and the Class Struggle

Speaker: Michael Haines
Spartacist League

Thursday, February 16, 7:00 p.m.
Harris Hall Auditorium
Virginia State University
PETERSBURG, VA

Friday, February 17, 12:00 noon
McKeldin Student Center Ballroom
Morgan State University
Co-sponsored by the Morgan State Student Government Association and Spartacus Youth League
BALTIMORE

For more information (202) 636-3537

SYL Film Showing & Discussion

"Finally Got the News"

Documentary on the League of Revolutionary Black Workers and the struggle of black auto workers in Detroit during the late 60s

Wednesday, February 22, 7:00 p.m.
Wayne State University
SCB, Room 583
DETROIT

For more information (313) 961-1680

SYL Video Showing & Discussion

November 27, 1982: Labor/Black Mobilization Stops the KKK

Blacks, Labor Need a Workers Party— Not Front Men for the Racist Democrats

Wednesday, February 15
Noon-3:00 p.m.
(continuous showings)
University of Illinois, Chicago
CCC Room 506

Thursday, February 23, 1:40 p.m.
Truman College, Room 1516
Speaker: Tweet Carter
SL Central Committee

Thursday, March 1, 1:40 p.m.
Truman College, Room 1516
Speaker: Bernard Vance
SL Central Committee

CHICAGO

For more information (312) 427-0003

SYL Video Showing & Discussion

November 27, 1982:
"We Stopped the Klan!"

Black History and the Class Struggle

Thursday, February 23, 7:30 p.m.
Malcolm X Lounge, Hartley Hall
Columbia University
Sponsored by the Spartacus Youth League and the Black Students Organization

NEW YORK

For more information (212) 267-1025

SYL Forum

Blacks, Labor Need a Workers Party

Jesse Jackson: Front Man for the Racist Democrats

Speaker: Bernard Vance
SL Central Committee

Saturday, February 25, 7:30 p.m.
Memorial Union
(see "Today in the Union" for location)
MADISON

For more information (312) 427-0003

Save Iranian Tudeh Leaders!

Three senior military officers, members of Iran's pro-Moscow Tudeh ("Masses") party, have been sentenced to death by a military tribunal, according to the Iranian news agency (*New York Times*, 5 February). The announcement came on the heels of the sentencing of 87 Tudeh members in the army to prison terms ranging from a year to life on trumped-up charges of espionage and subversion. The fate of jailed Tudeh party leader Nureddin Kianuri and former navy commander Bahram Afzali, also a Tudeh member, has not yet been revealed. But the unleashing of Ayatollah Khomeini's terror against his former Stalinist flunkies, a blow aimed at the Soviet Union, exposes the fundamentally anti-Communist character of the so-called "Islamic revolution."

While Tudeh now tries to explain its declining fortunes by referring to anonymous "right-wing forces" and "enemies of the revolution," the fact is that the five-year-old Khomeini-led "revolution" has all along been a reactionary movement led by fanatic Muslim mullahs who openly proclaimed their goal of taking Iran back to the seventh century. But the Tudeh party, along with the entire so-called "left," turned a blind eye to this in order to curry favor with the ayatollah. So while Khomeini suppressed the Kurds and other nationalities, forced women back into the veil, executed homosexuals and other "deviants," arrested and shot the populist Mujahedin and leftist groups—an estimated 10,000 men and women have been executed thus far—the Tudeh party cheered, with the blessing of the Moscow Stalinist leaders.

Indeed, Kianuri rose to leadership back in 1979 because Moscow considered him to be more conciliatory to Khomeini than was his predecessor. As the sordid border war between Iran and Iraq dragged on, the Tudeh party told its members to report to their mosques (!) for military duty under the *pasdaran*, and the party denounced strikes as "sabotage" of the "anti-imperialist" struggle. As late as November 1981 Kianuri was proclaiming "total support to the people's anti-imperialist policy of Imam Khomeini," who was then cracking down on the Mujahedin.

Apparently Tudeh hoped that the ayatollah's need for a few 20th century minds to run the government apparatus would bring them some posts and influence, and for a short time that was the case, but this reformist treachery turned on its practitioners. In February 1983 the central party leadership was arrested and charged with "espionage" while 18 Soviet diplomats were suddenly expelled from the country. Party leader Kianuri was paraded on television, where he "confessed" to the charges—many said he appeared drugged and under extreme pressure, though it's possible he was only continuing the Stalinist line of loyalty to the "imam." By December *over 10,000* Tudeh members were reported to have been arrested.

The war against "godless" Communism, proclaimed by Khomeini's support to the guerrilla war of Afghan mullahs against the Soviet Red Army, has now been brought home. As we warned back in 1979:

> "... détente between Teheran and Moscow will not be enough to save the Tudeh party from Islamic repression. Can there be any doubt that once Khomeini has succeeded in consolidating his rule and repressing the far left he will also move to smash Tudeh?"
>
> —"Moscow Stalinists Cheer Khomeini's Witchhunt," *WV* No. 231, 11 May 1979

Our slogan then was "Down with the shah, down with the mullahs! For workers revolution!" Now more than ever, the several-million-strong Iranian proletariat, centered on the powerful oil workers, must take action not only to defend itself but also to defend the Soviet Union, the world's first workers state, which shares a 1,500-mile border with Iran. Demand freedom for Tudeh members and all leftist victims of Khomeini's repression!

Tudeh's fatal policy in Iran is in fact a blurred carbon copy of the standard and disastrous Stalinist "two-stage" theory of revolution, in which the first stage involves unity with the so-called "progressive" bourgeoisie, such as Chiang Kai-shek in China in the 1920s, in order to make the "democratic" revolution. The result in China was Chiang's bloody massacre of Communists in 1927, and the result in Iran appears headed in the same direction. But in Iran, this Stalinist policy has reached a new low, as it involves unity with the openly reactionary, medievalist mullahs, who are declared enemies of every democratic principle, however minimal.

Sygma

Khomeini's white terror at work.

Meanwhile, the self-proclaimed "Trotskyists" of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), affiliated to the fake "Fourth International" of Ernest Mandel and Jack Barnes, have tried to outdo the Stalinists in supporting Shi'ite terror. In a mealy-mouthed "defense" of Tudeh victims, the HKE practically excuses the Khomeiniite repression: "... the charges against them [Tudeh] seem completely logical and natural to popular opinion and particularly to militant Muslims"! The HKE gently advises the prosecutors that the Tudeh is "like a thorn in the side of the revolution" and "the present course of policy against the TP [Tudeh party] amounts to going after the revolution with a hammer rather than using tweezers to extract the thorn" ("Iran regime vs. the Tudeh Party," *Intercontinental Press*, 26 December 1983). Such disgusting treachery for the "imam" will not of course save the HKE, just as it failed to save the Tudeh—in fact, HKE leaders Bahram Ali Atai and Mohammed Bagher Falsafi have been in jail for a year and a half, while the HKE's No. 1 spokesman, Babak Zahraie, former editor of their newspaper *Kargar*, has been prohibited from receiving visitors and correspondence for the past year he has been in jail! We demand that even these vile social-chauvinists be freed from the prisons of Islamic reaction.

The "Islamic revolution" was *never* "anti-imperialist" but Koranic reaction incarnate. If it made trouble for the "Great Satan" (the USA), it was under the flag of Persian chauvinism and religious mysticism. In any case the collection of mullah fanatics and bazaar merchants who run Iran have in common with Western capitalism and the Reaganite terrorists that they all see the "godless" Soviet Union as an "evil empire." Even the U.S. State Department has sensed this, looking the other way as hundreds of millions of dollars in American arms and spare parts have been shipped to Iran via third parties such as Israel and South Korea. Elements of the U.S. ruling class argue that, despite all the "Great Satan" baiting, the mullahs' fundamental hostility to the Soviet Union can overcome their anti-Americanism. A member of the Council on Foreign Relations, Elaine Sciolino, writing in the prestigious *Foreign Affairs* (Spring 1983) points out:

> "Over time a gradual return to the historic perception of a serious Soviet threat could incline this regime [in Iran] or its successor to the time-honored strategy of offsetting such a proximate Soviet threat with ties to a distant and friendly supporting power."

The tasks of the Iranian workers revolution are intertwined with defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state. It will take a Trotskyist party to establish proletarian rule in Iran; not "two stages" but permanent revolution—seizure of power by the Iranian working class supported by the peasantry to form a workers and peasants government. ■

PDC Jazz Benefit...

(continued from page 4)

D.C. on November 27th. Labor/black mobilization in Oakland last October 29th saw to it that one of the charges against Ray and me has already been dropped." And they applauded her statement that "Ray and I aren't the criminals. The criminals are Ma Bell, the San Leandro police, the Alameda County District Attorney and that maniac cowboy in the White House too. Down with South Africa-style justice! Picket lines mean don't cross!"

The emcee introduced Tony Martinez, president of Capital Branch 142 of the National Association of Letter Carriers, who saw to it that flyers for the benefit were distributed throughout the post office by union stewards. Subsequently the union heard PDC representatives at its February 6 local meeting and voted to make a financial contribution to the Partisan Defense Committee. Herson also introduced popular local blues singer Nap Turner, who plugged the anti-Klan victory benefit over his WPFW (Pacifica) radio show. Another WPFW announcer spoke with SL representatives about the case of his friend, American Indian Loren Thomas, a victim of the recent wave of racist killings by Washington police (see "Jail the Killer Cops! D.C. Cops on Racist Terror Rampage," *WV* No. 346, 20 January 1984).

Terrell Allen, president of the Duke Ellington Society, one of the largest jazz associations in the country, was there with his friends. He helped publicize the benefit throughout D.C. jazz circles. A South African student attending Howard University said he had been listening to Person since he was seven years old over the black South African station "Radio S.R." which opens at 5:00 a.m. every morning with his rendition of "Stormy Weather." Houston adds that South African blacks are among his biggest fans.

Twenty-three benefit tickets were sold to Howard students, many of whom helped defend the SYL against Reagan lackey and Howard U. president James Cheek's crackdown on student protest. Cheek had had Spartacist supporters arrested and barred from the campus as "outside agitators," stemming from an SYL protest over Reagan's invasion of Grenada and U.S. intervention in Lebanon. The fundraiser also deepened the SL/SYL's roots in this 70 percent black city. Several people who met and worked with the SL at the November 27 anti-Klan demo called up when they heard about the benefit and helped make the evening a real success. The PDC took in some $1,500 from the benefit.

The SL/SYL and PDC extend their most heartfelt gratitude to Houston Person, Etta Jones and the other fine musicians in the group, organist David Braham and drummer Frankie Jones. Thanks to them, to the hard work of the comrades and the enthusiastic response of all those who came out, it was a thoroughly enjoyable evening in the service of labor and black struggle. ■

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Lebanon...

(continued from page 1)

> for his Lebanon policy and a haunting reminder of the Carter administration's failure in Iran
>
> "...the Reagan administration, for all its tough talk, was unable to succeed in its most visible foreign-policy venture."

While the American ruling class debates "Who Lost Lebanon?" (the Democratic Congress and its War Powers Resolution, replied a *Journal* editorial), the simple fact is there was no Lebanon to lose. All of King Reagan's Marines and all of his battleships and tough talk couldn't put the artificial country back together again. As for Lebanese "president" Gemayel, he has ceased even being "mayor of Beirut."

Ronald Reagan's Lebanon adventure has turned into a first-class debacle. The self-appointed sheriff of world imperialism shot himself in the foot and is hobbling away. But the global repercussions are by no means all to the good. The Reagan gang will want to wipe out their humiliation by launching a bloody adventure somewhere where the odds are more in their favor. Remember how the U.S. raped the tiny black West Indian isle of Grenada in order to divert attention from the devastating truck-bomb attack on Marine HQ in Beirut last October. Lebanon was a long-shot gamble in the anti-Soviet war drive, one which the Pentagon always considered a no-win situation. The humiliation in Beirut will intensify the Reagan gang's drive to drown in blood the insurgent masses of Central America.

Unlike the squalid communalist bloodletting in Lebanon—between Christians and Muslims, Shi'ites and Palestinians, Druze and everyone—in Central America a potential social revolution is at stake. Salvadoran workers and peasants are fighting (and beating) a blood-drenched oligarchy and its Yankee protectors. A rout of the puppet dictatorship by leftist guerrillas in El Salvador would pose the threat of direct U.S. military intervention. The CIA's *contras* are *now* ravaging Nicaragua, while 5,000 U.S. combat troops are poised for attack across the border in Honduras. While the Democrats and reformist leftists see the Marine-withdrawal from Lebanon as a retreat from foreign military adventurism, in reality it only makes more urgent the need to organize working-class opposition to the American war drive in Central America—boycotting military cargo bound for right-wing regimes, and labor strikes against U.S. intervention.

Lebanon: Not a Country But a Deal

The workers of the world have a side in the revolutionary struggles now engulfing Central America. But they do *not* take sides in the Lebanese blood feuds, the endless succession of communal massacres and retaliations. Lebanon is not a nation nor even a country, but a deal among the imperialists (1919) and between the imperialists and the various Christian and Muslim clan chiefs (1943). One is reminded of the description of Austria between the two world wars as a "situation [that was] fatal but not serious."

The entity known as Lebanon was created by the French, who together with the British carved up the Ottoman empire in the Near East after World War I. They sought to fashion a pro-Western enclave in the Levant by combining the predominantly Christian Mount Lebanon with a subordinate Muslim hinterland, part of it (notably the Bekaa Valley) extracted from the province of Syria. The French colonialist system of Maronite privilege was preserved after Lebanon became independent. Under the so-called National Covenant the president would always be a Maronite Christian, the prime minister a Sunni Muslim, the head of the Chamber of Deputies a Shi'ite Muslim, and so on. The Christians were allocated a six-to-five majority in parliament, and more importantly the officer caste of the Lebanese army was drawn predominantly from the Maronite elite.

Since the Muslims' birthrate outstripped the Christians' for a couple of generations, the deal that was Lebanon fell apart by the beginning of the 1970s. The mass of impoverished and downtrodden Shi'ites, who had become the largest sectarian/communal grouping, demanded a change in the constitution to redress the balance of political and economic power in their favor. Further, the OPEC oil boom of the early 1970s, which Lebanon shared as the main financial center and entrepôt for the Arab East, widened the disparities between rich and poor in this bankers' republic. Shi'ite peasants from the countryside and migrant workers from Syria streamed into Beirut and other port cities looking for work, producing a class of desperate slum dwellers. American liberal academic Stanley Reed described Maronite-dominated Lebanon on the eve of the 1975-76 civil war:

> "The conflict occurred because Lebanon's political and economic structure cheated too many people in too many ways. The Maronite businessmen and bankers who dominated the country refused to part with any of their huge profits derived from handling oil money.... The system that gave the presidency and the command of the army to the Maronites became a symbol of injustice to the have-nots and the leftists, both consisting largely of Moslem city dwellers.... What began as a social revolution has obviously taken on many other meanings. For instance, the leftist militia leaders who set out to topple the old warlords have wound up emulating them."
>
> —*New York Times*, 9 July 1982

In early 1975 Lebanon stood on the brink of a revolutionary upheaval which could have radically altered the political situation in the entire region, most immediately by extending itself to Syria. But a revolutionary outcome was diverted by the traditional Muslim clan chiefs (abetted by the Palestinian nationalist leaders) into a decade-long series of bloody squabbles between the various communal groups. The Levant correspondent for the snide London *Economist* (5 November 1983) neatly captured the essence of Lebanese politics when he wrote of the "national reconciliation" conference in Geneva last fall:

> "To compare this week's conference of Lebanese faction bosses in Geneva with a gathering of Mafia godfathers might be unfair to the Mafia, because it has never eliminated several hundred victims in a single day. There can seldom have been so many delegates around a table who were directly and personally responsible for killing the followers of fellow delegates."

All Sides Squalid

Today in Lebanon the Reaganites present the Druze and Shi'ites as nothing but surrogates for the Syrians, who are in turn labeled surrogates for the Soviets, while the Maronite Christian Phalange are supposedly the true defenders of Western-style democracy. The reformist left, on the other hand, presents the squalid communal fighting in Lebanon as a war of national liberation in which the entire people rises up against Yankee invaders. Thus Sam Marcy's Workers World Party wrote:

> "Different religions and ethnic groups, different political parties ranging from conservative to revolutionary, have united in their opposition to Gemayel and his U.S., French and other imperialist backers."
>
> —*Workers World*, 17 November 1983

The reality looks considerably different from these fictions. The myriad ethnic/religious/communal groups in Lebanon, far from being united, have every one of them been in treacherous, murderous alliance with and against every other one. Let Lebanon be Lebanon and this is what you get.

Druze vs. French Foreign Legion

We reprint below excerpts from Bennett Doty's The Legion of the Damned *on the battle of Messifre in Syria, 1925.*

At their head rode the Emir on a beautiful blooded stallion. He wore a medieval suit of armor and a helmet with flaps of chain-mail like those in museums, one used hundreds of years ago against the Frankish crusaders.

I was scared witless....

At first I thought I was shooting badly. Then little by little I saw that with several bullets in them, these fanatic Druse tribesmen came on, to die on our barbed wire. And the wounded kept on fighting. Bleeding to death, from behind a stone or even in the open, they kept firing till the last convulsive twitch.

—reprinted in *Soldier of Fortune*, October 1983

Take supposed Lebanese "progressive" leader Walid Jumhlatt, a vice president of the Second International. His "Progressive Socialist Party" is actually a communalist party of the estimated 350,000 Druze (an esoteric sect derived from Shi'a Islam) in Lebanon. In the 1860s some 10,000 Maronite peasants were massacred when they rose up against Druze landlords; and last fall the Druze besieged some 20,000 Christians in the town of Deir al Qamar. In the mid-'70s Walid's father Kamal Jumhlatt was head of the largely Muslim National Movement, allied with the Palestinians in the 1975-76 Lebanese civil war. With the Israeli invasion in June 1982, however, the younger Jumhlatt declared, "The PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization] as it used to be in Lebanon is finished," and told PLO fighters to lay down their arms. The Druze chieftain established friendly relations with the Israeli occupying army, and last summer promised to keep Palestinian guerrillas out of his feudal fiefdom in exchange for Israeli withdrawal from the Shuf. Due to Phalangist president Gemayel's refusal to cut a deal, Walid is currently aligned with Syrian president Assad, who, however, was responsible for the assassination of the elder Jumblatt.

The estimated one million Shi'ites are at the bottom of the social scale in Lebanon, but the notion that they are agents of an international Communist conspiracy run from Moscow (or alternatively a patriotic leftist force) is even more absurd. In the '75-'76 fighting the Shi'ite "Movement of the Dispossessed" (which later became the Amal) was loosely associated with the Palestinian-Muslim bloc. Yet on the eve of the June '82 Israeli invasion the Amal was engaged in bloody battles against the PLO and the Lebanese Communist Party. They were pushed into opposition by the Zionist army terrorizing their stronghold in southern Lebanon. Only when Gemayel's army began indiscriminately shelling the Shi'ite suburbs of Beirut at the end of January did they finally "unite" with Jumblatt & Co. Shi'ite militiamen celebrated their "liberation" of West Beirut by smashing all whiskey bottles—shades of Khomeini! Any Soviet KGB agent who fooled around with this gang of reactionary Islamic fundamentalists would probably be skinned alive.

The half million or so Palestinian refugees have been largely out of the current fighting, having been disarmed by the imperialists (at the request of the PLO leadership, which chose to run rather than fight the Israelis inside Beirut). Though PLO chief Arafat has long been a hero of Western leftists, in his shifting alliances the nationalist leader has embraced some of the most reactionary forces in the region; in October 1983 Arafat sided with a local sheik in Tripoli as the latter was massacring Lebanese CPers. Currently lacking any military muscle, Arafat is trying to work out an arrangement with the Israelis together with Egypt's Mubarak and Jordan's Hussein, two of Washington's main Arab clients.

On the other hand, the Christian Maronite Phalange is an openly fascistic force whose militias have nothing to learn from the Salvadoran death squads when it comes to barbarity. Yet the Phalange hardly represents the whole of the Maronite population; former Maronite president Suleiman Franjieh (whose son was murdered by the Phalange) is currently in Damascus with Jumhlatt seeking Syrian favor. And the 500,000 Maronites are only a third of Lebanon's Christian population (which includes Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholics, Armenians and other sects). Moreover, before the communal civil war, the Lebanese leftist groups, notably the CP, typically drew much of their cadre from the Christian communities while many downtrodden Shi'ites were recruited into their ranks. While they sided with the Muslim warlords in '75-'76, the result was the destruction of the left as a significant political force as Lebanon was increasingly polarized along communal lines.

As for Syria, far from being a Soviet juggernaut in the Near East, the Assad regime is extremely fragile and plays its own game in regional politics. Based on the Alawite sect (only 10 percent of the population), in 1982 Assad destroyed Syria's fourth-largest city, Hama, killing at least 20,000 of its inhabitants, in order to exterminate the Sunni-based Muslim Brotherhood. Syria first intervened in Lebanon in 1976 on behalf of the Maronite Christians with the support of both Washington and Jerusalem. This shifted the balance of forces, setting up the gruesome massacre of Palestinians at the huge Tel Zaatar camp by the Gemayels' Phalange and other Maronite gangs. And who has the Syrian army in Lebanon been fighting in recent months? U.S. Marines? The French Foreign Legion? The Israel "Defense Force"? No, the Arafat-loyal PLO. In December, Syrian-backed forces laid waste to two Palestinian refugee camps in northern Lebanon, killing an estimated 700 and wounding thousands of defenseless refugees and Lebanese Muslims while the Zionists cheered.

In short, the Lebanese political scene is a swamp. While Reagan wanted to use the U.S. "peacekeeping" troops as a

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CORRECTIONS

Regarding the article "Defend the Scoundrel! *Village Voice*'s Cockburn Up a Creek" (*WV* No. 346, 20 January), Alexander Cockburn informs us that Emma Rothschild is not the mother of his child, as we had incorrectly stated. We apologize for the error. And we look forward to being able to read more contributions from Alexander Cockburn on Arab-Israeli matters and Near Eastern issues in general.

The article "Fight Cold War II Witchhunt! Why Reagan Needs 'Terrorism'" (*WV* No. 347, 3 February) unfortunately omitted a concluding sentence: "And for those of you with not much to lose and a lot to win, and with the requisite guts, let's get rid of this whole damn system!"

Lebanon...

(continued from page 9)

springboard to achieve an anti-Soviet Pax Americana in the Near East, he only succeeded in sinking deeper into the quicksand of Lebanese politics. The pseudo-socialists (Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Workers World, etc.) who pretend that there is an "anti-imperialist struggle" going on in the midst of the communal slaughter in Lebanon are following their usual practice of cheering for the murderous nationalists of "progressive" Third World peoples (here identified with the Muslims, as opposed to the supposedly inherently reactionary Christians). And they are trying to cover their own complicity in calling for or refusing to protest the entry of the imperialist forces in the first place (August-September 1982). As we wrote last fall:

> "At bottom the present fighting in Lebanon is a continuation of the centuries-old communal/sectarian conflicts between Muslims and Christians, Sunnis and Shi'ites, Druze and others. A victory of the 'other side' (whoever that is at any given moment) against the U.S. and the Phalange would simply lead to new conflicts and deals among the myriad feudalist warlords of Lebanon, restoring conditions more or less as they existed before the Israeli invasion of June 1982."
>
> —"Rape of Grenada, Bloody Mess in Lebanon," *WV* No. 341, 4 November 1983

Israel Out of Lebanon and the Occupied Territories!

A few months before the present collapse of the Gemayel "government," former Israeli chief of staff Mordechai Gur warned:

> "...the U.S. hope for establishing a strong central government in Lebanon is unrealistic. No foreign military intervention can accomplish that—certainly not the U.S. Marines, whose force is so small that nobody takes it seriously."
>
> —*Newsweek*, 19 December 1983

The Israelis should know, since they tried and failed with far greater military forces to impose a Phalange government on Lebanon. They adroitly sucked in the Americans with talk of an easy anti-Soviet victory. And then to minimize their own casualties, they pulled back from the Beirut area last September to a buffer zone south of the Awali River...while Reagan's Marines were left holding the bag. The Israeli generals were no doubt laughing up their sleeves after the Beirut Marine headquarters bombing last October, but now they're getting worried as the U.S. prepares to pull out.

The Israeli army has its hands full with the 700,000 hostile, predominantly Shi'ite Muslim Arabs in southern Lebanon (now called the "North Bank"). The Israelis thought they could treat Lebanese Muslims like they do

Hoagland/Gamma-Liaison

U.S. battleship New Jersey opened up massive bombardment of Druze villages to cover Marines' humiliating withdrawal from Beirut.

Palestinians in the occupied West Bank—internal passports, armed searches, wanton brutality against the Arab population. But the Lebanese have not been cowed by almost 20 years of military terror, and they do not live in refugee camps. They own their own land and increasingly they are resisting the Zionist jackboot:

> "Many of southern Lebanon's 700,000 Muslims are being radicalized by religious leaders advocating violence, including suicide attacks, as a way of driving out the Israeli occupation force."
>
> —*Los Angeles Times*, 12 December 1983

So what is Shamir going to do? Tap Brooklyn for 5,000 more machine gunners in yarmulkes? Form 9,000 armed Jewish settlements? Meanwhile, Major Haddad's death has left Israel's *Einsatzgruppe* in southern Lebanon without a leader.

Israel is paying a high price—far higher than Sharon and Begin expected—in both money and blood for the Lebanon adventure, and this is polarizing the Hebrew population. The invasion/occupation is sapping the morale of the army, including the officers, who are no longer the cocky world-beaters of yesteryear. *Time* (13 February) recently reported one Israeli soldier in Lebanon crying out: "I don't want to be killed here. It's crazy. They are crazy. We are crazy."

The bloody course of Zionist expansionism contains the seeds of its own destruction. But with madmen like Begin, Sharon and Shamir sitting on a nuclear arsenal, the working masses of the Near East and the world cannot wait for the eventual disintegration of "Greater Israel." The Hebrew working class must be broken from Zionism before it's too late. For a binational Palestinian workers state as part of a socialist federation of the Near East!

Near East Flashpoint for World War III

Reaganite demagogues feel betrayed by the Marine pullout from Beirut. For them it means memories of frantic humiliation—those helicopters whirling out of the U.S. embassy compound in Saigon, with ARVN officers pushing aside women and children to climb aboard. For right-wing commentator Patrick Buchanan, speaking on ABC-TV's *Nightline* (8 February) "cutting bait" in Lebanon represents nothing less than the decline and fall of the West:

> "President Gemayel must be reflecting tonight on the great truism from the Vietnam era—although it is often dangerous to be an enemy of the Americans, to be their friend is fatal. The impending Marine withdrawal toward the ships of the Sixth Fleet recalls a similar episode some 700 years ago when the last of the crusaders sailed away, leaving Christians of the homeland to the mercy of the Mamelukes [!]. In one lifetime we have witnessed the winding down of the last great Crusade of the West."

But Lebanon is not Vietnam. The Indochinese war was a social revolution; in the Levant the U.S. is bogged down in a quagmire of communal and sectarian warfare. In Vietnam, the class interests of the proletariat were clear, and our side—the heroic workers and peasants who had fought imperialism, colonialism and its local puppets for 30 years—won decisively. That is why Vietnam was a historic defeat for American imperialism, sapping its political, military, moral and economic capital. In fact, the resulting "Vietnam syndrome" has been the most compelling component of the wave of pessimism and defeatism that has become dominant in the U.S. bourgeoisie over Lebanon. They simply believe that no matter what happens, they're likely to lose again.

Reagan wants to bring back the "American Century," the pre-Vietnam military-political arrogance of U.S. imperialism, in preparation for war against the Soviet Union. He wants to regain the nuclear superiority the U.S. held at the time of the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, and this time he wants to *use* it. The problem for Reagan is that the Russians aren't going to let the United States achieve that kind of strategic military superiority again, and they have the wherewithal to prevent it. Influential sections of the American ruling class are starting to balk at the trillion-dollar war budgets for weapons that don't work. While Reagan embarks on an escalating campaign of provocation—from KAL Flight 007 to crippling a Russian sub on the high seas—he can't seem to win on the battlefield anywhere except tiny Grenada. But while he can't put Lebanon back together under a U.S. puppet, Reagan can blow up the world.

Reagan is stung by his debacle in Lebanon, and this could make the imperialist beast even more dangerous. Particularly with the death of Soviet leader Yuri Andropov, the demonologists in the White House may imagine that the Kremlin will be paralyzed. U.S. imperialism's truly evil empire, the mass murderers of Hiroshima and My Lai, may strike back anywhere on the globe. It could be Central America. Or, as the heavy guns pound away at Syrian positions, it could just as well be in the Near East, where several thousand Russian advisers are stationed less than 100 miles from the Sixth Fleet. After all, many of today's Lebanon "doves" are committed Near East hawks. Remember, it was the Democratic Carter administration that proclaimed the U.S. had "strategic interests" in the Persian Gulf equivalent to its control of the Panama Canal.

The Near East could be the flashpoint for World War III. In point of fact, the most massive mobilization of U.S. naval power since World War II (more than 65 ships in the eastern Mediterranean and off the Persian Gulf) remains in place. As Henry Kissinger (along with many others) has pointed out, the endemic and explosive national antagonisms of the region make it resemble the Balkans before World War I. But unlike the inter-imperialist rivalries that engendered that slaughter, there is a *class line* between the two major world powers presently confronting each other: the bloody imperialist United States and the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet workers state. We warn of the danger of a new world war, instigated by the capitalists who live in mortal fear of new social revolutions. Most of all, with their military stretched across the globe and the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression still lingering on, the imperialists fear proletarian class struggle at home which could frustrate their war preparations and bring the whole damn system tumbling down. Defend the Soviet Union! U.S. Out of the Near East! Yankee Imperialists—Hands Off the World! ■

"Bloody Sunday"...

(continued from page 5)

rampage in Northern Ireland! No to forcible reunification! Ireland will only have a future as a workers republic in a socialist federation of the British Isles!

Make no mistake about it: the "anti-terrorist" hysteria is targetted at every minority, at every militant trade unionist, at every opponent of the imperialist war drive against the Soviet Union. It is orchestrated by the same people who witchhunt Arthur Scargill for telling the simple truth about warmongers Reagan and Thatcher and for correctly labelling their favourite "trade union," Polish Solidarność, anti-socialist: the same people who denounce NGA strikers and militant miners defending picket lines as "violent lawbreakers"; the same people who hounded the Bradford 12 and stage racist deportations. And taking his cue is lapdog Blunkett. Is it any surprise that six months ago this same "realistic" "socialist" was red-baiting the reformist Revolutionary Communist Party and the revolutionary Marxist Spartacist League as "disruptive," throwing "CIA agent" smears at the Soviet-defencist SL....

The NF is looking for another Bloody Sunday—with our blood! Irish, blacks, Asians, an army of Scots storming down across the border like Wallace and the Black Douglas did—all marching behind the power of organised labour—that's what's needed this Sunday. Let's bash the fascists! To hell with Blunkett's ban! What's at stake is the right of opponents of English imperialism, workers and minorities to organise and demonstrate. Remember what Marx said of Ireland and the English working class: "A nation which oppresses another cannot be free." Stop the fascist swine! Drive them into the sewers! The need for the unity of English and Irish workers, all Celtic minorities, blacks, Asians—all those targetted by the fascists—could not be posed more clearly than it is this weekend. Troops out of Ireland now! For a mass trade-union/minority mobilisation on Bloody Sunday to crush the fascist anti-Irish provocation!

Spartacist League/Britain
24 January 1984

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Not Protectionism But Union Organization

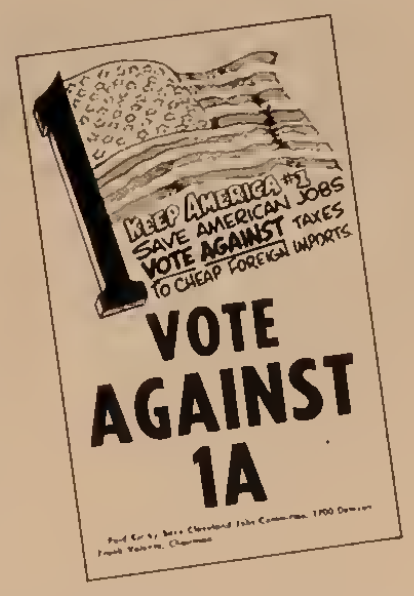
Cleveland Steel Referendum

CLEVELAND—For the last couple months, a collection of trade-union bureaucrats, ex-mayor Dennis Kucinich and the Republic Steel Corporation have been waging a protectionist campaign over a proposed new steel minimill in the industrial Flats area of Cleveland. Their bid to vote down a federally funded $7.5 million city council loan to the non-union Tubular Steel Corporation was narrowly defeated in a special referendum February 7. Citing the fact that the projected bar mill would use imported steel and get financing in part from Brazilian capital, the trade-union tops went into a chauvinist frenzy, plastering the town with red, white and blue posters complete with the Stars and Stripes and the slogan, "Keep America #1, Save American Jobs." United Steelworkers of America (USWA) District 31 head Frank Valenta ranted that the project "relies heavily on foreign money, foreign interests, foreign investments and a philosophy foreign to American working people" (*Plain Dealer*, 2 January).

Those workers who backed the bureaucrats' and bosses' referendum drive because they thought they were fighting scab shops were being taken for a ride. Right next door to the projected new mill is Republic Steel Corporation, organized by the USWA. Republic has an antiquated bar mill that used to employ 800 workers but has been indefinitely shut down. If Tubular sets up, it will have state-of-the-art technology. Republic doesn't want the competition, so they quietly backed the labor bureaucrats' campaign. According to the USWA's Valenta, working people ought to side with the "good bosses" who provide union jobs. What union jobs? Last time we looked over half the union steel workers in this country had been thrown out of work by Mr. Valenta's friends in the corporate boardrooms of U.S. Steel, Republic and J&L.

Valenta ought to know. The number of dues-paying USWA members in his district has been reduced from 47,000 to 26,000 through layoffs and plant closings. The American steel bosses are the biggest bunch of job-robbing pirates around, who have bled the mills for everything they're worth and then invested their profits elsewhere. U.S. Steel, for example, just shut its Cuyahoga Works in Cleveland along with several other plants. That was *after* they raked in their share of $4 billion in union concessions, supposedly to "save jobs," and after they spent $6 billion a couple of years ago to buy out Marathon Oil. More mill closings in the Flats are now expected as the result of the Republic-LTV merger. Having run the industry into the ground, the bosses have the gall to blame it all on foreign steel.

The trade-union bureaucrats who have parroted this company hype are now reaping the fruits of their protectionism. To beat the import restrictions, foreign capital is now investing in this country, the largest instance being the GM-Toyota deal in Fremont, California. The bosses have only one "small" condition: keep the unions out! Now the bureaucrats are whining for the "good old days." In Ohio, they've been joined by the Communist Party (CP), whose spokesman Rick Nagin appeared on the local ABC affiliate to throw his weight behind the bureaucracy's crusade. The accounts in the CP's *Daily World*, which tries to palm itself off as an advocate of workers' solidarity, simply neglect to mention any of the flag-waving, anti-foreign propaganda that the bureaucrats are peddling all over Cleveland. A letter from "a steelworker" printed in the *Daily World* (2 February) moans, "Although there is no law that says the the steelworkers' union can't go in and organize in the new mills, these companies will spend millions of dollars to keep the union out." There you have it, brothers and sisters: since the bosses don't like unions, there's no sense in fighting!



PROTECTIONIST POISON: **Posters distributed by union bureaucrats whip up hatred against foreign workers.**

Naturally, we don't advocate handing out taxpayers' money to the Tuhular Steel bosses or any capitalist outfit, whether American or foreign. Since when are there any "good bosses"? We stand for class struggle against both the scab outfits like Tuhular, who want to keep the unions out, and against the bosses at Republic, U.S. Steel and J&L, who want to gut the union. Should Tuhular follow through and set up operations in Cleveland, it should be met with a full-scale organizing drive. Use the weapons of labor solidarity—mass picket lines, hot-cargoing—to make sure that no steel leaves the Flats unless it's union steel. This should be linked to a fight against layoffs and pay cuts at the organized plants through sit-down strikes and other class-struggle weapons. The fact of the matter is the steel plants are shut down because of an international capitalist economic crisis. We need a workers government that would expropriate all the robber baron steel bosses and establish a planned economy in the interests of working people! ■

L.A. Demo...

(continued from page 12)

Metromedia's Channel 11. The 7 February *Los Angeles Times* wrote:

> "The release of Armstrong, who served only 8 months in jail, has drawn fire from a group of black organizations, some of which have asked for an investigation of his treatment by the criminal justice system. Earlier on Monday, members of the radical Spartacist group picketed against the release, calling it a racist insult."

Demonstration organizers reported increased police surveillance and harassment, including the cops' demand that the SL stop using a bullhorn.

A Spartacus Youth League spokesman at the demonstration denounced the string of racist killings by the L.A. storm troopers and pointed out the connection between anti-black terror and the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. She noted the absence of the reformist left at the demonstration:

> "The reason why they're not here today is because demonstrating in L.A. means going against Uncle Tom Bradley and the Democratic Party—their partners in the popular front. These groups call for civilian review boards of cops. Does anyone really think that the LAPD would listen to a civilian review board in Watts or any other community?"

Reformists like the Communist Party (CP) and the NAACP liberals share the illusion that review boards and "community control" schemes can actually "curb" these killers in blue. Last March when racist Orange County cop Sperl kicked in the door and gunned down a five-year-old black child, Patrick Mason, the CP's grotesque response was to call for "state legislation for community control of police" (*People's World*, 19 March 1983). This, in Los Angeles, the capital of cop terror, where critics of police brutality themselves automatically become police targets, not only in the movie *Blue Thunder* but also in reality as in the cases of Compton black activist Mattie Billinger and Michael Zinzun in Pasadena.

Today the LAPD has virtually declared martial law for the Summer Olympics as they squabble with the FBI, claiming they have the only really "tested" paramilitary outfit in the country! While ACLU liberals seek an out-of-court settlement in their suit against the former Intelligence Division, the "red squad" puts on a ski mask to reappear as the "Anti-Terrorist Division." The shoot-first-ask-questions-later LAPD, which treats black ghettos like Watts and the vast Latino barrio from East Los Angeles to Huntington Park as free-fire zones, grows out of L.A.'s history as an "open shop" town. Marxists know that the cops cannot be "reformed" or "controlled"; they are the bourgeoisie's hired thugs and strike-breakers, the pillar of racist capitalist "law and order." To fight the rampaging police brutality which is a daily occurrence here means mobilizing the power of labor at the head of the black and Latin masses. It will take a third American revolution, a workers revolution, to finally do away with these uniformed hit-men.

The fake-leftists who call for reforming the killer cops virtually ignored the racist torments perpetrated against Delois Young and made at most token protest against the hideous murder of Patrick Mason. The Spartacist League has taken the lead in championing the struggle of all the oppressed, organizing protests against Patrick Mason's racist murder and against the obscene $35,000 bounty payment to his killer. Last July the SL demonstrated to defend Delois Young's family against the racist cop vendetta. In March 1981 the Los Angeles SL held the first demonstration in this country against the wave of deportations of Salvadorans fleeing the U.S.-backed terror regime.

The February 6 demonstration was addressed by Marie Tolbert, mother of one of the black "Pontiac Brothers," who had led a 1978 prison revolt against inhuman conditions at Pontiac State Penitentiary in Illinois. She called for unity against "the capitalists and their hired henchmen, the police department ... because when we rebel, we are people that are not the capitalist class... who do they get but their little boys in blue to keep us in place?" Manuel Delgadillo, a telephone worker militant, stated, "It is the duty and obligation of every unionist in this city to come forward and in a loud and angry voice say: No more Delois Youngs! No more Patrick Masons! No more Ron Settles! No more Eulia Loves! No more Pontiac Brothers! No more cop terror!" SL spokesman Don Andrews called for a break with the Democrats:

> "Labor is the key to realizing everything that I have just mentioned. Because what we see in this country is the bureaucrats and the black Democrats and white Democrats are trying to pit sections of the working class against each other, to set them at each other's throats. So all these fake-left groups run up behind Jesse Jackson. He is for this racist protectionism, the idea that the Japanese are the enemy because they sell better cars, better Walkman cassette recorders. Mondale and Jackson and the Democratic Party and the labor bureaucracy are preaching the same reactionary racist poison targeting foreign-born workers for the crisis of American capitalism. And the Spartacist League maintains that the way to fight massive unemployment, layoffs, the industrial rot which is part and parcel of the dying capitalist system, is to expropriate the capitalists, take away their factories, take it out of the hands of the bosses."

The building of a Trotskyist vanguard party with a heavy black leadership component is key to the fight for labor/black mobilization against racist terror. Such a party will lead the working class and its allies to a victorious socialist revolution, smashing the capitalist system and bringing killer cop Armstrong, chief Darryl "Choke Hold" Gates and the rest of the racist killers to justice before workers tribunals from Harlem to Watts. The heinous crimes against Delois Young must be avenged! Black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Crime Against Delois Young Must Be Avenged!

L.A. Demo Protests Release of Killer Cop

LOS ANGELES—"If Delois Young Had Shot a Cop, When Would *She* Get Out?—Would She Be Alive?" demanded the Spartacist League demonstration outside L.A. County Courthouse on Monday, February 6. The emergency demo was called to protest the scheduled release of killer cop Robert Armstrong, the murderer of Delois Young's unborn child. The SL demonstration was the only public protest of the racist atrocity against this young black woman, and it brought out 30 angry and militant protesters, including phone, oil and postal unionists.

Armstrong was released Monday night after serving only *eight months* in a "minimum security" jail. It was L.A. sheriff's deputy Armstrong who in April 1982 staged the phony call to headquarters setting up the late night raid on Delois Young's Duarte apartment on the pretext of a "drug bust." Armstrong and his three other deputies then burst into her home, shooting Delois Young in the stomach at pointblank range. Young's full-term fetus was killed and she will have a .38 slug embedded in her chest for life. The cops have been on a vendetta against Delois Young, once dragging her out of her home in handcuffs for "missing" a court date for traffic tickets...because she was in the hospital at the time recovering from her bullet wounds! Last July after a jury convicted Armstrong of only second-degree murder, the racist judge reduced even this charge to "involuntary manslaughter" with a one-year sentence. Armstrong and his three accomplices are all walking the streets today.

The SL demonstration demanded "Vengeance for Young's Unborn Child!" and "Labor/Black Mobilizations to Stop Racist Terror!" Signs at the protest included "Life in San Quentin for Armstrong and Accomplices!" "Free Geronimo Pratt!" "Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive Fuels Racist Murders!" and "Hands Off Soviet Athletes!" Also "Gun Control Kills Blacks" and "Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign-Born Workers!" Local black radio stations picked up the demonstration call and the popular K.J.L.H played the announcement throughout the day. Local CBS-TV affiliate KNXT covered the demo on the 6 p.m. and 11 p.m. news as did

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Spartacist League-initiated demonstration outside L.A. County Courthouse, February 6.

Phone militants Ray Palmiero and Lauren Mozee.

Protest Racist Anti-Labor Frame-Up!

All Out for Lauren and Ray!

OAKLAND—*All out on Thursday, March 1!* Demonstrate from 8 a.m. to 9 a.m. at the Hayward Hall of Justice (24405 Amador in Hayward, California) and attend the preliminary hearing for victimized phone strikers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero set for 9 a.m. At this hearing the district attorney's office, local mouthpiece for the Reaganite racists and labor-haters, is supposed to present evidence to justify the trumped-up charges against the fired CWA (Communications Workers of America) militants. The judge will rule on whether or not to send the case to trial and what charges Lauren and Ray will face. The Phone Strikers Defense Committee (PSDC) is pursuing every avenue of legal defense while placing no confidence in the class "justice" of the capitalist courts. Militant protest and public exposure are key to defeating this vicious frame-up. The PSDC is calling this demonstration at the courthouse to demand: Stop the racist anti-labor frame-up—Mozee and Palmiero must not go to jail! Freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray!

On picket duty during the national telephone strike last August 10 in Klan-infested San Leandro, Lauren was assaulted by racist scab manager Michelle Rose Hansen, who called her a "black nigger bitch" and struck her in the face. Lauren defended herself, and Ray came to her assistance. For defending themselves and their union picket line against racist attack, Mozee and Palmiero were fired from their jobs, arrested on felony assault charges and denied unemployment benefits. While Lauren and Ray face years in prison, racist scab Hansen got off scot-free!

Lauren and Ray have been targeted by the D.A., phone company and FBI as members of the Militant Action Caucus, a militant opposition in the CWA, because Lauren was a ten-year member of the Black Panther Party and because they are an interracial couple. The bosses' war on labor that claimed the lives of union pickets Ray Phillips and Greg Goobie is also behind the frame-up of Lauren and Ray. The same system of racist injustice that murdered five-year-old Patrick Mason and Willie Lee Drumgoole in cold blood is trying to railroad Lauren and Ray.

In mobilizing for the widely endorsed labor/black demonstration in Oakland last October 29 we forced the D.A. to drop the most serious felony charge against Lauren and Ray. In every court appearance the courtroom has been packed with supporters of Lauren and Ray. Demonstrate on March 1 to make it clear that the decent working people of the Bay Area will not stand for South Africa-style justice! ■

Demonstrate! 8 a.m., March 1, Hayward Courthouse

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 349 — 2 March 1984

Bosses' Rules—A Losing Game

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win

The head of the bus drivers union bargaining council remarked, "It was a game of hardball and they played harder ball than we did," announcing the sellout of the Greyhound strike last December. That's for sure, and not only at Greyhound. Reagan set the tone in 1981 by firing 15,000 air controllers, the entire PATCO union. The next year Iowa Beef Packers used National Guard bayonets to shove a four-year wage freeze down the workers' throats. In 1983 came the Phelps-Dodge copper strike in Arizona—this time hundreds of Guardsmen, helicopters, armored personnel carriers, shootings, evictions, as the full power of the state was mobilized against the miners. After knocking off some peripheral sectors, the union-busters are now aiming at the heart of organized labor: the key national industrial and transport unions. At Greyhound they demanded a 25 percent pay cut. At the beginning the union tops soft-soaped the ranks, claiming they couldn't lose their jobs because the walkout was "legal." But the scab buses rolled anyway, cops busted picketers' heads coast-to-coast, hundreds were fired, and when the "negotiations" were over, those who went back had to eat monstrous concessions. What did the AFL-CIO bureaucrats do about this? Nothing—they sat on their hands and called a few token rallies so angry unionists could blow off steam.

UPI

Cops attack striking shipbuilders in 1979 at Newport News, Virginia.

In Reagan's America it's open season on the unions, on blacks, the poor, the illegal aliens, the radicals—we're all targets of the drive to roll things back to the way they were when the robber barons rode high in the saddle, when the only business of America, said Calvin Coolidge, was business. The biggest growth industry in the U.S. today isn't high tech or armaments—it's strike-breaking. The Pinkertons and Wackenhuts are having a boom providing the bosses with armored cars, vans and guards to protect scabs. These are the scum of the earth. Remember Lt. Calley? His first public act was strike-breaking on a railroad in Florida. From there to butchering Vietnamese women and children at My Lai was a natural progression. And if the death-squad killers get kicked out of El Salvador by the leftist guerrillas, pretty soon they'll be here as "freedom fighters" working for these scabherding outfits.

Unions aren't the only ones under the gun today—by no means. "Dividends are rising—black people are starving," we wrote recently. Every day there is new evidence. "Report Says U.S. Hunger Is Widespread and Rising," headlined the *New York Times* on February 7. Two weeks later the Census Bureau officially reported 34 million people living below the poverty line in 1982, an increase of almost 50 percent in the last three years. As the economy climbs up from the depth of the worst crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s some white workers are finding work again, but black unemployment is still officially above 15 percent. In fact, *almost half* of all black men do not have a full-time job! U.S. capitalism maintains a huge army of black and "illegal" Latin workers to provide low-wage labor; now they are using this club to beat the unions. During the Greyhound strike the company's appeal for scabs was directed explicitly at minorities and women. All across America, thousands of unemployed lined up to act as strikebreakers. And worst of all, they

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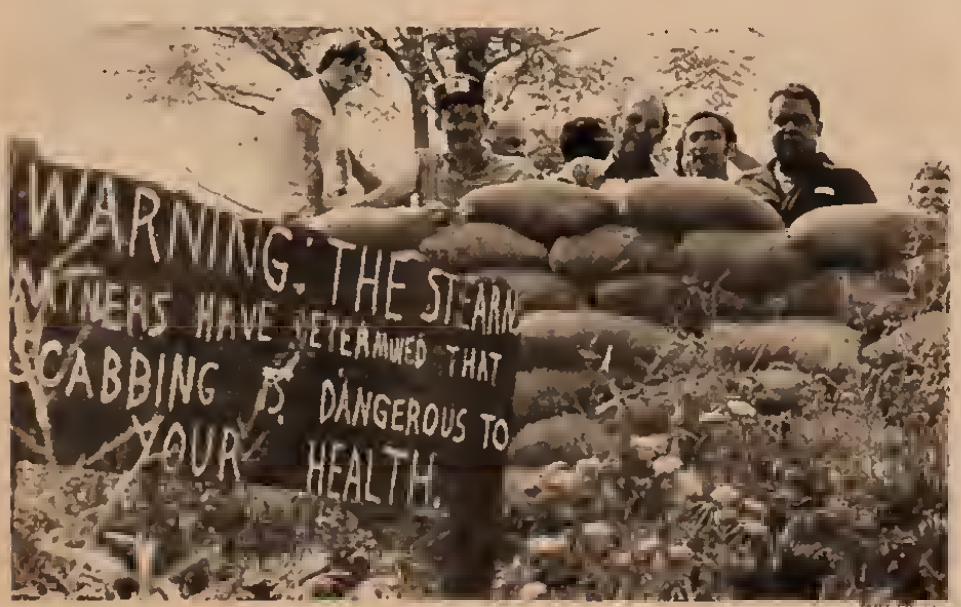

WV Photo

Striking coal miners in Stearns, Kentucky.

The "External Tendency"

From Cream Puffs to Food Poisoning

See Page 8

Letter from Lanka

20.01.84

The slogan that SL/L and *WV* so far used against the use of armed force by the Lankan government to suppress the Tamil people in the North and East of Lanka was "Withdraw all forces!"

In the fusion of the Bolshevik Group and the iSt [international Spartacist tendency] the following was included: "We demand the immediate withdrawal of the Sri Lankan government police and armed forces." *WV* 282-283 published slogans with the same meaning:

> "Free the victims of anti-Tamil state terror! Cops and troops out of Jaffna!" (*WV* 282, page 03)
>
> "Slogans raised at the New York demonstration called for the freeing of victims of the anti-Tamil terror, for the withdrawal of cops and troops from the Tamil areas, and for the right of self-determination for the Tamil people of Sri Lanka." (*WV* 283, page 02)

However, instead of this, *WV* [No. 336, 12 August 1983] published "Immediate withdrawal of Sinhala army units from all Tamil areas." This is a slogan that the NSSP [New Sama Samaja Party] used at one time. The TULF [Tamil United Liberation Front] at that time demanded that the forces deployed in the North should have a majority of Tamil-speaking personnel. NSSP's call for the withdrawal of Sinhala forces was in conjunction with the TULF call. In *Lanka Spartacist* Nos. 1-2 we criticized the NSSP slogan:

> "Falling in line with the demands of the TULF, the slogan of 'withdraw Sinhala forces' of the NSSP... (i.e. the NSSP accepts that there exist a Tamil-speaking bourgeois army)." (*Lanka Spartacist* Nos. 1-2, page 15)

"Immediate withdrawal of Sinhala army units from all Tamil areas" will create the wrong impression that it is agreed for a Tamil-speaking army to stay on. Though it is correct that the army sent to the North by the Lankan government is almost all Sinhala, the slogan "Withdraw all forces" would have been a more correctly formed slogan than the slogan in *WV* No. 336, and would not have created wrong impressions.

Not to demand "withdrawal of Sinhala army units from all Tamil areas!" is not capitulating to Sinhala racists. Such a demand equals the demand of Tamil nationalists and also forms a wrong impression. The slogan "Withdraw all forces from North and East" could be presented not allowing the working class to have wrong impressions about the bourgeois army.

Spartacist League/Lanka

WV replies: We thank the comrades for bringing to our attention the fact that the call for "withdrawal of Sinhala army units" from Tamil areas could, given the history of this slogan in Sri Lanka, be interpreted as advocating the replacement of Sinhalese with Tamil-speaking troops. Clearly, then, the earlier slogan "withdrawal of cops and troops from Tamil areas" is the correct one. ■

AP

Tanks of Lankan army of occupation patrol street in northern Tamil city of Jaffna, 1981.

TROTSKY

The Pathology of Renegacy

With the Hitler-Stalin pact and the approach of World War II, the pressure and prejudices of "democratic" imperialism generated among petty-bourgeois elements mass desertions from Marxism. In April 1940 the Burnham-Shachtman-Abern opposition split from the Socialist Workers Party rejecting defense of the Soviet Union. SWP leader James P. Cannon, America's founding Trotskyist leader, wrote of these deserters.

LENIN

They are all isolated individuals, yet each one of them considers his disillusionment with the proletarian revolution an important public event and continually makes all kinds of elaborate explanations of how it came to pass. On the eve of the real beginning of capitalism's second world war, which will crush out the lives of millions and tens of millions of human beings, they write about themselves, their disappointments and reactions, as though these were the most interesting and important subjects in the world. Well aware of their own shabbiness, they feel the need of self-justification and public approval. They are uneasy of conscience and seek to stifle it by shouting imprecations at those who have remained faithful to the banner they have deserted. They give every explanation of their motivation but the real one—the fact that they have no confidence in the socialist future of humanity and no stomach for the struggle to achieve it.

—James P. Cannon, "The Pathology of Renegacy,"
Fourth International (June 1940)

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No. 349 **2 March 1984**

DSA Protests Too Much

Somerville, Mass.

To the Editor:

You should get your facts straight before you distort them. Contrary to the assertions in your article on the Boston elections (*WV*, Nov. 4), at no time did Boston DSA endorse Ray Flynn for mayor—nor was an endorsement ever proposed. During the preliminary DSA was indeed divided, as was the larger progressive coalition of which we are a part. Some of us wanted a statement supporting both Flynn and King as by far the two best candidates (out of nine), though reflecting different constituencies—others sought an outright endorsement of King. No official position was taken. In the final DSA did endorse Mel King by an overwhelming margin.

Mike Pattberg

WV replies: As we wrote in our article, "Populism and Racism in Boston Elections" (*WV* No. 341, 4 November 1983), the choice between black liberal Mel King and the racist "born-again-populist" Ray Flynn posed a dilemma for the city's assorted liberals, fake-leftists and "progressives." No less so for the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). As DSA head Michael Harrington declared during the 1976 presidential race, if the Democrats nominated Mickey Mouse for president, he would vote for him.

The Boston elections, though, were "nonpartisan." So what's a good social democrat to do when two "liberals" are pitted against each other? While Mike Pattberg is correct in saying that his organization did not "endorse" Flynn in the preliminary, in Boston DSA honchos actively threw their support behind him. Thus DSA National Executive Committee member Peter Dreier asserted that "...our first choice for change is Flynn" (*In These Times*, 5-11 October 1983).

We've seen nothing in print to document Pattberg's contention that the DSA endorsed King in the final election. We'll take your word for it, but we have to observe that the DSA's "endorsement" evidently didn't mean anything. The DSA is an organization with even less discipline than the Democratic Party: its members support whomever they feel like. Did Peter Dreier, for instance, shift his allegiance from Flynn after DSA allegedly endorsed King? We have to douht it, since Flynn appointed Dreier as one of the people to head up his Housing Task Force.

The DSA is very "democratic" about its honchos saying whatever they want in pursuit of perceived personal interests. But there are limits. If any DSAers were to have denounced both capitalist candidates in Boston and come out for building a workers party against the Democrats and Republicans, we have no doubt they'd get about the same treatment as Harrington (then of the Socialist Party) gave the fledgling SDS in 1962. In the famous "Port Huron Statement," the young SDS New Leftists had come out against the anti-Communism which is Harrington's stock in trade. So he locked them out of their office. ■

ETs: No Home?

[West Virginia]

This is to inform you of an address change.... Congratulations on the circulation figures on you vs. *Militant* [see "*Workers Vanguard* KO's *Militant*," *WV* No. 342, 18 Novemher 1983]. Here's another straw in the wind. Even the political philistines of the SLP's *People* recognize you as the "principal Trotskyist organization in the U.S. today." But watch out. The would-be-big-frogs-small-ponds ET-types [the self-styled "External Tendency"—see article on SL National Conference, "Black and Red in Reagan's America," *WV* No. 342] won't go away now because with the SWP going under, there won't he anywhere to go. They'll provide a chorus for hackward elements inside the SL.

Good Luck!
S..I.

"Herr Doktor"

Edmonton, Alberta
31-1-84

Editors, *WV*

It's best not to use the German language as itself an emblem of fascism in your otherwise justified polemics, e.g. re "Herr Doktor" Graham p. 13 of 20-I-84 *WV* [No. 346]. It recalls the New Left 'Amerika' and has, per se, no political content—hence feeds into the intellectual laziness that looks at relatively obvious traits like race or nationality to the detriment of more important class dynamics. A small point, but I know you like to be precise in your characterizations.

Fraternally,
D. Justice

WV replies: Yes.

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OAKLAND

Freedom and Jobs Back for Lauren and Ray!

L.A. Blues Benefit Brings Down the House

LOS ANGELES, February 19—They were dancing in the aisles and clapping and stomping in time this evening as an enthusiastic crowd of over 250 people jammed the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC) Branch 24 hall to hear the finest blues benefit this side of Chicago. Featuring blues greats Big Joe Turner, Peewee Crayton and Percy Mayfield, the benefit organized by the Phone Strikers Defense Committee (PSDC) was a smashing success, raising $3,105 for victimized Bay Area phone strikers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. Ray and Lauren, a former member of the Black Panther Party, were fired from their jobs and face four years in prison for defending themselves and their union against a racist assault while on picket duty during last summer's national phone strike. The benefit also launched the Los Angeles Labor Black League for Social Defense (see below). Symbolically, behind the podium was a portrait of Patrick Mason, the five-year-old black child murdered in his own bedroom by a racist Orange County cop; flanking the stage were large photos of martyred strikers Greg Goobic of the Oil Workers and Greyhound driver Ray Phillips, both killed by scabs running through picket lines in the last two months.

The struggle to beat back the racist anti-labor frame-up of Mozee and Palmiero has generated wide support in the Los Angeles labor movement. The defense effort has been endorsed by a number of labor union locals and black organizations, as well as dozens of individual union officials and prominent black leaders in the area, including Los Angeles city councilman Robert Farrell who wrote a fundraising letter. Striking Greyhound workers in December passed the bucket, raising $459, while hard-pressed Continental strikers

WV Photo

William Marshall

WV Photos

Peewee Crayton (above left) and Percy Mayfield

Big Joe Turner (above)

pitched in $73. In January, Los Angeles Communications Workers (CWA) Local 11502 donated $200 directly to Lauren and Ray; the cement workers union collected $162 from delegates at their regional conference, then matched this from their general fund.

Four hundred fifty tickets to the benefit were sold in advance, 200 alone to CWA members who walked picket lines in L.A. last summer. The Los Angeles local of the NALC not only endorsed but donated the use of their hall, complete with lounge and union bartenders, purchased 20 buttons and took a block of tickets to sell to their members, gave the PSDC a contribution of $100 and even part of the proceeds from the bar. Several union locals and officials bought blocks of tickets including NALC Branch 2200 in Pasadena, International Association of Machinists Local 597 (representing the Continental Airlines strikers) and AFSCME Local 3234 at UCLA. Announcements of the benefit for the Phone Strikers Defense Committee appeared on the front page of the *Los Angeles Times* "Calendar" section and in the *Long Beach Press Telegram*; in addition there was a 40-minute live interview with Don Andrews of the Spartacist League and Steve Bull, a member of CWA Local 11502, on Pacifica radio KPFK's "Public Affairs" program and a feature spot on the major black radio station, Stevie Wonder's KJLH.

The crowd was more than two-thirds black with strong representation from local unions. IATSE technicians provided the sound, and the guest book shows unionists from OCAW, Teamsters, Laborers, ORTT, ITU, APWU, AFSCME and SEIU. Lauren and Ray were there, coming down specially from the Bay Area accompanied by two carloads of friends and supporters. Matty Billinger, a National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR) member and black community activist who faces racist frame-up charges in Compton was introduced to the audience. A black woman who drove with friends all the way from Fontana (where a black phone worker was paralyzed for life when he was shot off a telephone pole by a KKK sniper a few years back) told *WV*: "I'm really impressed to see such an integrated crowd fighting together for a very important case."

And the music was hot! The benefit brought together performers from all over L.A. It was an electric combination: musicians came down from the stage and played while mingling with the crowd on the dance floor. The audience was brought to its feet when the great Percy Mayfield joined premier L.A. blues guitarist Peewee Crayton for a joint set. When blues great Big Joe Turner wound up the show, he brought down the house. Big Joe, famous throughout the U.S. and well-loved among blacks in South Africa, had people dancing from the stage in front to the literature tables in the back. A real bond developed between the audience and the performers who gave generously of their time and talent, joining together in the fight for freedom and jobs for Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero.

Earlier in the program the audience was treated to a special appearance by Emmy award-winning black actor William Marshall. CWA member and emcee Manuel Delgadillo introduced Marshall as "a fighter for human rights and the oppressed who's here today performing as the great black abolitionist Frederick Douglass on behalf of two courageous unionists." Marshall sketched Douglass' early career after escaping from slavery and pointed to the important debates in the 1850s over what strategy would end slavery. He shared with the audience a paraphrase of Douglass' response: "Some believed in the ballot, some believed in the bullet. The Garrisonian abolitionists headed by William Lloyd Garrison believed in wielding the 'sword of the spirit.' Increasingly as the crisis neared that

continued on page 4

Labor Black League Launched in L.A.

The highly successful L.A. blues benefit held on February 19 to defend victimized phone strikers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero was also the springboard to launch the Labor Black League for Social Defense in Los Angeles. Don Smith, a black executive board member of the National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 2200 in Pasadena, made a moving appeal to the audience to get involved in the LBL:

> *"I'm not a speaker but I would like to say a few things. I remember in the early '40s when my parents had a restaurant, that the police in pretense of looking for somebody else broke in there and beat my father, knocked all his teeth out, and all they could say was that it was a mistaken identity. He never got anything out of it. Never got a recognition or apology. So what I'm really up here about is to hope that you would join with me in the Labor Black League for Social Defense."*

Brother Smith introduced the audience to Richard Fraser "who has made an important contribution to the black struggle." Comrade Fraser, a veteran Trotskyist, is the author of "For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Question." That evening ten people, including a number who worked with the Phone Strikers Defense Committee to build the benefit, joined the Labor Black League. We reprint below the Labor Black League statement.

Join the Labor Black League for Social Defense!

It's time that we come together in defense of our interests and survival by forming a Labor Black League for Social Defense in Los Angeles. For far too long, Los Angeles has been an open-shop, low wage, anti-union, racist city. The bosses have taken advantage of that, and their hired assassins in blue are killing us off like flies. Remember Patrick Mason? Founding members of the LBL demonstrated in downtown L.A. to show our outrage at the murder of this 5 year old black child, gunned down by Anthony Sperl, who was rewarded with an obscene $35,000 bounty and a lifetime "pension." Likewise we came out into the streets in opposition to the cop vendetta against Delois Young and her family to protest the release of Robert Armstrong, murderer of her unborn child. We are also demanding freedom and jobs back for fired phone workers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, who are facing time in state prison for defending themselves against a racist, company assault on their picket line.

The Labor Black League for Social Defense stands for mobilizing the masses of working people and oppressed for militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America, where the bi-partisan anti-Soviet war drive abroad means a fierce increase in cop/Klan terror and union busting at home. Initiated by and fraternally allied to the Spartacist League, a multiracial revolutionary Marxist organization, the Labor Black League for Social Defense is part of the revolutionary movement of the workers and oppressed against the bosses and for socialism.

When the Klan planned to march in Washington, D.C. on Nov. 27, '82 the

continued on page 4

Reagan's 1984 "Human Rights" Report

We are as sick and tired of "1984" Orwell stories as the next guy. But the Reagan government keeps them coming. The State Department recently announced that the word "killing" in their "human rights" reports would be flushed down the memory hole. From now on, U.S.-backed butchers all over the world will no longer "kill" their political opponents. What will it be called now? According to the well-polished assistant secretary for human rights, Elliott Abrams, as reported in the early edition of the *New York Times* (11 February), before they pulled the story: "We found the term 'killing' too broad and have substituted the more precise, if more verbose, 'unlawful or arbitrary deprivation of life'."

Along with this "semantic" change in the government's human rights scorecards, the State Department announced that henceforth the word "torture" would be "combined" in the category of "degrading treatment." And while they were at it, the "human rights" gang excised the phrase "invasion of the home" in favor of "arbitrary interference of privacy." "Torture," say the legal beagles at Foggy Bottom, is too "confusing." "Killing" is "too broad." "Invasion of the home" is "too literally interpreted." What's going on here is all too obvious.

From its inception under Democrat Carter, the imperialist "human rights" crusade has been a propaganda ploy in the anti-Soviet war drive. The U.S. screams bloody murder over the fate of Anatoly Shcharansky or Solzhenitsyn, who want to return to capitalism or even bring back the tsar. The problem for Washington is that it supports genocidal regimes which pile up dead bodies of the "disappeared" along the highways by the hundreds and thousands. It makes the Soviet "evil empire" look pretty damn good. So sure enough, using the new definitions the U.S. hails "a series of victories for democracy in Central and South America," while denouncing "a continuing deterioration in all ways" in the USSR!

It is no wonder the State Department has adopted a new set of accounting practices for "human rights" violations. When one of its favorite butchers pulls off a night-and-fog operation, breaking into the homes of suspected oppositionists and carting them off without trial, Elliott Abrams can list this as "an invasion of privacy." Or when American-trained sadists use their electric cattle prods and rubber hoses to torture their victims, it can be equated with "degrading treatment," in the USSR. And if the murder is done directly by junta armies in "anti-subversive operations," it doesn't count because it's "legal."

This anti-Soviet "human rights" Newspeak is nothing new. Jeane Kirkpatrick, the sinister Madame Nhu of the Reagan administration, got her job as UN ambassador by apologizing for "authoritarian" governments (which only torture and kill off their population) in contrast to Soviet-style "totalitarian" regimes where "freedom" has been abolished. This, of course, refers to "free enterprise"—the right to break unions, lay off hundreds of thousands, starve millions. Similarly, over in Maggie Thatcher's Britain the Tory press a few years ago figured out a way to avoid mentioning the embarrassing fact of elderly and poor people freezing to death because they didn't have a shilling to turn on the heat—they invented "hypothermia."

Another useful distinction in the government's lexicon is that between "economic" and "political" refugees. According to the immigration cops every right-wing "freedom fighter," like Vietnam's gold-hoarding, Hitler-loving mass-murdering ex-president, Marshal Ky, or the anti-Castro *gusano* terrorists, is welcomed as a political refugee. Those fleeing the death squads of El Salvador or Guatemala for "El Norte," however, are economic refugees to be hunted down and sent back. The day after killing the story about the State Department killing the word "killing," the *Times* reported that the U.S. was offering citizenship opportunities to more than 100,000 Cubans. No such luck for the thousands of Haitians who escaped from "Baby Doc's" hellhole—for these black "economic refugees," there are only concentration camps and deportation.

For several years now, the U.S. has rounded up and sent back thousands of Salvadoran refugees. The reign of death in this "free world" "democracy" is so

Hoagland/Gamma-Liaison

Victims of death squads in El Salvador.

chilling that scores, perhaps hundreds, of American churches are now consciously breaking the law to offer asylum to the hundreds of thousands seeking refuge from D'Aubuisson and his pathological killers. The U.S. claims the refugees have no "well-founded fear." But now a preliminary report of findings by the ACLU and religious groups lists the names of 50 deportees who were killed upon return; the number of nameless victims is far higher. Perhaps, as liberal commentator Bill Moyers remarked on CBS-TV, the State Department will respond by renaming the death squads the "Pro-Deprivation Defense League." But dead is dead. ■

L.A. Benefit...

(continued from page 3)

sounded to me like nonsense. If speech alone could have abolished slavery this work would have been done long ago. What we need, as I said in my paper, the *North Star*, is an anti-slavery government. For that the ballot is needed. And if the slaveholders refuse to heed the ballot, then it will come to bullets."

Marshall talked about the famous meeting between Douglass and the revolutionary anti-slavery insurrectionist John Brown, and how difficult it was for Douglass to turn down the invitation to go with Brown to Harpers Ferry. He had his own mission to carry out and his decision not to accompany Brown on the raid on the federal arsenal in Virginia was certainly *not* out of any illusion in reforms. Marshall quoted Douglass addressing a group of friends gathered to celebrate the anniversary of slave emancipation in the West Indies:

> "The whole history of the progress of human liberty shows that all concessions yet made to her august claims, have been born of earnest struggle.... Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will. Find out just what any people will quietly submit to and you have found out the exact measure of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them, and these will continue till they are resisted with either words or blows, or with both. The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress. In the light of these ideas, Negroes will be hunted at the North, and held and flogged at the South so long as they submit to those devilish outrages, and make no resistance, either moral or physical."

William Marshall's riveting performance received a standing ovation.

Lauren and Ray spoke briefly and got a rousing reception from the crowd. Thanking everybody present for coming out and the Letter Carriers for their hospitality and backing, Lauren extended a special thanks to the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League, the Partisan Defense Committee, the Phone Strikers Defense Committee, the Labor Black League and the Militant Action Caucus in the CWA for their hard work and unfailing support. Addressing the growing labor support in Los Angeles for the case Lauren said, "You guys here are the core of the militant unionists, like those in the Bay Area who have supported us and given us courage to fight for victory. And I know you will be with us in spirit on March 1st when we go into court again." Ray added, "Here in L.A. I know the phone workers experienced the arrest of an entire picket line during that strike and I want to applaud the determination of those picketers. We know that many of those people who were arrested and thrown into jail are in the forefront of our defense efforts down here in L.A."

While the bands were setting up for Big Joe, Don Andrews of the Spartacist League briefly addressed the crowd: "You all here have heard tonight a lot of mention about the Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Klan in Washington, D.C. in November 1982. That was us, and you all have to join in that. Because we're an integrated group of black, white and Latin socialists. And we hail the establishment of the Labor Black League for Social Defense in Los Angeles, which is your organization. It's your organization that you have to make into a fighting organization so we can get our equality and justice. But it's going to come through the fight for a workers revolution." ■

Labor Black League...

(continued from page 3)

Spartacist League initiated the Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK which led 5,000 blacks and trade unionists to stop them—and did! This was a victory that showed the power of blacks and labor—the kind of victory we need more of.

In solidarity with the Spartacist League, the LBL will initiate and join in future actions that struggle for full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers, in protests against the deportation of Salvadorans, and in marches to stop the racist roundups of foreign-born workers—in Los Angeles aimed especially against Mexicans and other Spanish-speaking workers. The LBL fights the bi-partisan anti-Soviet war drive by supporting the revolutionary struggles of working people and the oppressed abroad against U.S. imperialism. At the moment, our heroic class brothers and sisters in El Salvador have a chance to go for victory against the U.S. backed butchers. We are for the military victory of Salvadoran rebels. Against the reactionary *contra* invasion of Nicaragua, we say: Kill the Invaders! Complete and Extend the Revolution! And we support the fight in the unions for boycotting military goods to the Central American reactionary regimes and their allies. We call for labor strikes against U.S. intervention in Central America! The LBL fights for international working class solidarity, and for the defeat of the murderous U.S. rulers at home and abroad!

IF YOU STAND FOR—

1. Labor/black mobilizations to stop racist terror!
2. No to gun control!
3. Down with the death penalty!
4. Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism!
5. Full union and citizenship rights for foreign-born workers! Stop deportations! Down with La Migra!
6. Jobs for All! For a shorter work week with no loss in pay! For a massive program of public works under union control!
7. A fighting labor movement—Picket lines mean don't cross! Sit-down strikes against mass layoffs! Stop union busting! Organize the unorganized!
8. Fight for women's rights! Free abortion on demand, free quality 24-hour childcare! Equal pay for equal work!
9. Down with anti-gay laws! Full democratic rights for homosexuals!
10. For busing against segregated schools—Extend it to the suburbs! Free, quality higher education for all—Open admissions and free tuition with stipend!
11. Institute a massive social security program—health, pensions, full unemployment compensation at union wages!
12. Smash the anti-Soviet war drive! Support revolutionary struggles of working people abroad!
13. Break labor and blacks from the Democrats and Republicans! Finish the Civil War! For an integrated class-struggle workers party to fight for a workers government! Take industry away from its incompetent and corrupt owners! Rebuild America on a socialist planned economy!

—THEN JOIN THE LABOR BLACK LEAGUE FOR SOCIAL DEFENSE!

Los Angeles
19 February 1984

Spartacist League Forums

Black History and the Class Struggle

Speaker: **Don Andrews,** Founding member of Labor/Black League in Detroit, SL Central Committee

Sunday, March 4, 4:00 p.m.
Lewis Charles Recreation Center
4863 W. Adams Boulevard

For more information: (213) 663-1216

LOS ANGELES

Speaker: **Bernard Vance,** SL Central Committee

Saturday, March 17, 7:30 p.m.
Hyde Park Hilton
Cambridge Room
4900 South Lake Shore Drive

For more information: (312) 427-0003

CHICAGO

Congratulations on Victory Against Moonies' Deadly Libel

With the statement, "We no longer charge that the Spartacist League-Spartacus Youth League provoked the violence on that day," the Washington Times, *a newspaper operated by the sinister, anti-communist cult of Sun Myung Moon, was forced to eat its vicious libel against the SL/SYL and the Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the Ku Klux Klan on 27 November 1982 in Washington, D.C. (see "Moonies Forced to Retract Deadly Libel," WV No. 345, 6 January).*

We print below a number of the messages of congratulations received by the SL/SYL in the weeks since this victory—a victory for all the participants of the powerful mass mobilization of 5,000 which put a stop to the KKK's plans to parade its racist terror in the nation's capital.

Proud and Pleased

As a person who is greatly opposed to the Ku Klux Klan and their beliefs I was proud to be among the Spartacist members in their demonstration against the Klan. For this reason I am more than pleased that the libel suit has been dropped.

Georgia Roberts
Former Executive Secretary,
NAACP Norfolk Branch

Victory for All Intended Victims of KKK

The victory of the Spartacist League in its suit against the Moonies is a victory for all working class people, minorities and all the other intended victims of the KKK and Nazis in this country. The dangerous lie made by the Moonies to set up the SL for government repression on the scale suffered by the Black Panther Party in the late 60's has failed this time.

Ed Kartsen
Chairman, November 27
Labor/Black Mobilization
to Stop the KKK; opposition
candidate for president,
Transport Workers Union
Local 100, New York City

We Defeated the Power of a Poison Pen

Too many times organizations, parties and trade unions have been torn apart and sometimes destroyed by an untrue statement broadcast or printed and distributed to the public. I was down November the 27th, 1982 with all the trade-union sisters and brothers and not one of them was guilty of the charges made by the Moonies' reporter.

This is a very great victory for the Spartacist League, second only to the results of the event on November the 27th '82 when the Klan did not parade down the streets of Washington, D.C.

There were a whole lot of people, like reactionaries and Klan sympathizers, pro-Klan people, mad in Washington and around the country about what happened on November 27th. The Moonies tried to get back at the Spartacist League and the union sisters and brothers with the power of a poison pen. The Moonies did not write one thing against the Klan coming to good old Washington, D.C. and trying to spread false propaganda. But they did attack an anti-Klan group. Figure this out for yourself.

So I am proud I was at the November 27 anti-Klan demonstration, and I'm proud of the victory over the Moonies.

Black trade unionist,
steward in the IBEW,
Tidewater area

The Spartacist League Went After Justice and Won

If we lived under Sun Myung Moon's theocracy, I can assure you that you readers and the rest of the world would never have the successful libel suit brought by you against Moon's propaganda sheet, the *Washington Times*. Congratulations for a job well done and only done because you believed in what real freedoms afforded to us by our First Amendment.

I am one of these parents to whom you have referred in *Young Spartacus*. I also am a capitalist. If you include those two and add an active Christian, it would seem unlikely that we could get along so well. I am a richer person for having had a long day of talk with two of your West Coast members. We ended with mutual respect and understanding. Mr. Moon turns you to Satan if you slightly disagree with him or disagree with his orders. Moon libelled the Spartacist League and the League went after justice and won. We can now only hope that the journalists who contribute to the *Washington Times* will wake up. I would like to think that their affiliation is all "heavenly deceit." However, I am afraid the heavenly dollar is too tempting for all of them.

Daphne Greene
Anti-Moonie activist

ACLU Official Applauds

"Thank goodness that the truth comes out."

E.H. Duncan Donovan
Vice President ACLU,
Southern California

The following is an excerpt from a longer interview with Ford Greene, attorney and ex-Unification Church member, an anti-Moon activist who endorsed the SL/SYL suit against the Moonie libel (see Young Spartacus *No. 115, February 1984). We do not agree with everything Greene says here, particularly concerning the Soviet Union and the characterization of the Moonies at this point as "fascist." But no one knows better than he just how sinister the Moon cult is, and we greatly appreciate his aid and assistance in this hard-won victory.*

A Victory for Truth Over Lies

One thing I've not yet had an opportunity to fill in, is that according to the dogma, the religio-politico-social dogma of Sun Myung Moon, the ultimate manifestation on earth of Satan is communism. And that's why I love "Moonie God Apologizes to Marxist 'Satan'" [headline of SL press release of 26 December 1983]. You don't know how satisfying it was for me to read that! It almost makes me join.

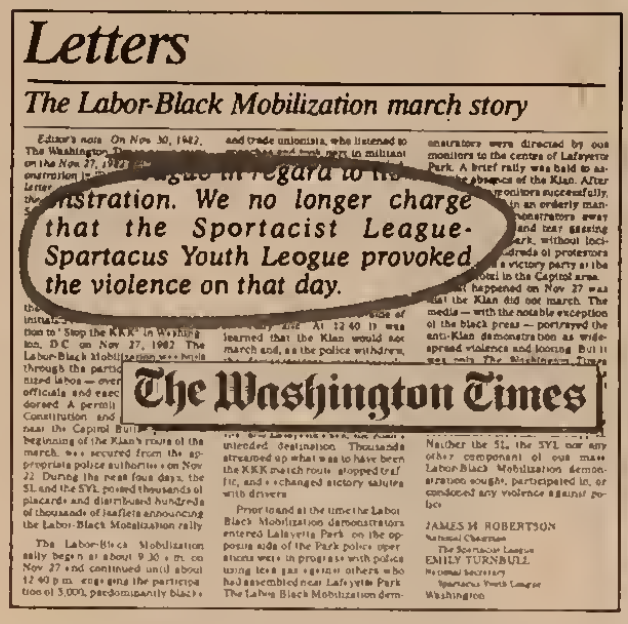
I had extreme reservations [about endorsing the suit against the *Washington Times*]—I don't like communism because it's collectivist, and I don't like collectivism. I like individualism. But the *principle* is right. The principle is *right*. And so, upon "mature reflection" I did! And I'm glad. I'm proud. I honestly am. I xeroxed your material so I could give it to all my friends. Because the thing is freedom of speech, and is fascism. And I mean, really, what do I know about the Spartacist League? What, I've got some Ayn Rand image? And just because of people that Ayn Rand didn't like in Russia and that she so very convincingly portrayed as being so horribly fascist doesn't mean that the Spartacist League is the same way.

The Spartacist League is a small but incredibly powerful group as you know much better than I. But what they [the Moonies] were trying to do is dirty. It's sleazy dirt. So I'm glad and I'm proud. It's a victory for truth over lies. Because the Moonie newspaper lied their asses off and fabricated all kinds of intellectually heinous garbage, and the Spartacist League fought back and kicked ass and got a nice, full retraction. And I see that as being a victory for, first, the intelligence of human beings; second, for the free flow of information; and last but not least, for the victory of truth over lies, or life over death. Morality over corruption, if you want to really get nitty-gritty about it. Because that's what it is.

And what kind of ripples will flow therefrom I don't know. I would hope that it's not a ripple but a tidal wave, but I suspect it's a lot closer to a ripple. But it is the statement, in a judicial context, that once again the Unification Church got busted for lying and *hurting* somebody.

The thing to me that has the significance, and the beauty and the strength, the grandeur and the power, is that victims are only voluntary. And that if you're made a victim and you don't want to be one, you can be the victor rather than the victim. And to me, that's the beauty of the settlement and the letter of retraction of phony lies and bullshit. That's what it means to me.

Ford Greene


Letters
The Labor-Black Mobilization march story
...nstration. We no longer charge that the Spartacist League-Spartacus Youth League provoked the violence on that day.
The Washington Times

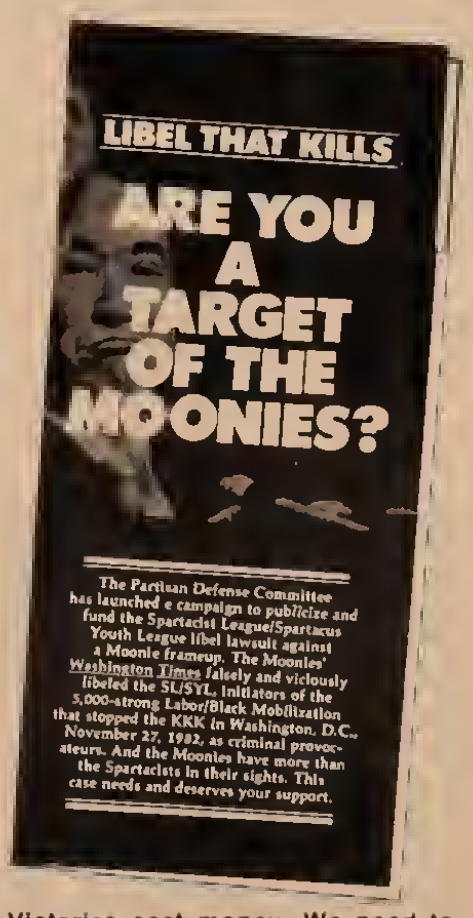
WV Photo

Moonie press retracts "libel that kills" (26 December 1983) and publishes statement by SL on successful Labor/Black Mobilization of 5,000 which stopped the Ku Klux Klan on November 27, 1982.

Over 70 Union Locals and Officials Supported

I think it was a big victory to force the Moonies to retract their libel. This was a victory for all of us who were involved in stopping the Klan from marching in Washington and I think the Spartacist League did a fantastic job in winning it.

continued on page 15



Victories cost money. We need to cover costs of publicity, legal and investigative fees. Celebrate the defeat of the Moonie libel with a check to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

Workers to Power: For Workers' Militias and Soviets!

End of the Road for Bolivian Popular Front

LA PAZ, February 26—Bolivia today is a classic case of the bankruptcy of popular frontism. The government of Hernán Siles Zuazo's Unidad Democrática y Popular (UDP) flounders from crisis to crisis, satisfying no one and infuriating everyone. After numerous reshufflings, Siles' cabinet is made up of representatives of his own bourgeois Revolutionary Nationalist Movement-Left (MNRI), the pro-Moscow Communist Party (PCB), Christian Democrats and military officers. Faced with urgent social and economic problems deriving from Bolivia's backwardness, 18 years of plunder by military despots and the capitalist world economic crisis, during its year and a half in office the UDP's incapacity has been total. In this, the poorest country in Latin America, social contradictions are posed with razor sharpness, and cannot be assuaged by sermons of class peace, nor by the MNRI's stenciled wall slogans: "Strikes and Work Stoppages—No! Democracy and Productivity—Yes!" "A Democracy Without Order Perishes in Disorder" and "Down With Ultra-Left Demagogy!"

The social contradictions are not merely explosive—they are exploding everywhere. Public employees strikes paralyzed many government functions; unions prevented even some ministers from entering the ministries. Telephone workers and employees of the Central Bank of Bolivia are out. The country's doctors, employed by the government or social security agencies, went on strike for higher salaries; their average *monthly* pay is less than US$40! For a week all ground transport to and from the capital city of La Paz was cut off by a road blockade of peasants protesting rising transport costs, low prices for their produce, and the government's peasant affairs minister. In the south, angry peasants held a train with 2,000 passengers hostage. Inside La Paz, slum-dwellers associations—which hold large outdoor meetings of women dressed in the traditional garb of bowler hats, multicolored shawls and multiple skirts—have organized marches through the streets and blocked traffic to protest transport costs. In Potosi miners' cooperatives blocked highways and roads with stone barricades and trucks. Meanwhile, factory workers' organizations in La Paz and the industrial center of Cochabamba officially declared Siles an enemy of the working class. All this follows the miners' seizure of the state mining trust COMIBOL last spring, "resolved" by a decree establishing "majority workers co-management" of the mines.

The Central Obrera Boliviana (COB), the powerful labor federation, centered on the militant tin miners, threatened a 48-hour general strike to force Siles to live up to the January 29 COB-government agreement that ended a seven-day hunger strike by 1,000 union leaders. The COB bureaucrats, led by class traitor *máximo* Juan Lechin, repeatedly "postponed" the general strike, making a mockery of their "final" ultimatum to the government. After dumping his minister of industry and commerce, Siles finally pulled the decrees out of his pocket and granted a miserable 57 percent raise in the minimum wage (to 47,000 Bolivian pesos, or US$23.50 a month). In a country where inflation is over 300 percent and is expected to reach 1,000 percent this year (*Presencia*, La Paz, 26 February), Siles' decrees represent a huge *wage cut*. The UDP well deserves the sobriquet "starvation democracy."

UPI

Workers protest in the streets of La Paz, November 1982, one month after popular front comes to power.

With the PCB acting as hatchetmen for Siles, with the Lechin union bureaucracy dissipating militancy through repeated marches and demagogically playing with the general strike, the crying lack of coordination among the struggles of different sectors poses the danger of demoralization of the combative Bolivian proletariat. The urgent need is for a revolutionary, Trotskyist leadership to smash the popular front of starvation through a revolutionary mobilization of the exploited for a workers and peasants government. A principal obstacle to the construction of such a genuine Trotskyist party is the centrist Partido Obrero Revolucionario (POR) of veteran revisionist Guillermo Lora. While denouncing the Siles regime and calling for "proletarian revolution and dictatorship" in its press and in slogans painted on walls all over La Paz, the POR sows suicidal illusions with its demand for "Bolivianization of the armed forces," and "an army at the service of the working class," and the "formation of a revolutionary tendency" in the officer corps.

The stridently *anti*-internationalist POR has twice helped destroy enormous revolutionary opportunities: in the 1952 "National Revolution" with its support to the "left wing" of the MNR government, and in 1971 with its capitulation to left-nationalist president General Juan José Torres. In the period before Siles came to office, the POR blocked with his bourgeois MNRI in the unions and sought an "anti-imperialist front" with parties of the UDP. In contrast, genuine Trotskyists would emphasize that the *arming of the proletariat* (workers' militias) and the formation of *soviets* (organs of workers power centralizing the struggle against the bourgeois government) are the only defense against Siles' attacks and the ever-present threat of a new military dictatorship. Proletarian revolution is today posed pointblank as the *only* conceivable way out for Bolivia's exploited masses!

And the danger of a right-wing takeover looms larger each day. The petty bourgeoisie is at wits' end. On the streets one hears the lament that at least under the military there was order and bread. Chaos is Bolivia's other name today. As in Weimar Germany, the repeatedly devalued currency is virtually worthless; people must carry huge bundles of bills around to purchase necessities. And necessities are often unavailable. "*No hay pan*"—there is no bread—is a common sign in restaurants and shops. (The U.S. government has cut off wheat donations until the UDP government lifts subsidies on bread and other products.) Housewives get up at dawn to stand in huge lines for cooking oil and other commodities. The black market flourishes and dollars sell for four times the official rate.

Large sections of the heterogeneous urban petty bourgeoisie could be won to the side of the proletariat by a resolute struggle for workers state power, under the leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard. But today, in the absence of that leadership, enraged by a social crisis without apparent solution and a government drowning in its own impotence and perfidy, much of the petty bourgeoisie is being driven to the right, and yearns for the return of a "caudillo" strongman like the blood-soaked Banzer. In addition to the never-ending coup conspiracies within the officer caste, talk abounds of a "constitutional coup" by Banzer and his ally, "historic" MNR leader Victor Paz Estenssoro, head of the nationalist government formed in 1952, and participant in Banzer's 1971 coup. This "constitutional coup" would consist of the ejection of Siles by the parliamentary majority and the formation of a right-wing bonapartist regime to crack down on social unrest, without relying solely on the narrow base of an officer corps apparently somewhat hesitant to retake government power alone right away.

Thus the popular front not only steals the masses' miserable crusts of bread to serve the International Monetary Fund and the Bolivian bourgeoisie; it imperils the very existence of the workers movement and the difficult survival of thousands of militant proletarians. For the vast majority of the population of this landlocked Andean country, liberation from a life of incredible poverty (and prevention of another bloody "cocaine coup") requires the forging of an *internationalist* revolutionary vanguard party, part of the struggle to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, to lead the workers to power. ■

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Toronto Rally to Defend Anti-Fascist Unionists Demands:

Stop the Frame-Up by KKK/Nazi Union-Busters!

TORONTO—"Labor must show the way, stop the Nazis and the KKK!" chanted nearly 100 unionists, leftists and other opponents of fascism who packed the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) Toronto local hall on February 11. They had come to protest the frame-up of two postal unionists, Paul Schneider and Mike Mares, by self-declared KKK "intelligence director" William Lau Richardson and his Nazi sidekick, George Graham. Schneider and Mares, members of Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) Toronto Local 1, face a possible ten years in jail on charges of "assault causing bodily harm" for defending themselves and others against Richardson and Graham's provocative harassment and intimidation of a Toronto demonstration in defense of abortion rights last October.

Behind Richardson and Graham's outrageous frame-up charges stands the capitalist state whose attorney (known as the "Crown" in this country where Queen Victoria's birthday is still celebrated as a solemn national holiday) is prosecuting on behalf of these fascist scum. To paraphrase the motto of the RCMP (the "Mounties"), the government always defends their man—and Richardson has a long career as a professional agent provocateur and terrorist for the capitalist state. Born in the United States, this Ku Klux Klan "chief of intelligence" has also worked for the CIA and U.S. Army intelligence as well as the RCMP. In mid-1983, Richardson was congratulated in the *KKK Action* newsletter for becoming a "Great Titan."

After he moved to Canada, Richardson, an explosives expert, was hired by the notorious union-busting outfit Centurion Investigation, Ltd. Richardson had admitted under oath that while employed with Centurion he made bombs that were planted in the cars of union officials, militants and foreign workers, in order to break strikes (e.g., the 1974 Douglas Aircraft strike) and disrupt union organizing drives. He also brags about collecting information on Chilean refugees in Toronto for ITT. Now this convicted criminal terrorist is trying to throw Schneider and Mares behind bars.

Speaking at the rally Paul Schneider explained why he and Mike Mares were being targeted on these frame-up charges:

> "We're supporters of the Trotskyist League [Canadian sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency], a socialist organization that stands against capitalism and the filth it breeds like the KKK and Nazis.... Richardson and Graham are coming after us because we went out to a demonstration to defend Dr. Morgentaler, a man who is a victim of racist slander, a concentration camp survivor, a guy who's had his [abortion] clinics raided by Gestapo methods. When these creeps turned up we defended that demonstration and ourselves against them. That's why we're being framed up. It's because we're opponents of the Klan and fighters for socialism."

This case has generated widespread support across Canada. From the Maritimes to British Columbia, more than 300 organizations and individuals, including five union locals and over 75 union officials, have endorsed the demand of the Committee to Defend Anti-Fascist Unionists: "Drop the Charges Against Paul Schneider and Mike Mares!" To build the rally, some 7,000 leaflets and 1,000 posters were distributed, and the Committee has raised over $5,000, of which more than $1,200 was raised by its February 11 Toronto rally.

As a demonstration of the widespread backing for Paul and Mike, on February 1 more than two dozen supporters came out for their preliminary hearing. With counsel provided by well-known Canadian civil liberties lawyers Paul Copeland and Clayton Ruby, Schneider and Mares intend to pursue a vigorous legal defense while placing no confidence in the "justice" of the capitalist courts. That day in court gave a taste of the forces lined up behind Richardson and Graham. Ostentatiously trying to intimidate LCUC members from demonstrating their solidarity with Schneider and Mares were two postal supervisors in uniform. In the corridors of the courthouse Richardson, Graham and a cop were overheard discussing issuing arrest warrants for supporters of the two postal unionists. And according to a local reporter there were at least five "intelligence" agents in the courtroom that day.

Playing his part, the "Crown" attorney attempted to stop the defense from cross-examining their first witness, Graham, about his Nazi and Klan connections. But his objections were overruled by the judge. Graham at first denied any involvement with fascist organizations, only to testify in the next breath that he and Richardson spent their time at the KKK headquarters in Toronto. He went on to admit that he personally knew every major Klansman in Canada including the head of the Canadian KKK, Alexander McQuirter. Finally he was confronted in court with an "Official Supporter of the National Socialist White People's Party" card bearing his name.

At the center of the campaign to defeat the KKK/Nazi frame-up of Schneider and Mares is the mobilization of mass protest by the labor movement and minorities for whom Richardson's name is synonymous with union-busting and racist terror. Speakers at the rally represented a wide spectrum of political opinion and organizational affiliation, including Judy Rebick of the Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics; Andre Kolompar, vice president of the CUPW Toronto local; veteran Canadian socialist Ross Dowson; Charles DuBois, a Detroit auto worker and organizer of the 27 November 1982 Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Klan in Washington, D.C.; and a spokesman for the Partisan Defense Committee.

Statements of support were also presented by the Canadian groups representing the two wings of Ernest Mandel's pseudo-Trotskyist "United Secretariat": the Revolutionary Workers League (followers of Jack Barnes' American SWP) and the pro-Mandel Socialist Workers Collective. Ironically, two evenings earlier the RWL politically excluded Paul Schneider from a public forum as a supporter of the Trotskyist League, thereby preventing him from presenting his case. Meanwhile, Judy Rebick and the SWC were peddling the anti-communist calumny about TLC "sectarianism" as they spoke from the rally platform representing a broad spectrum of political opinion.

Another speaker at the rally, Ontario Federation of Labour vice president and Iron Workers Local 721 president John Donaldson, pledged: "I'm going to use this platform today to tell the labor movement, and I speak specifically of the OFL, that the OFL should rally all groups, no matter what their political philosophy is, all groups to get behind these two brothers. And in so doing, we can attack racism."

A few LCUC officials with their own sinister connections to the fascists want to sabotage this defense. In their local Schneider and Mares have had to combat open defenders of William Lau Richardson and other fascist causes like the Canadian Anti-Soviet Action Committee (CASAC, which encompasses the old Canadian fascist Western Guard, the Nazis and Klan). While sabotaging any effort to stop the state in conjunction with proven union-busting fascist terrorists from jailing militant members and defenders of the union, the Local 1 executive (unsuccessfully) attempted to get the membership to readmit a scab who attempted to run over a shop steward in a recent strike!

Further, LCUC national president Robert McGarry has conducted his own witchhunt of Schneider and Mares to sabotage LCUC support for this case of vital interest to the whole labor movement, one involving their own members. For example, in a letter to the Vancouver LCUC local McGarry wrote: "From the information we have these members should be treated the same as any two members who belong to other rival organizations outside of the LCUC and who have gone out, taken part in a fight and have been charged with assault." The Vancouver local told McGarry to shove it and endorsed the Schneider/Mares case. As Schneider and Mares pointed out in a January 17 leaflet co-signed by five other Local 1 members, McGarry's witchhunt may not be unrelated to the fact that his two brothers, Daniel and John, owned Centurion Investigation, Ltd. and were convicted for its terrorist activities. And it was Centurion which employed Richardson to conduct his murderous, union-busting bombing!

The witchhunt against Paul Schneider and Mike Mares is part of a broader attack on labor and minorities. Inside LCUC Local 1, supporters of the fascist CASAC have put forward motions to expel 32 members from the union. Audrey Minton, a spokesman for the Committee to Defend Anti-Fascist Unionists, commented to the *Toronto Clarion*, "Fascists crawl out of the woodwork in the current atmosphere of anti-Soviet hysteria." What is posed by the fight against this fascist frame-up was laid out at the February 11 rally in a warmly received statement by Oliver Stephens, speaking for the TLC:

> "Stopping this frame-up of Paul and Mike is going to take a lot more than some arguments in the courts. What Richardson and Graham have started with their charges, they and their ilk intend to finish in the streets, with their lynch ropes, their gas ovens and their death camps. The Trotskyist League of Canada is struggling to build a fighting, multiracial working-class party, to sweep the fascists from the streets. We need a workers government to avenge all our martyrs because there have been too many. And we will not let Paul and Mike be added to that list. What we need is North American socialist revolution to put an end to this system that lets the Richardsons and lets the Grahams walk the streets with impunity!" ■

Spartacist Canada photos

Postal union militants Mike Mares (left) and Paul Schneider. At right: Rally to defend anti-fascist unionists in Toronto, February 11.

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Toronto
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The "External Tendency"

From Cream Puffs to Food Poisoning

On 17-18 December 1983 the Spartacist League/U.S. held a well attended plenum of our Central Committee. Although the plenum was convoked to deal with other subjects and problems, an exotic issue was an agenda point on the self-styled "External Tendency" (ET) of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt). The plenum directed that we prepare an article for publication in *Workers Vanguard*.

The ET claims to be a political tendency wrongly excluded from the iSt. This is their genteel way of saying that they *quit*. As we have remarked before, in the political climate of the "Reagan years," with U.S. imperialism making ready for war against the Soviet Union, a slice of our party membership has cut and run. Most of these quits grow out of fear of this period and distaste for the SL's response to it: our work among the black masses to galvanize militant resistance to fascist provocation and racist terror; our political confrontations with the pro-imperialist union bureaucracy; and above all our Trotskyist defense of the USSR against imperialism.

The ETs are composed of several interlinked clots united by their anti-Spartacist hostility. They mainly take their coloration from a couple of small-time aspirants to union-bureaucratic influence on the U.S. West Coast. These characters logically would fit right in with the Weinsteinites, late of the Socialist Workers Party, behind whom stands the lure of America's "mainstream" social-democrats, the Democratic Socialists. There are also some Canadians, former Mensheviks and cliquists in the Canadian section, and some Germans whose leader, long a rightist critic, quit after having opposed our Iran slogan, "Down with the shah, down with the mullahs!" The Germans quickly pronounced the iSt beyond reform; the North Americans still profess a desire for readmission to fight the iSt's purported degeneration.

Though linked by the rightist character of quits in this period, the ET is a partly accidental and wholly unprincipled association. Never a tendency inside the party, these dropouts coalesced in October 1982 into a grouping with the posture—widely differingly applied—of being a loyal opposition professing general support to our program and hostility to our "bureaucratic" leadership. The ETs pay unacknowledged tribute to their political heterogeneity by their choice of name. They define themselves purely in organizational terms, "external" to the iSt—an open appeal for rotten blocs.

The ET's central thesis was that:

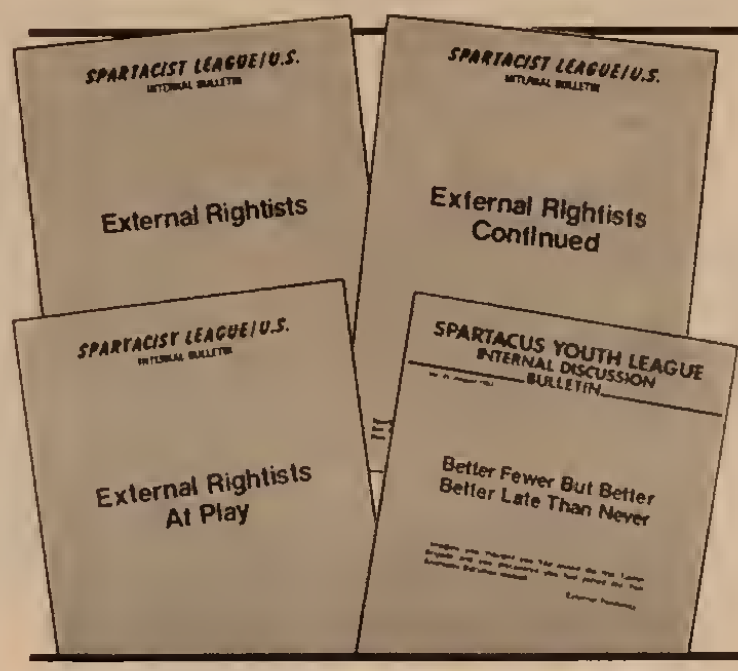
> "...while the SL's program remains revolutionary, its leadership collective increasingly exhibits hyper-centralist, paranoid and personalist characteristics. These tendencies on the part of the leadership have reached a point where they call into question both the possibility of significantly enlarging the organization and of reproducing Trotskyist cadres within it."
>
> —"Declaration of an external tendency of the iSt," 15 October 1982

These sentences are themselves a declaration of bankruptcy. The ETs quit, found one another, and declared themselves to be a "tendency"—having already separated themselves from and spurned the one organization they recognize to be the embodiment of revolutionary Marxism on this planet.

Darkness at Noon?

To alibi their absence of political spine the ETs want to lay the separation at our door. They refer to their cowardly departures as "purges," and describe themselves as having been "driven out" and even "expelled." Let us see what the record reveals about these victims of SL "bureaucratism."

We will begin with Bob Mandel, a petty-bourgeois New Left princeling who now howls the loudest about the SL "regime." Mandel quit at the 1980 SL National Conference, in the face of overwhelming sentiment by the conference delegates to seek his expulsion. The delegates were furious when they learned that just prior to the conference, Mandel had taken a job circumventing union hiring hall procedures. A hypocrite to boot, Mandel had publicly objected to striking union brothers being put at the top of the list for dispatching from the hiring hall, ahead of Mandel, although he had argued in the union just two nights earlier for "solidarity" with the very same strikers. Mandel's signed statement dated 17 August 1980 acknowledged this and admitted "lying to the party for years."



Some recent SL internal bulletins. What kind of "bureaucratic" party scrupulously makes available to all its members the attacks penned by hostile opponents who walked out years earlier?

Today Mandel claims the written statement was obtained from him while he was in a state of "collapse." (Since he did not attempt to repudiate it until June 1982 we can only marvel at the length of this "collapse.") His repudiation itself speaks volumes. "I did not 'lie to the party for years'," he protests. He explains he merely "...gave Nelson slightly biased reports of union meetings, based on what I thought he wanted to hear rather than what I thought or what had actually transpired."

Mandel, self-styled defender of workers democracy against the bureaucrats of the SL regime, was also in hot water with the conference delegates for disrupting a Socialist Workers Party (SWP) public forum two months earlier. This was the only breach of workers democracy in the history of the iSt, and was acknowledged as such in *Workers Vanguard* (see *WV* No. 259, 27 June 1980). The event took place in the Bay Area at a moment when the SWP had already been for some time excluding SLers from SWP "public" forums falsely claiming we were "disrupters." At this forum, unaccountably, a sizable SL intervention team was permitted inside, and found itself in effective control. This fortuitous occurrence was a golden opportunity to make the SWP have, for a change, a public "public" meeting with an orderly democratic discussion. But, finding themselves with the upper hand, our comrades were unruly and gave the SWP an excuse to dissolve the forum. We made public self-criticism in *WV*, and internally fought for a full accounting. Both Mandel was the main architect of the incident, as he admitted after a struggle and acknowledged in his written statement.

Co-leader of the West Coast ETs is Harlan, who resigned from the SL in September 1981 complaining of "...an internal life characterized by a defensive, hierarchical regime combined with a personalistic, Jesuitical method of internal argument and discussion. This process has advanced to the point where the S.L./S.Y.L. membership is increasingly composed of 'true believers' and cynics." Harlan's god-that-failed language bespeaks his renegacy.

Harlan's quit came just six days after a Bay Area district membership meeting declared him "...unfit for membership in the organized Marxist movement." Why? Because the now so anti-bureaucratic Harlan had grossly abused his position as a member of the Control Commission for his own factional purposes. Harlan had gone into opposi-

WV Photos

ET fled from risks and responsibilities confronting revolutionists in the Reagan years. Left: At behest of revisionist left, cops seal off SL's Anti-imperialist Contingent, 27 March 1982. Right: SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization of 5,000 stops the KKK in Washington, D.C. 27 November 1982.

tion over the SL's line on the PATCO (air controllers) strike. He argued a version of the reformist Communist Party's (CP) consumer-boycott line—"flying is scabbing." This posture of "solidarity" via consumer was simply an alibi for the labor bureaucrats' refusal to take effective action to defend PATCO: to shut down the airports by real solidarity action by pilots, Machinists, Teamsters—the unions that continued to service the airports.

Harlan's one co-thinker on PATCO was a recent recruit from the CP to the Spartacus Youth League, Lisa. Following a youth meeting where Lisa found herself a minority of one, Harlan encouraged her to bring organizational charges against the Bay Area youth leadership; he aided her in writing them, and then proceeded to launch a unilateral "Control Commission investigation" into the charges brought by himself.

Harlan had every right to make common cause factionally with the SYL comrade, and no right to do so under Control Commission cover. Harlan quit when his manipulation of the youth discussion was exposed. He left his youthful co-factionalist behind to continue the struggle. No organizational measures were taken against Lisa for her cover-up of Harlan's machinations. Lisa wrote up her views on the PATCO discussion in a document which was printed in the SYL internal bulletin. She argued for these views in her branch. And, although she was still a minority of one at the time of the SYL national meeting, she was given equal time there to present her case. Lisa resigned on 13 December 1981, still lamenting the iSt's lack of "the spirit of democratic centralism."

Life in the Spartacist gulag is rough. And we even have our own Siberia, the Trotskyist League of Canada. Canadian ET leaders Nason and Riley claim to be victims of a "major purge." Actually, they both quit. Riley's resignation said: "In my 6-1/2 years in the organization I never really assimilated any Cannonism—instead on the org. question I have always tended to New Leftism." Nason wrote: "I am a Menshevik now and have been throughout my membership in the organization." When the ET was formed, two years later, Nason and Riley's quits had become transformed into the following:

> "The success of the SL/US leadership in conducting the purge in Canada was aided by the extreme organizational loyalty and consequent disorientation of their victims. Knowing the charges to be false, yet continuing to support the leadership and, most importantly, the program of the tendency, the targets of the attack responded passively in a futile attempt to remain in the organization."

Sounds a lot like the Moscow Trials. Only we wonder what we used to approximate the cellars of Lubianka, not being possessed of the instruments of state power. Did the Canadian section of a couple of dozen members shine bright lights in your eyes while keeping you up all night with your feet in pails of ice water? Did Mandel "collapse" after being given the third degree in a dark warehouse full of old hot tubs in San Francisco?

Big parts of the ET founding declaration read like *Darkness at Noon*. At the same time, the document is replete with quotes from the Left Opposition's struggle against the rise of Stalinism. Some people have no sense of proportion!

Trotsky in 1940 observed in a letter to a Shachtman supporter: "You state in your letter that the main issue is not the Russian question but the 'internal regime.' I have heard this accusation often since almost the very beginning of the existence of our movement in the United States." Indeed, Trotsky's observation indicates the depth of the ideological pressures of the fantastically wealthy American imperialist bourgeoisie on the workers movement, expressed as virulent and philistine anti-Leninism. In this country, with its economically combative but racially divided and politically backward working class, and its powerful and arrogant ruling class, it has never been easy to be a communist. A whiff of repression, a hint of war and a little class struggle can easily produce hysterical anti-Leninists of the ET stripe (yellow).

The Russian Question Comes Home

Politically the ET is animated by trade-union economist appetite and a deep flinch from Trotskyist defense of the Soviet Union, which particularly in the context of today's wretched rightist "left" puts us way out in front, with our programmatic positions from Afghanistan and Poland to Central America. Although they seek support based on the "regime" question, and hence they acquired a couple of West Coast elements whose differences with the iSt program always went in the opposite direction, the ET's political profile is manifestly Shachtmanite. The ET says that since their departure, the iSt has gone Stalinist. We knew we would hear from them when we semi-seriously christened an SL-led contingent "the Yuri Andropov Brigade" (see last issue of *WV*). They similarly objected at some length to our demonstration last fall against the UN seating of former Cambodian mass murderer, and present U.S. imperialist puppet against Vietnam, Pol Pot. If the ET were more honest, they would admit that they hated it when we hailed the Soviet Red Army's military intervention in Afghanistan. Our unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states is not new.

What is new is the heated up anti-Soviet climate. In every iSt section, particularly outside the more strongly led SL/U.S., it was our stance on Poland that brought U.S. imperialism's new Cold War home to our weakest elements. Polish Solidarność, company union for the CIA and Western bankers, evolved into the stalking horse for bloody capitalist restoration. Our line to "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution" put us right up against the European social-democrats and the American "AFL-CIA," who were leading the "free trade unionism" chorus on behalf of the U.S. State Department and NATO.

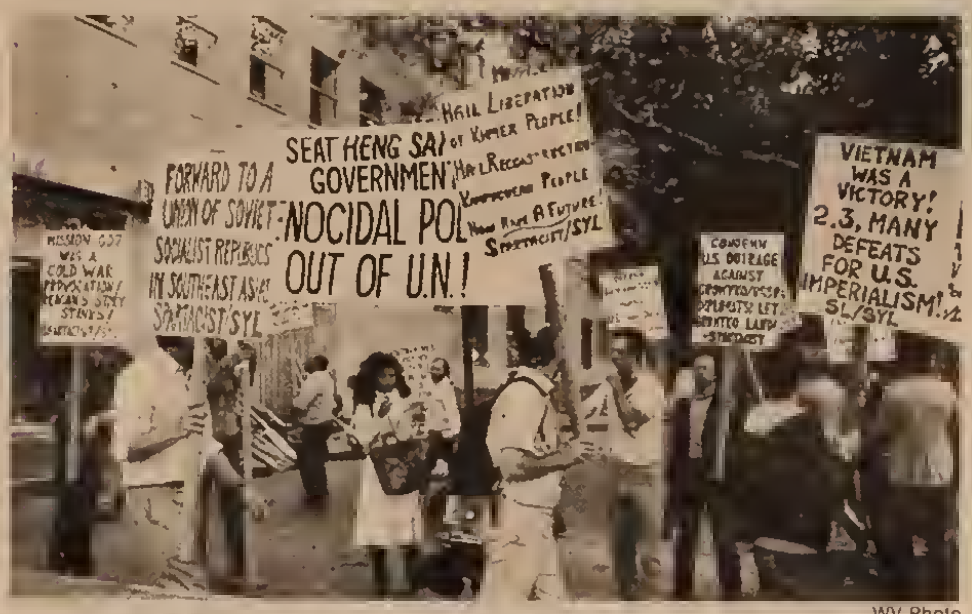
As evidence of the iSt's newfound "Stalinophilia" over Poland, the German ET in its major opus ("Where is the iST Going?" dated February 1983) points to the September 1981 conference of our German section as the pinnacle of Spartacist degeneration and cover-up. The resolution adopted at that conference, the ET says, contained a hideous formulation so openly pro-Stalinist that it "could be used for purges in the organization, but it couldn't be used in public." Here's the sentence, regarding the possibility of a Soviet intervention into Poland, which the ET quotes:

> "We take responsibility in advance for whatever idiocies and atrocities they (the Stalinists) will commit."

To show how shamefully we covered up this position, the ET document then quotes from *WV* No. 289 the supposedly "official version":

> "*If the Kremlin Stalinists, in their necessarily brutal, stupid way, intervene militarily to stop it, we will support this.* And we take responsibility in advance for this: whatever the idiocies and atrocities they will commit, we do not flinch from defending the crushing of Solidarity's counterrevolution."

The ET document triumphantly urges its readers to "think twice" about "the subtle difference between the internal and the public position." We thought three times, and either we're really very stupid, because the distinction between these two statements of ours escapes us, or the demagoguery of the "Gruppe IV. Internationale" aka German ET is best summarized by the old Yiddish word *chutzpah*.



WV Photo

SL protest against the seating of genocidal Pol Pot at the UN last September triggered more ET accusations of Stalinophilia.

The *Wall Street Journal* took the trouble to threaten us after our anti-Solidarność New York demonstration. The ETs are among those who found this a good time to leave. Then the further selection took place. Comrades get conservatized, demoralized, scared, tired. Some quit. But only some of those choose to make a program of their weaknesses. The ET has also had some success picking up characters whose manner of departure from the iSt was so shameful that the ET prefers not to acknowledge them as recruits. With other ex-members the ET has had less success.

The ET likes to posture as having an orientation to members of the iSt—you know, the serious, hard-working, devoted socialists still inexplicably to be found in our ranks. In fact their orientation is not to our members, but to the actively hostile elements among our ex-membership. Case in point. There was a prominent senior iSt comrade expelled in 1982. It's not that easy to get expelled from the iSt, so the ETs were sure they were on to something big. They found out the comrade's new whereabouts, which shouldn't have been easy, and phoned him up. They said: we know you were expelled, we know it was a frame-up, we'd love to send you our documents. The comrade replied: I'd love to get your documents, but I have to tell you, there was nothing unjust about my expulsion. He never heard from the ET again, and he never got the documents.

The ET in Action

If the ETs had wanted to look like a loyal opposition, it wouldn't be hard to do. In the period since the ET quit, the SL has been made the target of physical exclusionism and the vile slanders that seek to justify the exclusionism, on the part of the reformist U.S. "left." By standing out in front on the Russian question, particularly with our slogans on Central America, where our call for military victory to the leftist insurgents cuts squarely against the pro-imperialist popular front with the Democratic Party which our reformist opponents see as their way to get rich in the Reagan years, we have come to be seen by the "left" as in the way. At El Salvador demonstrations (and in other kinds of tense situations when the size and discipline of our contingents becomes a particularly significant factor), we have been glad of the disciplined support of numerous ex-SL members. And many SL ex-members are proud that they stood with us when, more times than we like to remember in the last four years, we have put our organization on the line as the hard defenders of the black people and others against racist terror backed up by the state. The key to understanding the ET is to know that while they are fond of telling us we should have marched with them in this or that pro-Democratic parade, and may in fact turn up with very revolutionary slogans for some large tame liberal event, when it counts they are nowhere. When the SL is called upon to demonstrate against racist cop brutality, when we spearhead mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the fascists—issues tending to bring out the worst in cops—the ETs can be counted upon to disappear.

Where were the ETs on 27 November

continued on page 10

Dougherty/Camera 5

ET enthused over U.S. Marine dead in Beirut. The further the ET is from the scene the more bloodthirsty they are; when they get close to the needs of the U.S. labor bureaucracy, they go tame, as over the sellout of PATCO.

"External Tendency"...

(continued from page 9)

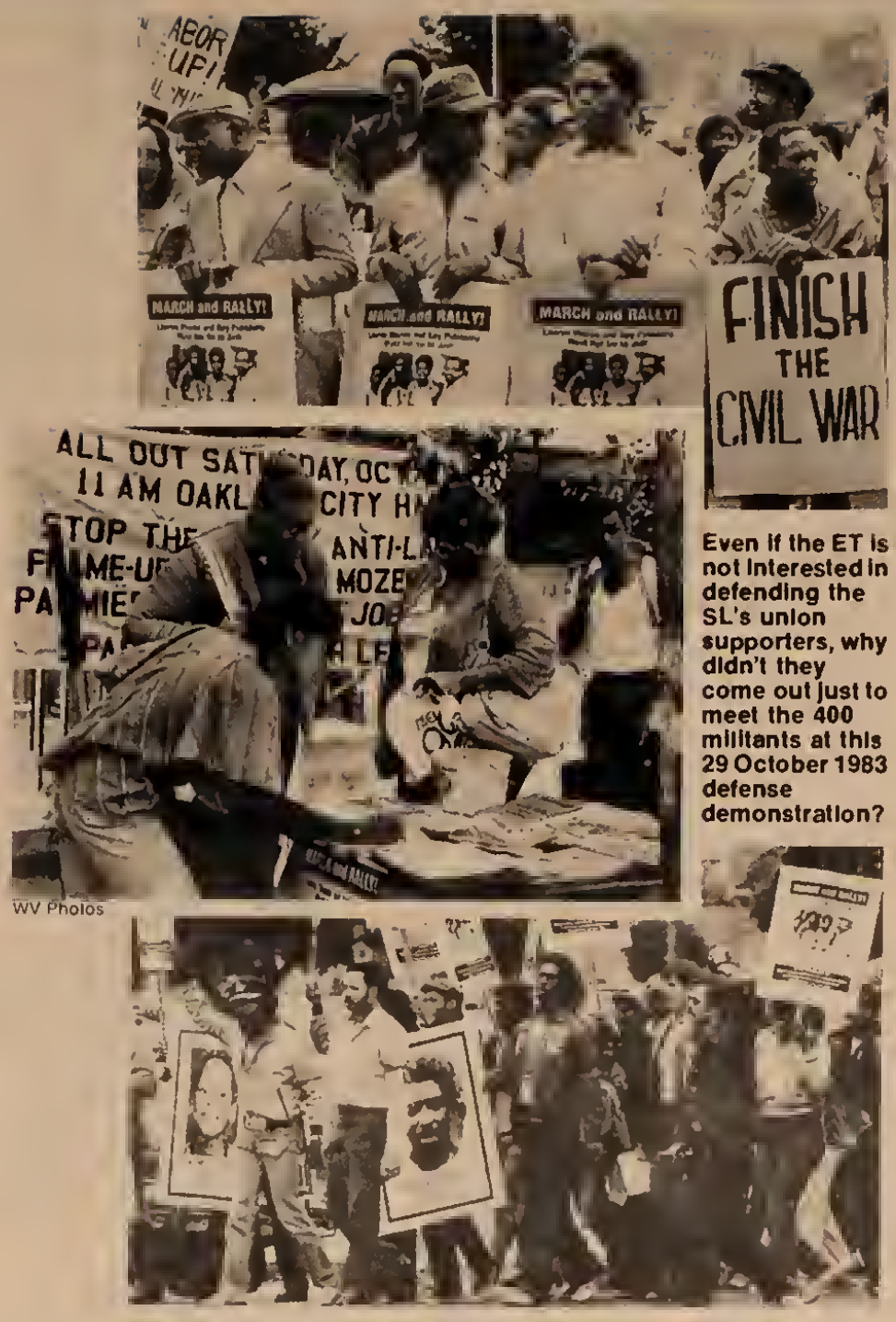
1982 when the SL-led Labor/Black Mobilization of 5,000 stopped the Klan? Where were the West Coast ETs, normally such a peripatetic lot, when 400 people, mainly union militants and black activists, marched in Oakland on 29 October 1983 to defend SL supporters Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero against a racist anti-labor frame-up?

The ETs have other fish to fry. They carry out union "work." And their work is what you would expect from a couple of small-time opportunists who found our party—which through collective internal struggle seeks to arm fallible individuals politically against alien class pressures represented by the pro-imperialist labor bureaucracy—a hindrance to their egos and aspirations.

The main document (dated 23 June 1983) distributed by the ET to our last national conference discerned in our work, and in our black-centered proletarian perspectives, a retreat from "the working class." The document claimed our policy that phone union stewards should be elected by the ranks to represent them, not appointed by the sellout bureaucrats, was a flight from union work. And they cried out in shocked disbelief at the SL's likening UAW president Douglas Fraser's joining the Chrysler Board of Directors to the German Social Democrats' voting for war credits on 4 August 1914. This was the point at which the Social Democrats acted not as just sellouts but as direct agents of the Kaiser. Likewise Fraser became an open company cop in the pay of the auto bosses. But to the ET, calling Fraser a company cop is tantamount to saying the UAW has become a company union.

The ET implores the SL to "return to its Trotskyist analysis of the contradictory nature of the union bureaucracy." Elsewhere they talk about the "dual nature" of that bureaucracy, without ever revealing what this "dual nature" is. In his last words on this question Trotsky made his position crystal clear: "It [monopoly capitalism] demands of the reformist bureaucracy and the labor aristocracy, who pick up the crumbs from its banquet table, that they become transformed into its political police before the eyes of the working class" ("Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay"). And this was not some new trend espied by Trotsky only in 1940. In a 1935 article ("Advice on Canadian Farmers") he observed: "The passing over from fraction work in revolutionary trade unions to illegal work under war conditions is imperceptible. The trade union bureaucracy becomes the police spy system—that is all."

The union bureaucracy is not "contradictory" per se but it reflects the class contradiction between the capitalist state and the *unions* as defensive organizations of the working class. The central task of revolutionists in the unions is therefore the struggle for the complete and unconditional independence of the unions in relation to the capitalist state. This means a struggle to oust the social-imperialist labor traitors, so that the unions can become instruments of the revolutionary movement of the working class, rather than secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism to discipline the workers and obstruct revolution.



Even if the ET is not interested in defending the SL's union supporters, why didn't they come out just to meet the 400 militants at this 29 October 1983 defense demonstration?

Serving the Bureaucrats

The ET's whining that we called Fraser by his right name only shows that the ET shares his standpoint—criticizing the leadership is an attack on the union, i.e., the bureaucracy is the union. When the ET accuses the SL of abandoning the workers, they mean the labor bureaucracy. They have no stomach for the Leninist regime of the revolutionary party, but lots of sympathy for poor old maligned Doug Fraser. In practice, it quickly comes down to acting as the bureaucracy's agent to drive revolutionists out of the unions.

The ET's real program is demonstrated concretely in the actions of its one trade-union supporter of local note, Howard Keylor in the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 10. When Keylor broke politically with the SL his first act in the union was to redbait his fellow unionist, SL supporter and Militant Caucus spokesman Stan Gow. When Gow was witchhunted by the local leadership, Keylor stood aside and offered alibis for the witchhunters.

Keylor opposed the Militant Caucus' campaign for a port shutdown against the war in El Salvador. When the bureaucrats put Gow on trial for picketing a ship bound for El Salvador, Keylor launched an "independent investigation"; during the trial Keylor sat silent when caucus supporters were hauled from the room and the city cops were called in. Keylor's line was that the SL deliberately set Gow up for expulsion as part of its supposed turn away from the unions. Gow, however, galvanized enough support among his union brothers to defeat the expulsion attempt. Key to this victory was a picket of a South Africa-bound ship, protesting the execution of African National Congress fighters. Keylor mocked the action but it found a ready response in the union local, which is two-thirds black.

In the 29 January 1982 issue of Keylor's longshore newsletter, he redbaited Stan Gow in no uncertain terms. Keylor is a former CP supporter who lived through the McCarthy period. He knew exactly what he was doing when he penned these lines:

> "Some Brothers commented that the famous January 6 MILITANT CAUCUS attack on Keylor sounded unbelievable and at times incomprehensible. That's right—the leaflet was not written for longshoremen! The leaflet was written for a wider audience than Local 10; it was to be reprinted and quoted from in publications addressed to the left in Chicago, Toronto, Melbourne, Hamburg, Paris and London. The lies and distortions contained therein could be used to discredit Keylor *outside* the union." (emphasis in original)

Beware the outside agitator! This is the ETs' real face, the implementation of their stance against the SL "regime."

Worse than Debsian

The same ET opus distributed at our national conference explicitly links the SL's supposed turn away from the unions to our strategic orientation to the black proletariat, and especially our efforts to build labor/black defense leagues. For the ETs this is merely a latter-day "community organizing" diversion from class struggle in the unions. This view is worse than Debsian, as it sees "the working class" as separate from and counterposed to the black plebeian masses. The ETs see black struggle through the eyes of a petty union bureaucrat whose idea of the "working class" is his own dues base.

Indeed, the West Coast ET's immediate response to our campaign around stopping the Klan in Washington on 27 November 1982 (an action brought off by our small communist forces by mass agitation among black unionists and their unions) was to urge us in a letter dated 3 December to make an urgent turn toward the Canadian Chrysler strike. Scarcely able to conceal their disdain for our anti-fascist work, the ET letter mentions the D.C. action as evidence that the SL is still capable of waging a campaign when it wants to. They urged us to get back to real business by publishing a mass-distribution *WV* supplement on Chrysler solidarity.

Sounds very proletarian. In fact the short-lived Canadian Chrysler strike, deliberately called only after the U.S. locals had been cooled down, involved a few thousand workers; the plant accessible to us, in Windsor, was notable for a workforce containing a high proportion of recent East European anti-communist immigrants. Meanwhile up in Sudbury, the nickel/copper miners were locked in a bitter, months-long struggle against massive cuts in the workforce, placing at stake the survival of a key and historically militant sector of the Canadian proletariat. Our Canadian comrades, instead of making empty agitation around Chrysler (to impress U.S. UAW officials, presumably), were making trips to Sudbury to sell their front-page article directed to the Sudbury miners. And they were actively campaigning with the rest of us to spread the word about and collect some money for the Labor/Black Mobilization of 5,000 that stopped the Klan in Washington. Our *WV* supplement was "We Stopped the Klan!" highlighting our slogan, "Finish the Civil War!", and we distributed in excess of half a million copies. Evidently the Canadian ETers did not share the West Coasters' contempt for the D.C. action, as on December 13 three Toronto members of the ET sent a small contribution, sincerely appreciated, along with their first protest regarding the "Yuri Andropov Brigade."

In ILWU Local 10, all Keylor saw fit to say about this demonstration under communist leadership, the most massive anti-fascist action in decades backed by key sections of labor, was that the Militant Caucus and the SL "are increasingly directing their organizing activity away from the unions" toward ghetto unemployed. And Keylor has yet to make any mention of the union-centered Mozee/Palmiero defense case, despite his own union having endorsed the defense rally held in Oakland. The ET knows what it doesn't like: militant black-centered labor action, evidently. If you touch the black question in America you touch social tinder, you touch revolution. And the ETs have no stomach for struggle.

ET Goes Bloodthirsty

The ETs aren't above pretending to a left-oppositional face upon occasion. Of course, their leftism is in direct proportion to the distance involved from the social-imperialist labor skates. Thus they proclaimed, "Imperialists Out of Lebanon—By Any Means Necessary!" following the bombing of the U.S. Marine compound in Beirut. The ETs solidarize with whoever blew up the Marines, as an act of "anti-imperialism." But no side in Lebanon is fighting imperialism! The ETs tell us their line is "U.S. Marines: Live Like

WORKERS VANGUARD
While Carter Stews, Soviet Army Rolls Back Afghan Mullahs
Hail Red Army!

Doug Fraser: Company Cop

Trotskyist positions the ET loves to hate: defense of the USSR, class-struggle opposition to sellout labor tops.

Pigs, Die Like Pigs." Of course, this is a very attenuated and vicarious bloodthirstiness—we don't see Mandel strapping himself to a load of dynamite and hitting Bay Area army bases. Or the Canadian ET shooting up Canadian army barracks.

In the wake of the Beirut bombing, with Reagan launching an invasion of Grenada to divert attention from the debacle, *WV* headlined: "Marines Out of Lebanon, Now, Alive!" We were deluged with ET documents taking us to task for this allegedly social-patriotic stance. In "Marxism and Bloodthirstiness" (*WV* No. 345, 6 January) we explained the elementary proposition that Marxists are not in favor of killing for its own sake. We stand for the victory of *just causes*. Thus we have a stake in the victory of the Salvadoran insurgents against the bloody junta and its U.S. imperialist backers. In Grenada we had a side—in defense of the self-determination of that small black island against the U.S. invasion. We are not bloodthirsty and we are not pacifists, as the violence of the capitalists does not allow the oppressed to renounce the use of force necessary to accomplish the victory of just causes. But even when we have a side, as at that moment over Grenada, where we said "U.S. Out Dead or Alive," we don't share the ETs' vicarious bloodlust which glories in the killing of young men for the crimes of their rulers.

The ETs want to find a contradiction between our stand on the Beirut bombing and our remark during the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon that in Israel "opposition to the war right now depends, above all, on how many soldiers come home in coffins" (*WV* No. 309, 9 July 1982). We observed correctly that, particularly given the small size of Israel, casualties have an enormously exaggerated impact and therefore a political effect. It is the political effect that we are after, it is not dead young Israelis for the hell of it. In any case the ET's new posture, the ET red in tooth and claw, is just window-dressing. At the time of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the ET omitted any mention of defense of the Palestinians. Mandel says this was because of "tendency considerations." We think the tendency consideration was Mandel himself—throughout the summer of 1982 Mandel was quietly attending meetings of the rad-lib New Jewish Agenda.

A postscript on the Lebanon debate comes from the West Coast ET's Ursula, who opined to several comrades last November that the SL would not have had the "Marines Out of Lebanon, Now, Alive" slogan before our "turn" away from the unions to the ghettos. Asked to explain the connection, she replied that "there are a lot of blacks in the military." Well we didn't derive our line from the existence of black Marines in Lebanon. But we take the accusation as a compliment. The bourgeoisie has the opposite attitude—its troops are expendable and its black troops are most so.

A Modest Proposal

The discussion on the ET at the SL Central Committee plenum centered on the disjuncture of the ET posture: on the one hand, they claimed to be our loyal opposition, seeking to reverse unjust exclusion from a deformed revolutionary party; at the same time, whenever our party is out front, its meager forces and resources committed to urgent undertakings, and the target of the combined hostility of the capitalist state and the reformist "left," then does the ET show at best indifference to our survival and often an active appetite to see us go down.

The plenum discussion acknowledged again a point from our last national conference: that the ET's polemics, both their rightist critiques of us and their occasional forays into leftism, serve a pedagogical function for our members. The ET has been useful as a crystallization of everything that is backward and wrong in the SL; particularly during a time when the risks of communist membership are palpably great, comrades with differences tend to just drop out rather than fight inside for their views. We use the ET to keep us on our toes. Having been, through our internal bulletin, a presence in our national conference, as sophisticated proponents of a kind of Debsian disdain for our efforts to sink real roots among the black working people, the ET's arguments on Lebanon were a foil which vastly enriched our "Marxism and Bloodthirstiness" article and associated propaganda.

ET Bulletin

WV Photo

WV Photo

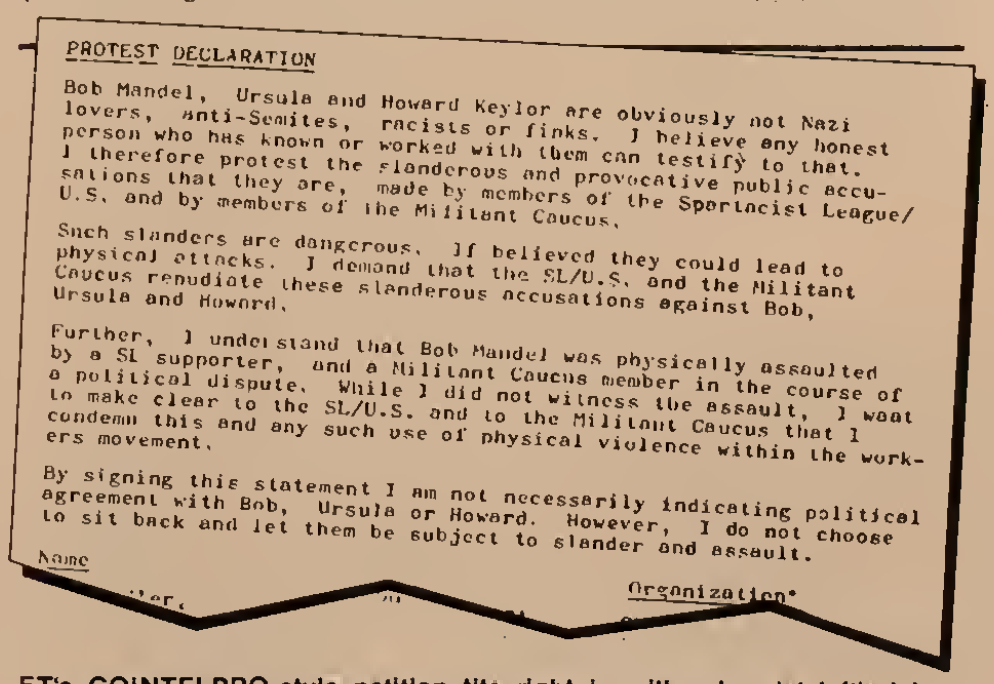
ET's own photo (top left) shows Howard Keylor and his hoped-for white constituency at longshoremen's mass picket in Richmond, 27 June 1982. Bottom left: SL supporter Stan Gow with black union brothers at the same demonstration; at right, larger crowd shot of demo shows it was 95 percent black.

The motion coming out of the plenum was to publish in *Workers Vanguard* an article proposing to the ET an offer of readmission to the iSt, necessarily excluding of course those few individuals expelled from the iSt for gross crimes against the workers movement. The ET would have full membership rights based on democratic-centralist democracy and discipline. That is, on the basis of our norms, which are well known to these people: party activity, financial support and discipline toward opponents; the right to responsible work and appropriate party posts, and the responsibility to do such work and accept such posts; the right to factions, which includes the right to private factional deliberation.

In taking the decision to offer the ET a second chance to fight for their views inside the iSt, the SL plenum took as a negative yardstick the bureaucratic Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The SWP has lately finished a massive political purge as, having failed to achieve any niche as reformists, Jack Barnes has shifted his party toward becoming would-be Stalinist hangers-on. The bureaucratization of the SWP was the organizational handmaiden of its transit through centrism to left-reformism: in 1963-66 the Farrell Dobbs regime got rid of about a third of the party membership, beginning with the expulsion of the Revolutionary Tendency (RT, forerunner of the SL) simply for its views. The ex post facto justification of the political purge of the RT was the explicit rationale for the SWP's 1965 Organizational Resolution effectively banning factional rights in the party.

Now again the SWP's attempt to shift its place on the political landscape has had organizational expression. Today's reformist and bureaucratic SWP exploded in factional ferment when Barnes started seeking to shift his party in a quite Stalinoid direction. Over about the last three years, perhaps a third of the SWP membership has been dispatched, now to go in their various directions. Barnes' party canceled its last national convention so as to finish booting its dissidents out in piecemeal waves of purge, because the aforementioned 1965 Organizational Resolution and subsequent case law had left only one partial loophole in the abolition of party democracy: the pre-convention discussion period.

Having the SWP horrible example before our eyes helped the SL plenum arrive at the decision to offer to engage in an act of even excessive democracy toward the ET, who by their own choice made themselves "external" to our democratic-centralist party and internal life. Yes, comrades of the ET, sooner or later and if we do not take state power first, a revolutionary Marxist organization outlives the effective political lifetime of its founding cadre; the defense of the party's original purpose and intent characteristically involves organizational discontinuity (i.e., split on behalf of the new revolutionary generation). But not yet for us, ETs, and in any case *you* stand in no relationship to that process.



PROTEST DECLARATION

Bob Mandel, Ursula and Howard Keylor are obviously not Nazi lovers, anti-Semites, racists or finks. I believe any honest person who has known or worked with them can testify to that. I therefore protest the slanderous and provocative public accusations that they are, made by members of the Spartacist League/U.S. and by members of the Militant Caucus.

Such slanders are dangerous. If believed they could lead to physical attacks. I demand that the SL/U.S. and the Militant Caucus repudiate these slanderous accusations against Bob, Ursula and Howard.

Further, I understand that Bob Mandel was physically assaulted by a SL supporter, and a Militant Caucus member in the course of a political dispute. While I did not witness the assault, I want to make clear to the SL/U.S. and to the Militant Caucus that I condemn this and any such use of physical violence within the workers movement.

By signing this statement I am not necessarily indicating political agreement with Bob, Ursula or Howard. However, I do not choose to sit back and let them be subject to slander and assault.

Name

Organization

ET's COINTELPRO-style petition tits right in with retormist left's lying portrait of SL as disrupters, goons, crazies and police agents.

ET Petition: Worthy of COINTELPRO

The plenum discussion was reported to the SL membership, and we began work on the present article to publicly present our offer. And then we found that the ET was circulating a petition lyingly charging us with physically assaulting Bob Mandel at a demonstration. Can the timing be an accident? Well maybe, but nobody can blame us for believing that somebody got wind of the plenum discussion and rushed to foreclose the reintegration option.

The petition is a classic provocation. Its core is this statement:

> "Further, I understand that Bob Mandel was physically assaulted by an SL supporter, and a Militant Caucus member in the course of a political dispute. While I did not witness the assault, I want to make clear to the SL/U.S. and to the Militant Caucus that I condemn this and any use of physical violence within the workers movement."

This is a device straight out of the FBI's COINTELPRO campaign to frame up and destroy the left. Mandel alleges an assault to have taken place at a San Francisco demonstration on 3 December 1983. Well, what happened there was—nothing. Mandel showed his face at a labor demo and was loudly

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ET vs. the Test of Truth

It's always hard to judge a political dispute from a distance. Those who have some familiarity with the SL, some involvement in radical social struggle in this country, some direct knowledge of the concrete political events so hotly disputed by the contending parties should be able, by examining the actions and written materials of ourselves and the ET, to make a determination of rights and wrongs. Those at a great distance, however, would properly hesitate before making definitive judgments. But there are decisive tests which can be applied at a distance. The matter of simple truthfulness is a decisive test: the liar is one with something to hide.

The German ET's long opus, "Where is the iST Going?" of February 1983, is the only attempt of any wing of the ETs thus far to deal comprehensively and "theoretically" with our party. The core of its analysis is that the iSt has basically come to terms politically with the Kremlin Stalinists. The document cites *WV*'s article "Reagan, Begin & Hitler" (*WV* No. 308, 25 June 1982) in the effort to show that we have abandoned the Trotskyist program of political revolution in the deformed workers states. Look, says the ET's Wolfgang, pointing to this article, the filthy Robertsonite iSt is reduced to pathetically offering advice to the Brezhnevites! Here is what the ET document says:

> "In the place of a political fight against Stalinism there are radical phrases and advice to the Kremlin starting with the idea 'if we are in power'. In the article 'Reagan, Begin, Hitler' (*Workers Vanguard* 308) there is a whole catalogue of hints for Brezhnev: to 'clean up Afghanistan', to threaten Reagan with the bombing of the centres of the American bourgeoisie, and to reduce differences with China. The pretended hard stance of Brezhnev against U.S. imperialism meets the approval of the iST combined with a lip-service position that the bureaucracy is an obstacle to any effective defense."

This is an egregious political fabrication. Our whole article is nothing but an inductive development of the need for proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy. The article presents some of the immediate and obvious measures which must be taken to defend the USSR against imperialism's global anti-Soviet war drive, precisely in order to show that—while the bureaucracy could perhaps selectively institute one or another of them—these measures taken together require political revolution!

A few quotations from our article should suffice to make this crystal clear:

> "What is the necessary response to the insane American provocations? In the first place, reach an understanding with the Chinese.... That's what sensible defenders of Soviet interests, not to mention proletarian internationalists, would do. But every single one of these Stalinist bureaucracies is nationalist to the core and refuses to give up one sacred inch of the motherland.
>
> "Next, clean up Afghanistan.... Instead of capitulating to the mullah reaction, by limiting land reform and literacy campaigns, the Soviets should be pouring the money in there on a massive scale: land to the tiller *and* cheap credit, health programs, etc. But that means *social revolution*.... And that does not square with the Kremlin's policies of détente and 'two-stage' revolution. Reformism abroad, by conciliating the forces of reaction, undermines defense of the Soviet Union.
>
> "And the true facts of the situation must be communicated to the Russian people....
>
> "But all this requires a high degree of workers democracy, combining toughness and generosity in defense of the fundamental conquests of the October Revolution. And this cannot be accomplished without a workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats who only dream of an accommodation with the imperialist West....
>
> "What's needed to defend the land of the Soviets against rapacious imperialism hell-bent on a nuclear showdown requires above all a *rebirth of Leninism*. As Leon Trotsky wrote in the 'Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution' (May 1940): '...Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy'."

The quote from Trotsky is the article's conclusion; the whole article is nothing but an argument for political revolution derived from the concrete imperialist threats confronting the USSR today and the means for combating them.

Of course this does not prove that the iSt is right, about Stalinism or anything else. But it proves that the ETs are wrong, in the most fundamental sense, because they are liars. And this you can tell, from anywhere at all on the planet.

"External Tendency"...

(continued from page 11)

politically confronted by indignant and vocal SL supporters who called him a scab. They never laid a finger on him. If Ritchie and Wooly had wanted to get physical with wimpy Bob Mandel, he would have been on the ground and then in an emergency ward.

Mandel is using a device often employed to great effect by the FBI's poison-pen experts. If there had been a fist-fight with Mandel, we would have a defense. We would have eyewitnesses to say that our friends engaged in an act of self-defense, or, conversely, that a couple of hotheaded supporters impermissibly took a swing at the worm Mandel. But nobody believes eyewitnesses who say: nothing happened.

So there we were, not knowing what to do about our eyewitnesses to the fact that nothing happened, and realizing that we weren't about to offer to take back into the party the instigators and signers of a petition that might as well have been written by the FBI.

But then Bob Mandel, after a month of promising to surface his own eyewitness, finally brought forth a buddy with an account which itself shows that no assault took place! Mandel's witness observed vehement shouting, and it looked to him like Bob Mandel looked scared. Mandel's witness, one Joseph Blum, wrote up his 9 January account at Mandel's request. Even so, the best he can do to back up Mandel's lying story is to say that there was an argument between Mandel and two men: the man facing Mandel was "yelling very loudly" in Mandel's face, while the man standing "slightly behind" Mandel was giving the first man "verbal if not physical support." In other words, Blum thinks that maybe Mandel might have been hit in the back. But now the Canadian ET has been saying that Mandel was elbowed in the stomach. How, by a man standing behind him? This would of course be a crucial discrepancy in court, but of course the whole matter is a fabrication.

Meanwhile, it seems that to know Mandel is to disbelieve him. The petition provocation is a spectacular failure: after intensive work in three countries (total population: about 350 million), the ETs have secured *15* signatures. We don't doubt that other variously motivated individuals will present themselves to the ET now that *WV* has formally introduced them. But apparently the number of ex-socialists so swept up in guilty personalism and outright anti-communist venomousness as to take the word of Bob "I lied to the party for years" Mandel seems to be quite small.

Of course the ETers themselves have shown that they know nobody strong-armed Mandel at a Bay Area demonstration. Midwest-based ETers have had no hesitation in mounting interventions in our public class series at Oberlin. Nor was the Toronto ET crew afraid to turn up one afternoon at our New York public office for a session of our public class. Obviously they had no fear that by sitting down amongst 20 or so New York SL members and contacts they were risking a stomping by frenzied Stalinist goons.

Keeping this in mind, let us return to the ET petition. The COINTELPRO flavor is not restricted to the invention of a physical incident to slander us as goons, in the context of attempted bourgeois repression against our party and the corresponding reformist campaign to portray us as violence-crazed. The petition begins with a declaration that Bob Mandel, Ursula and Howard Keylor "are obviously not Nazi lovers, anti-Semites, racists or finks." This Hooverite device is sometimes called "when did you stop beating your wife?" Whereas the ETs have been very forward in their characterizations of us as selling out to everything from Yuri Andropov to black Marines, we have been reserved and empirical in our characterizations of them. We do point out how the ETs union work consists of applauding a redbaiter who backhandedly supports bureaucratic efforts to purge our friends from the labor movement. As for the rest of it, we have not called the ETers "Nazi lovers" or "anti-Semites" or "racists"—that's their choice of words. We have however been aggressive in scandalizing the components of the ET rotten bloc over a series of their positions and statements.

First there was their championship of one Uli Sandler in Germany. Expelled from the iSt's German section in August, 1982, Sandler's whole political profile was that of an early Nazi Brownshirt. There were fights with Sandler over particulars, but the whole picture—his disdain for colored immigrant workers, his gross male chauvinism, his fondness for skin-head punk rock and Nazi memorabilia—wasn't put together until later when he was exposed for his declaration that one German was worth fifty Tamils. He was expelled; we called him a proto-fascist. If the ETs were smart, they would take us to task for taking so long to get Sandler's number. Well, indeed, our German section, drawn from a postwar generation which mainly didn't want to know what their daddies did, was slow to see what they had in Uli Sandler. A resurgent German bourgeois nationalism is the mood in the "new Germany"; it shades over to the social-democrats' "left" tails. Our section was a bit slow to catch the drift (unlike the German ET, which seems to be going with the flow wherever else they may be headed).

Our German comrades expelled Uli Sandler and then kept him out of a forum. Thus we gave the ET its first cause célèbre. They howled: "The slander hurled at Uli Sandler is the most egregious departure from workers democracy by any section of the iSt to date." The German ET ran a petition campaign protesting the violated human rights of a proto-Nazi kept out of a

WV Photo

ILWU Militant Caucus campaign for boycott of South African ship last June helped mobilize support for Stan Gow against bureaucratic purge attempt.

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BERKELEY

Spartacist forum. But somehow the ET hasn't lifted a finger to protest hundreds of exclusions of us from fake-left meetings in the U.S. and elsewhere. The SL has been slandered as violent crazies and sinister Soviet surrogates by reactionary bourgeois forces; we've been treated repetitively to the "left" reflections of this bourgeois witchhunt. The ET doesn't bother with crocodile tears when the reformists call us FBI agents and violent disrupters to justify excluding us from "public" meetings and rad-lib demonstrations; the ET is too busy bleeding for a proto-fascist.

We didn't call the ET "Nazi lovers"—we just made them eat the consequences of embracing every expellee as one of nature's noblemen. We quoted back at them their pathetic defenses of Sandler (it's just a fireman's helmet he wears, and anyway he never wore it in public; he only sings "Deutschland Über Alles" in the shower). If it's a fireman's helmet, we said, why not wear it on the streets? Could it be because it's illegal in Germany to sport the swastika in public? (Sandler's steel helmet, complete with swastika and eagle, is most probably a World War II Wehrmacht flak helmet.) Of late the ET seems to have become rather reticent on the Uli question. Have they finally recognized what he is and decided they don't really like it that much? What about it, comrades of the ET? Tell us: are you still defending Uli Sandler? If so we want to hear your defense. And if not, we want to see a groveling apology.

And we know what Ursula's upset about too. An SL comrade wrote up an account of this conversation with Ursula:

> "[Ursula] said that she thought people made too big a thing of what had happened to the Jews during WW II. I was stunned. I asked [her] what she meant by that. She said that many Social Democrats, trade unionists and even Catholics were put in concentration camps, but all people seemed to have heard of were the fate of the Jews."

Indeed the German social-democrats were persecuted by Hitler if they made themselves obnoxious. They remained part of the German nation and their sons went into the Wehrmacht. Those who persisted in oppositional activities were sometimes locked up; nothing happened to the rest. The Jews were exterminated. Systematically. Genocide.

We have not attributed motives to Ursula in making those remarks. We doubt she meant to mimic apologists for genocide; we imagine merely that she was seeing fascism through the eyes of a German social-democrat. (Whereas we are America's hard communists, and, like the black people in this country, we think we'd get what Hitler gave the Jews.) We aren't calling the ETs "racists" either—no, comrades, we just think that you don't give a shit about the black people, because you have other fish to fry.

And let's be clear about this COINTELPRO-style petition. You don't have to be an FBI agent to serve the Big Lie campaign that serves the witchhunters. An FBI agent couldn't have written the petition any better, as we have shown. But yours is doubtless another purpose—to seek to destroy us in sheer subjective malice, of course, and behind that, shaped by the climate of bourgeois society in this pre-war period, to ingratiate yourselves with those who shade over into the Democratic Party, to show yourselves the sort of people with whom the bureaucrats can do business, as opposed to the "violent" and "crazy" Spartacist League.

As we go to press, we have received from the Canadian ETs, who seem not to have signed their bloc partners' petition, a letter stating their intention to seek reintegration into the iSt as a tendency. For those who will agree to struggle against the leadership of the iSt on the basis of Leninist democracy and discipline, eschewing collaboration with those who have shown their appetite to destroy us by any means, our door is still open. ■

Labor...

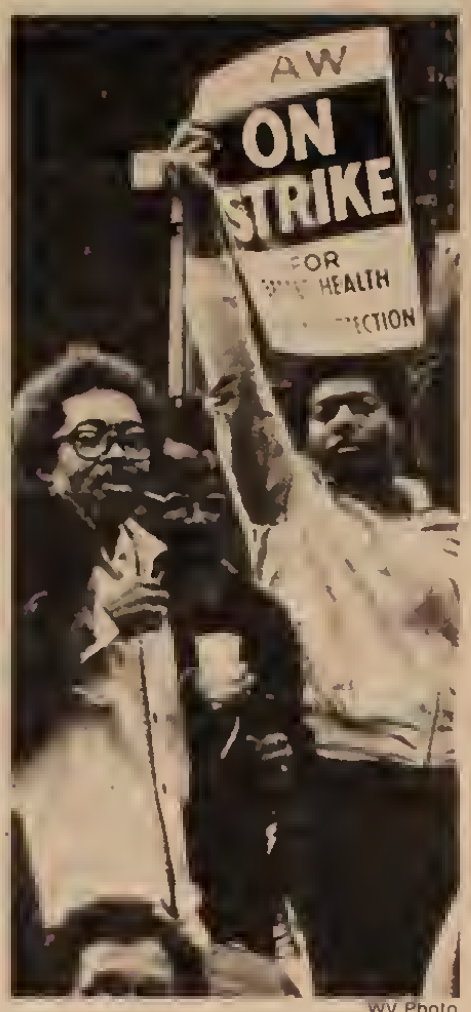
(continued from page 1)

felt no fear.

The killing of *strikers* is becoming routine practice. Today no company feels like they've gotten satisfaction with a mere 15 percent wage cut—they've got to have a dead striker as a scalp to wave around. Ray Phillips, a Greyhound driver in Ohio run down by a scab "trainee" in December. A few weeks later, Greg Goobic, a young Union Oil striker killed by a scab driving an 18-wheeler through a picket line at a Rodeo, California refinery. This is *murder* as company policy. And it must be stopped! It won't be stopped by the cops and courts—they're on the other side, the guardians of the capitalists' "law and order." Potential strikebreakers should be educated to understand that you can't cross a picket line on two broken legs, and county hospitals are rotten places. The next time a scab even thinks about, or is coaxed by his bosses to run down a striker, he should go pale with fear. Then we can talk about *winning* some battles for a change.

The misleaders of American labor are literally letting the bosses get away with murder. Why? Charles Craypo, a professor of industrial relations at Cornell, put his finger on it. As the Greyhound strike was going under he remarked that union leaders "are careful to stay within legal boundaries, and if you stay within legal boundaries, there is not a whole lot you can do" (*New York Times*, 7 December 1983). Damn right, there isn't! The Greyhound union leaders even *voluntarily* limited the number of pickets, guaranteeing that the scab buses would roll, so they couldn't be accused of "breaking the law." And when the Auto Workers seabbed on Greyhound strikers in Detroit, the excuse was that they were "upholding the contract." Solidarity is not sending $500 and a valentine. Solidarity is respecting picket lines, it is secondary boycotts, hot-cargoing struck products. "But that's illegal," the bureaucrats whine. So maybe some labor leaders go to jail six months *after* they surround the terminals with thousands of pickets and call a solidarity strike and the battle is *won*. Throughout most of the history of this country there have always been numerous labor men in prison, as a necessary cost of maintaining some kind of social equilibrium on behalf of the workers. But today the union leaders are taking casualties lying down, for nothing.

The future of the unions is on the line. And while the capitalists are grabbing every gun in their closet, the union bureaucracy is handcuffing the workers with the bosses' laws. They're blunting our weapons. The bureaucrats invented the "informational picket line." We say, along with every miner and self-respecting trade unionist, "Picket lines mean *you better not try to cross!*" When PATCO strikers were in chains, the AFL-CIO's response was to call an impotent consumer boycott. The Spartacist League said: "Shut Down the Airports!" Machinists and Teamsters had the power to bring the country to a halt—they just had to say the word, the ranks were ready. Over Greyhound we said: "Stop the Buses! For a National Transport Strike!" Again the labor traitors called for a consumer boycott to hide their refusal to fight.



WV Photo

Militant black auto workers walk out against Fraser's sellout contract at Detroit's Jefferson Avenue plant, 16 September 1982.

The bureaucrats are allowing the bosses and their state to hack up the unions not only by their cowardly legalism but also and no less importantly by their racism. It was not just the militant and *"illegal"* tactics like the sit-down strike and mass picketing which built the industrial unions in the 1930s. The great CIO organizing drives in auto, steel, meat packing, maritime and other industries broke down the traditional Jim Crow system as black workers took their place as rock-solid union militants. In the 1930s-1940s the black ghetto masses identified with the labor movement. But today what black man does not see in a Lane Kirkland or a Doug Fraser a defender of the racist status quo? To organize the open-shop South, for example, will mean pitched battles with the Ku Klux Klan and cracker sheriffs. Can anyone imagine the AFL-CIO tops involved in, much less leading, this kind of fight? In white racist America the fate of organized labor and the oppressed black masses is closely bound together. The bureaucracy's accommodation to the racist status quo set the stage for the union-busting offensive of the Reagan years. And there will be no effective defense against this union-busting unless the labor movement becomes a powerful champion of black rights. Reagan's shock troops for his war on unions, blacks and other minorities are the fascist KKK and Nazis. The SL strategy of mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the fascists—powerfully displayed in action when the Klan was stopped in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982 by 5,000 black and other working people under our leadership—heralds the kind of fighting, class-struggle labor movement and revolutionary workers party this country needs.

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win

No decisive gain of labor was ever won in a courtroom or by an act of Congress. Everything the workers movement has won of value has been achieved by mobilizing the ranks of labor in hard-fought struggle, on the picket lines, in plant occupations. What counts is power. The strength of the unions lies in their numbers, their militancy, their organization and discipline and their relation to the decisive means of production in modern capitalist society. The bosses are winning because the power of labor, its strength to decisively cripple the enemy, has not been brought to bear. So how *do* you fight to win? After the recent string of unmitigated disasters, thousands of union militants must be asking themselves this question. We do not advocate the practice of the McNamara brothers, the early Iron Workers organizers who until they were sent away for dynamiting the *Los Angeles Times* building in 1910 (thanks to Clarence Darrow pleading them "guilty") were some of

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WV Photo

AP

Hardy/SF Examiner

Cops assault Greyhound strikers (top right). At left: memorial march by California oil workers for labor martyr Gregory Goobic run down by scab truck. Goobic's body lies beside police car (lower right).

Labor...

(continued from page 13)

the most successful labor organizers the country had ever seen. The key is mobilizing militant mass action in a thought-out way, one which minimizes the damage in terms of jail sentences and other casualties.

Take the Union Oil strikers in Rodeo, California where Gregory Goobie was killed. Refineries are generally located out in the boondocks and the companies are tight with the highway patrol, so take a look at how the miners take care of business in similar situations. Back in 1977 striking coal miners in Stearns, Kentucky were faced with a squad of gun thugs who began throwing lead from their steel-reinforced bunker. The strikers put up a sign—"Warning: The Stearns Miners Have Determined That Scabbing Is Dangerous to Your Health"—and responded in kind. Some cowardly company guards complained that one night they were disarmed by miners, given a tour of the county and dropped off minus their pants. Later when state police attempted to herd scabs into the struck mines, the entire force of strikers showed up to face them down. Even though scores of United Mine Workers (UMWA) men were arrested and the Stearns strike defeated—because it was criminally isolated by the UMWA leaders—their militancy set the stage for the historic 110-day coal strike in 1978.

Phone installations, unlike oil refineries or coal mines, are generally located in urban centers. Highly technologically advanced, the system can be run for weeks, perhaps months, with only supervisory personnel. And there has never been a successful telephone strike in this country. The Communications Workers (CWA) started out as a company union and then hooked up with the CIA (via its AIFLD "labor" front). How do you win in phone? In February 1981 the telephone union in British Columbia, Canada showed how: instead of marching out they occupied every major BC Tel installation around the clock. They held the property hostage while the company ran to the courts. During last summer's nationwide telephone strike we put forward a strategy to bring the arrogant, parasitic and widely hated monopoly to its knees: hundreds of thousands of phone workers occupying the buildings, rallying unionists throughout the country, and "with a flick of the switch, phone workers could win millions of allies among working people by providing free phone service...."

Or in New York City transit, which has been run downhill for a couple of decades. In 1966 the newly elected liberal mayor John Lindsay arrogantly tried to humiliate the Transit Workers and got his head handed to him instead. When TWU leader Mike Quill was arrested for defying a back-to-work injunction, he replied:

> "It is about time that someone, somewhere along the road, ceases to be respectable. Many generations of great Americans before us have taken this road, and if they didn't take this road, half of you would be on home relief.... The judge can drop dead in his black robes, and we would not call off the strike."

Quill went to jail and died shortly thereafter of a heart attack. But they couldn't arrest 40,000 transit workers. As the strike wore on, the bosses were reminded that they couldn't run the center of American world finance capital without the subways and buses. Transit workers got their best settlement in years, and for a few years afterward transit was the best job in town.

For American labor today, a damn good slogan is: It's better to fight on your feet than die on your knees. To be sure, many strikes will be lost, even if they are hard fought, as at Stearns or the 1937 Little Steel strike. But when an important strike *is* won, it dramatically alters the entire situation, as in the Minneapolis, Toledo and San Francisco general strikes of 1934—all led by reds, which set the stage for the rise of the CIO—and the 1937 Flint sit-down strike.

Smash Taft Hartley—For Secondary Boycotts!

Labor's weapons are inherent in its collective organization: the picket line, solidarity strike, secondary boycott. The capitalists' arsenal is their state: courts, cops and ultimately the army. The unions must be independent of the bosses' state! But the "lieutenants of the capitalist class" inside the labor movement weaken the capacity for union struggle by supporting corporatist laws to undermine that independence.

AP

Class war on the streets of Minneapolis as Trotskyists lead victorious general strike in 1934.

Take the matter of elementary labor solidarity, for instance. Every decent unionist has the reflex to refuse to handle struck goods, to "hot cargo." There is a long tradition of use of this basic trade-union tactic during the militant period of the rise of the CIO and industrial unionism. In the battle that smashed the open shop at Ford in 1941, the car haulers refused to transport scab autos. One of the reasons for the Kennedys' vendetta against Jimmy Hoffa was his use of the "hot cargo" technique—a tactic Hoffa said he learned from the Trotskyists who led the Minneapolis Teamsters strike.

But "secondary boycotts" are "illegal," say the union tops from coast to coast. Unions themselves were once branded as "illegal criminal conspiracies." The entire history of the American labor movement is one long string of laws broken and court injunctions defied. Otherwise there would be no labor movement. And how did "hot cargoing" become illegal? The "secondary boycott" was banned by the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947. This was linked to a ban on Communists holding union office, a key part of the Cold War witchhunt. Communist-led unions were barred from going to the NLRB, supposedly more sympathetic to labor than the regular courts, and could not have Labor Department-supervised union elections.

These corporatist laws and institutions were supported by the bureaucrats and reformists in the labor movement. Today the labor reformists continue to look to the state claiming it can be "reformed" in the workers' interest. At the same time they use the state as an excuse to refuse to struggle in the interests of the unions. At bottom, they do not want to struggle and see in the bosses' state a willing "partner."

These corporatist laws integrating the unions into the state are also closely linked to the question of the dues checkoff. If you are going to wage a militant strike, then a system whereby the company acts as banker for the union by collecting the dues money is a liability. In the middle of the strike, when you need it most you will see your funds cut off. (The NYC transit workers union had its dues checkoff removed for over a year as punishment for their 1980 strike.)

The cowardice of the labor tops has certainly emboldened the anti-labor offensive to pass even more reactionary laws. Kirkland & Co. squeal like stuck pigs over legislation such as the recent ruling allowing companies to rip up union contracts when they become "burdensome."

But there is an explosive potential here as every union weapon becomes "illegal" and the bureaucrats rely even more heavily on the state. It means that nearly any hard fought struggle will throw the ranks of labor up against the state as well as the labor bureaucracy. Consider the elementary tactic of the secondary boycott in this context. Under Reagan, a solidarity strike in support of PATCO would certainly have been a confrontation with the state. If the Machinists had refused to cross air controllers' picket lines and the airports had been shut down, Reagan might even have had to bring in the armed forces. Militant labor struggle could bring down Reagan the way the Vietnamese Tet offensive sealed the fate of Lyndon Johnson.

The bureaucrats understand that such militant action would not only put the working class on the offensive against Taft-Hartley, it would spell the end of their reactionary game in the labor movement. Thus the desperate necessity for labor to fight means a political struggle against the union tops, for a revolutionary leadership that will take labor and its allies into a confrontation with the state and *win it*, on the road to winning a workers state.

As Leon Trotsky wrote in a document that was found on his desk after he was assassinated in Mexico in August 1940:

> "In other words, the trade unions in the present epoch cannot simply be the organs of democracy as they were in the epoch of free capitalism and they cannot any longer remain politically neutral, that is, limit themselves to serving the daily needs of the working class. They cannot any longer be anarchistic, i.e., ignore the decisive influence of the state on the life of people and classes. They can no longer be reformist, because the objective conditions leave no room for any serious and lasting reforms. The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."
>
> —L.D. Trotsky, "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (1940)

It is no accident that the same Taft-Hartley "slave labor" Act which outlawed the secondary boycott also banned Communists from holding union office. The present wretched, legalistic and racist labor leadership is very much the product of the anti-red purge of the McCarthy era. Under Meany/Reuther the AFL-CIO became an instrument of Cold War fanaticism. Indeed, George Meany and his errand boy Lane Kirkland supported the Vietnam War to the bitter end, even after Nixon and Kissinger had given it up as a lost cause. Today, whether it comes to financing Solidarność, Polish company union for the CIA and bankers, or lobbying Congress for funds for the MX first-strike missile or Salvadoran death squads, Ronald Reagan has no more fervent allies than the AFL-CIO tops.

The present union-busting offensive, the attacks on blacks, the poor, the aged are directly linked to the anti-Soviet war drive. This government with bipartisan support is literally taking food out of the mouths of ghetto school children to build nuclear missiles. Defense of the Soviet Union—the social gains of the Bolshevik Revolution despite subsequent Stalinist degeneration—is integral to defense against union-busting and racist attacks on black people.

As this capitalist government becomes more and more directly involved in union-busting as it mobilizes for war against the Soviet Union, every major workers' struggle becomes a political fight requiring class-struggle leadership. Labor militants must therefore link the fight to oust the die-on-your-knees union bureaucrats to building a revolutionary workers party. Such a workers party would fight for a workers government to expropriate capitalism to end once and for all the hideous social system that turns the enormous industrial wealth squeezed out of the life blood of the working class into misery, poverty and the spectre of nuclear holocaust. ■

Lauren & Ray...

(continued from page 16)

of these militant unionists. Numerous prominent individuals and over 20 local unions are also supporting the defense of Lauren and Ray. All out March 1! Down with South Africa-style "justice"! Freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray!

Alameda Central Labor Council Resolution

WHEREAS:

During the CWA legally authorized strike against the Bell System, that commenced August 6, 1983, criminal charges were filed in Alameda County, in the City of San Leandro, against Daniel Nadeu, local 9495; Douglas E. Snider, local 9496; Ray Palmiero, local 9410; James Welsh, local 9415; and Lauren Mozee, local 9415, and

WHEREAS:

Three employees lost their jobs as a result of the criminal charges, and two employees received a written warning in their personnel files, and

WHEREAS:

These charges include both misdemeanor and felony charges, and

WHEREAS:

This is another example of the police department siding with the business interests at the expense of workers rights, also known as union busting,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

That the AFL-CIO Central Labor Council in Alameda County go on record asking the Alameda County District Attorney's Office to drop the criminal charges against DANIEL V. NADEU, RAY PALMIERO, JAMES WELSH, DOUGLAS E. SNIDER and LAUREN MOZEE.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED:

That a copy of this resolution be sent to the District Attorney's Office.

Kathy Ikegami...

(continued from page 16)

means is I have refused to be a rubberstamp for Imerzel's policies. This union uses Roberts Rules of Order to provide an orderly procedure to discuss, debate and come to decisions. But *nowhere* do any of these rules demand decisions to be unanimous. And I'll be damned if I'll bend to his concept of democracy and debate. His notions of democracy have more in common with the Salvadoran junta.

One of the charges alleges the existence of an AP dispatch in which I am supposed to have told the truth about Imerzel, thereby bringing the union into disrepute. Where is it? It was never produced here by Imerzel because it never existed.

Then there's the famous MAC leaflet from April of 1982 which triggered these charges. First I want to say that we stand by every word in that leaflet. Our leaflet warned the members about layoffs, exposed the leadership's collaboration with the company, and called for strike action to stop layoffs, forced transfers and downgrades while we still have jobs. And Imerzel's response? Like Nero who fiddled while Rome burned, Imerzel has been conducting this purge trial while the company has been busy smashing our union.

But the real reason I'm on trial is because of my politics. Imerzel "charges" me with being a supporter of the Spartacist League. That's right and everyone knows it. It's no slander, Imerzel, it's a badge of honor! What do I stand for? I'm for building anti-fascist demonstrations like November 27th in Washington, D.C. where I helped a Spartacist League-initiated mobilization organize 5,000 blacks and trade unionists. *We* stopped the Klan from marching. I stand for the independence of labor from the capitalist Democrat and Republican parties. Neither offer any solutions for working people and minorities. It's the capitalists and their government that have brought this country to the brink of economic ruin and war. I stand for building a workers party based on the unions, throwing out the capitalists and setting up a workers government which will end racial oppression, poverty, unemployment and war. Then we can organize a socialist planned economy based on human need, not profit.

I have the right and responsibility to say and organize for what I believe in. In fact, I urge all members to interest themselves in these questions and also become supporters of the Spartacist League. It is their right and my right as U.S. citizens to hold these political positions.

Imerzel, on the other hand, has a different view of how I and all members must think and act. What does Imerzel stand for? This trial has shown that he stands for purging from the union anyone who wants to fight the phone company. He's for sucking up to the company and turning our membership over bound, gagged and powerless. He's for every company class-collaborationist scheme, from QWL to factfinding, that binds us to the bosses. He accepts the company's "right" to harass, fire and lay us off. He's for funneling our money and votes into the racist strike-breaking Democratic Party. One of the few good things that came out of this trial is that *everyone knows* that Imerzel coddles racist Klan lovers like Joe McKenna. Imerzel wants to force unanimity to his world view. I'm certain most members including yourselves would find this to be a horrifying prospect!

Testimony in this trial has brought out that Imerzel will lie, squander thousands of dollars and years of our union's time, and indulge in his childish Perry Mason fantasies in order to smash any political opposition. Testimony has shown that Imerzel has fingered me and other MAC members to the company, to the S.F. Red Squad, to the Secret Service and to the FBI. And when this didn't work, Imerzel and his hully boys—Knipe, McKenna and Anderson—physically assaulted one lone woman, MAC member Kat Burnham—during the strike. Even some members of Imerzel's own Executive Board couldn't stomach that cowardly act.

All that Imerzel has proved during his "case" is that there are no limits to how far he will go to suppress opposition. This would-be McCarthy reaches out and endorses the infamous Moscow purge trials of Josef Stalin, and then accuses me of "totalitarianism." Imerzel applauds the thugs of the International-ist Workers Party who launched a murderous hammer attack on an L.A. phone worker. This is a group whose leader Nahuel Moreno is infamous on the left for his history of lying and swindling. No doubt the National Union wondered what sort of lunatic they'd unleashed as Imerzel cited his rogues' gallery list of "leftist experts" against me.

Many of Imerzel's witnesses provided some amusing entertainment as they fast-shuffled to keep from tripping over their own lies, and then tripped over the lies of others. The last session ended with Linda Zupan trying to decide which of her conflicting answers about handing out the racist scab sheet Malignant Action was the best one. To give credit where it's due, I must thank Miss Zupan for testifying that her boyfriend McKenna was in fact arrested on the same trip where McKenna admitted attending a Ku Klux Klan meeting. During the trial, this racist compared going to Klan meetings with going to church. McKenna also denied saying that the black splicer, Dovard Howard, crippled by a Klan terrorist was shot by "an irate father." But Imerzel confirmed the remark, calling it a "joke." No joke, brothers and sisters, it's racist filth pure and simple.

But Imerzel's testimony crowns the lot. After months of local pronouncements of no danger from layoffs, followed by claims he told the members everything from the beginning, Imerzel admitted here that his taped message to the members was "not accurate." Translated from Imerzel's language this means he lied to the membership. But we told the truth. That's why I have been on trial here for a year and a half.

It should be crystal clear that Imerzel is the source of the friction. Over the last six months, I have worked closely with Marie Mallett, Frank Tanner, Barbara Andrews, Margie Marks and Harold Jackson—from the International Union—on the Ray Palmiero and Lauren Mozee defense case. We certainly don't see eye to eye on many political questions, but we've been able to work together to defend this brother and sister against the company.

The other good thing that came out of this trial is that we helped ax Imerzel's chance to be District 9 Vice President. While we have our differences with Brother Ibsen, at *least* we can sit down and deal with him reasonably. He's not a megalomaniac. Why is it that only Imerzel is different? The only conclusion I can come to is that Imerzel is a man with no honor. He is a weak, cowardly and sick man who needs help. And I pity the poor International. What will they do with this basket case? I think our union ought to give Imerzel all the medical care he needs.

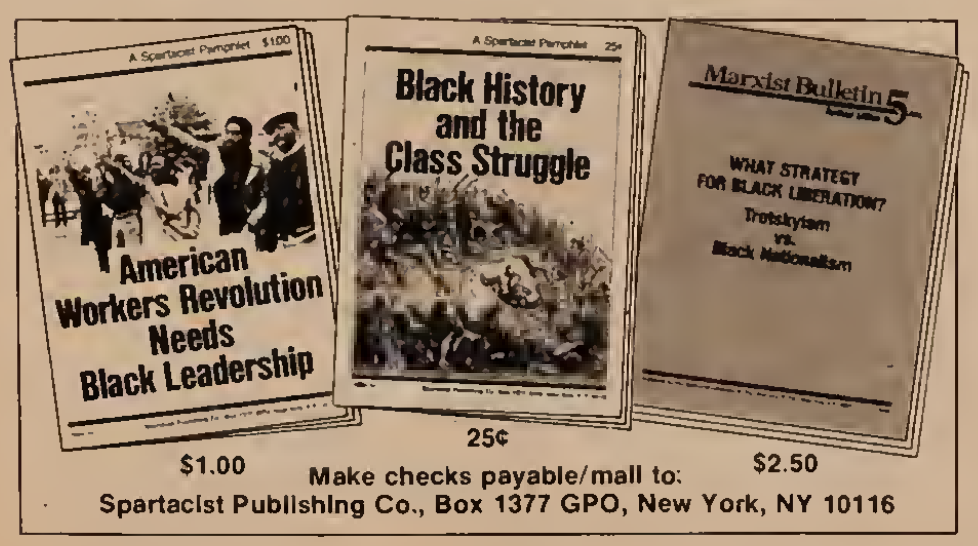
This trial body has been put in an impossible position. If you vote for Imerzel what you are doing is banning free speech and outlawing any criticism that Imerzel doesn't like. This would set a dangerous precedent of no opposition in the union. Such a decision could very well come back to be used against you and this union in circumstances more serious. The company is emboldened by Imerzel's lying and sniveling policies. He is disarming the union at a time when we must fight. This trial body will have to live politically with its decision long after Imerzel is gone.

Purging fighters from the union cripples the union and encourages less union-conscious members to become anti-union. It's a policy of making enemies of those who want to make our union strong. It's the militants who build unions and win strikes. Imerzel is playing right into the hands of Ma Bell and her union-busting propaganda.

To continue this trial would be a farce, subjecting me, the trial body and the membership to further egotistical abuse. We have to get on with what should be the real business of this union—defending our members against the company, throwing out all the scabs that slithered across our picket lines last August, and defending the victims of those scabs—like Ray and Lauren.

We were intending to call various more witnesses to ask them brief questions. But it is clear from Imerzel's projected eight more trial sessions that he is bent on making sure this trial never ends. During the prosecution's case, which took over a year, we had ample time to raise our points. We for one will not be responsible for squandering any more of the local's time and money. Therefore, we intend to call no more witnesses and rest our case.

1-18-84



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Victory Against Moonies...

(continued from page 5)

I've put up the materials on the victory in the union hall and spread the word around our union.

What happened on November 27 was very important, especially since it was made possible by the endorsement and support of more than 70 union locals and union officials.

A local union official in the Washington, D.C. area

A Model of Intelligent Self-Defense

The Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League are to be congratulated on their important victory in forcing the *Washington Times* to retract its vicious libel alleging that SL members and supporters fomented violence at the November 27 anti-Klan demonstration in Washington, D.C. There is no doubt that this libel was part of an effort by the Moonie Cult and others to set up the SL for future investigation and prosecution as a "violence-prone" or "terrorist" organization. The vigorous response of the SL threw a monkey wrench into these plans. It should serve all those committed to radical change in the interests of the working class as a model of intelligent self-defense. As a lawyer and law professor, I am particularly impressed by the SL's understanding of when to use the courts (against slanderers like Deukmejian and the Moonies, and against the F.B.I.) and when *not* to (the SL refuses to drag the judiciary into internal disputes within the labor movement). Keep up the good work, which serves the interests of all working people!

Richard E. Rubenstein
Professor of Law,
Antioch School of Law, D.C.

Keep Up the Good Work

Alfonso Wells, President of West Eight Mile Road Citizens District Council, congratulates the SL on their victory over the Moonies. We all should praise such groups like yours who will stand up and fight for the rights of those who are not able to defend themselves, both black and white. Again, I congratulate you. Keep up the good work.

Alfonso Wells
Endorser, Labor/Black
Mobilization to Stop the KKK
in Washington, D.C.,
November 27

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Freedom and Jobs Back for Lauren and Ray!

Alameda Labor Council Backs Phone Strikers

On February 27 the Alameda Central Labor Council of the AFL-CIO added its backing to the defense efforts on behalf of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, the two Bay Area phone workers facing four years in state prison for defending themselves and their picket line from a racist scab assault. This welcome albeit belated support comes just three days before the March 1 preliminary hearing on the frame-up charges against the couple.

The Central Labor Council motion demands that the Alameda County D.A. drop the charges against Lauren and Ray, and against three other phone workers who face misdemeanor charges stemming from last summer's national phone strike. The Phone Strikers Defense Committee, which is organizing the defense campaign for "freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray," has demanded that the labor movement use its collective strength to defend all phone workers victimized as a result of the strike.

The PSDC has called for a demonstration March 1 at 8 a.m. at the Hayward Municipal Court prior to the preliminary hearing. Committee spokesmen expect a large turnout of supporters to fill the courtroom afterwards to show their determined opposition to the conspiracy between the vindictive phone company, cops and D.A. to railroad the labor militants.

While on picket duty last August in the racist suburb of San Leandro, Lauren was called a "black nigger bitch" and struck in the face by a racist scab manager, one Michelle Rose Hansen. Lauren defended herself; her companion and fellow unionist Ray came to her assistance. Now Lauren and Ray are fired, denied unemployment compensation and are singled out for the only felony charges the PSDC is aware of stemming from the strike. The racist scab, of course, still has her job.

The Central Labor Council joins the more than 200 labor officials who are demanding an end to the persecution

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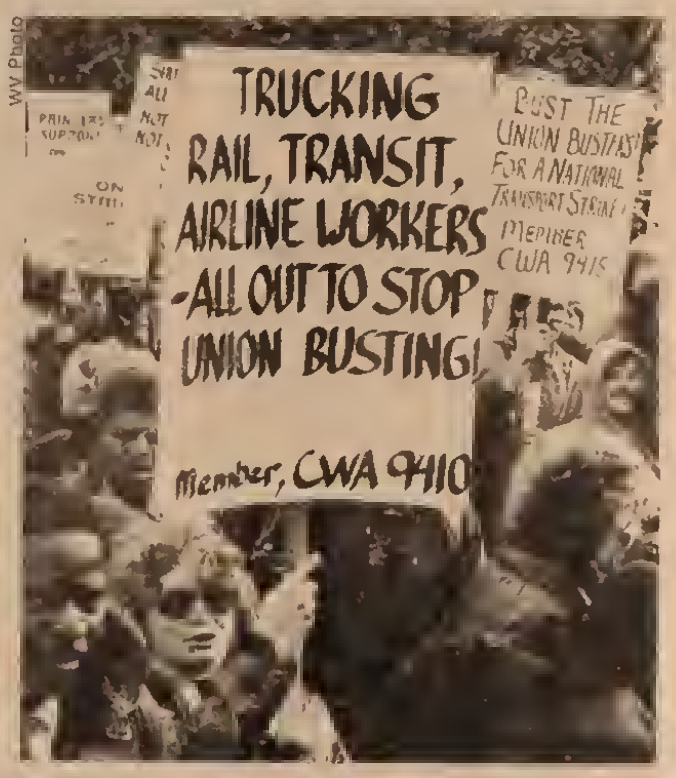
Throw Out the Witchhunt Verdict!

Phone Workers: Defend Kathy Ikegami!



Kathy Ikegami (lower left) supports Greyhound strikers at San Francisco rally.

SAN FRANCISCO—On February 10, the longest-running witchhunt trial in the history of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) reached a climax as the kangaroo court returned its "verdict." The target of this purge attempt is Kathy Ikegami, a former executive board member of CWA Local 9410, steward and nine-year member of the union, and a leading spokesman of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), the class-struggle opposition in the telephone union. After a year and a half of phony deliberations the trial court, hand-picked by Local 9410 president Jim Imerzel, declared Ikegami guilty of all charges, sentencing her to a six-month suspension from the union and a $300 fine. Imerzel and his co-conspirators on the local executive board lost no time in suspending Ikegami, in direct violation of CWA rules that specify that a member is entitled to an appeal before their local within 30 days *before* any sentence is carried out.

Ikegami told *WV*: "Since the executive board is not complying with the trial procedures by failing to call a membership meeting, I am compelled to call a special membership meeting, as mandated by our local bylaws in order to give the members of Local 9410 the right to hear my appeal and cast their vote against this outrageous and unjust conviction. It is also my right to be heard and judged by my peers, the members. To forbid the membership to exercise this right places the union in a position of jeopardy." A MAC-initiated petition for a special meeting gathered over 500 signatures, more than twice the required number, in just one week.

As we reported at the outset (see *WV* No. 313, 17 September 1982), this purge trial was triggered by MAC's exposure of the CWA bureaucrats' collusion with the company in agreeing to mass layoffs, forced transfers and downgrading and a war of attrition against the membership. Since that time the company has cut 18,000 jobs throughout California. MAC members in East Bay Local 9415 told *WV* that phone workers are under a virtual reign of terror there with grueling forced overtime and stepped-up management harassment, spying and victimizations. The suspension of Ikegami is an open invitation for the company to fire her and an attempt to intimidate and silence any opposition to the bureaucrats' no-fight agreement with the company. The central charge on which Ikegami was convicted, she told *WV*, was "divid[ing] the leadership of this Union and its Rank-and-File members"! But it's the Imerzel gang's unity with the company that divides them from the membership.

As the MAC's bulletin "Militant Action" (15 February 1984) underlines:

> "We all know they're going after Kathy because of her political views. Kathy is a proud supporter of the labor/socialist Spartacist League. She stands for the independence of labor from the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. She's for building a workers party based on the unions, to throw out the capitalists and form a workers government. She's for ending the union's notorious ties to the CIA-AIFLD. She's for building anti-fascist demonstrations like November 27th [1982] in Washington, D.C. where a Spartacist League-initiated mobilization organized 5,000 blacks and trade unionists who *stopped* the Klan from marching. She's for building a class-struggle union leadership that doesn't kneel before the company."

This is the kind of leadership and program the CWA membership desperately needs. And when CWA national president Glenn Watts put out the word at the 1982 convention to "Stop MAC," it's because he is opposed to everything Kathy Ikegami stands for! As the "Militant Action" bulletin pointed out, referring to the pro-Watts Imerzel gang, "These people should go to work for the CIA-AIFLD, but then again, maybe they already have."

Ikegami told *WV* that in illegally suspending her from the union Imerzel and the local executive board charged Kathy with having "utter and complete contempt for, and disregard of the union membership and the policies and procedures established by them." This from the very same people who are trampling on the members' rights and the CWA's own rules by suspending Ikegami before her appeal to the local! In total disregard for the will of the membership Imerzel had earlier gerrymandered Ikegami off the executive board, simply dropping her on the basis that since divestiture her job is in a different company than the one she was elected from! Ikegami then ran for re-election to the executive board on the MAC slate. Now to keep Ikegami off the executive board and to deny the membership even the democratic right to elect its own leadership, the Imerzel clique has demanded that the ballots be destroyed *uncounted*. The bureaucrats are trying to simply declare Ikegami ineligible to run based on their own illegal suspension of her (which took place after the ballots were already out). They have declared their own candidate the winner by acclamation!

This rule-or-ruin policy of the Imerzel gang is not new. Last year over 1,000 local members demanded the recall of local officers Imerzel, Mallett, McKenna and Anderson for their harboring of McKenna, who admitted attending a KKK meeting, and for their disruption of the local in their attempt to purge Ikegami. The bureaucrats, elected by only half the number of votes as the signatures on the recall, simply threw the petitions in the trash. Local 9410 members can and must squash the verdict against Kathy Ikegami. As the MAC wrote: "The trial court's decision bans free speech and outlaws any criticism that Imerzel and his cronies don't like. If this conviction is carried out it will set a dangerous precedent—no dissent, no opposition will be allowed in our union."

We print below Kathy Ikegami's closing statement to the trial court, taken from the January 18 "Militant Action" bulletin.

"Militant Action" Bulletin

Ikegami to Imerzel: Take Your Trial and Shove It!

From the beginning it's been clear that this is a political purge trial. Imerzel brought these charges because I'm in the Militant Action Caucus which is an effective, organized, political opposition to the policies of the National and local leadership. Imerzel has proven that he is the disrupter. He has brought the union into disrepute. This trial has been an exercise in self indulgence for one man's sick ego.

Let me quickly answer each charge. The first charge says I willfully violated the by-laws by voting against steward and committee appointments. What this

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 350 — 16 March 1984

U.S. Troops Head for Salvadoran Border

AP

Yankees Get Out – And Stay Out!

Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftist Rebels! Crush CIA's Contra Invaders of Nicaragua!

On March 8, NBC News announced the U.S. is sending a strike force of 2,000 combat troops of the 193rd Infantry Brigade to the El Salvador-Honduras border for "emergency readiness exercises." This is no exercise! It is a direct military intervention to try to save the Salvador butchers who are getting the hell kicked out of them by leftist guerrilla rebels. Using the phony "elections" scheduled for March 25 as a pretext, Reagan is trying to prop up the foundering death squad government by escalating the U.S. military threat. The aircraft carrier *America* with a battle fleet of destroyers and escort ships is now steaming toward Honduras which the U.S. has turned into a staging area for Yankee invasion into Central America.

Over the weekend fighting intensified in various parts of Central America. In El Salvador, government forces rushed in to try to end eight hours of heavy streetfighting by several hundred leftist rebels in the town of Santiago de Maria. In Nicaragua, a Sandinista army commander in the Matagalpa area reported his forces had killed some 35 *contras* out of a counterrevolutionary invasion force of 1,400 that had penetrated deep into the heart of the country. Meanwhile, Sandinista tanks were moved to the northern frontier for the first time to defend against heavy shelling reported from around the Honduran border town of El Triunfo. After two successive U.S. "exercises" in Honduras, the fighting in Central America is rapidly becoming a regional war.

On March 13, the Sandinistas reported that U.S.-backed *contra* terrorists had blown out two major power stations. The *contras*, however, are going nowhere in their desperate attempt to topple the government. The *contras*' failures, like the failures of the Salvadoran butchers, have increased the danger of direct U.S. military intervention. With the Sandinista tanks on the Honduran-Nicaraguan border, Managua knows it is looking directly into the guns of U.S. imperialism. On March 13, Sandinista junta coordinator Daniel Ortega appealed to "the governments of the world to give the Nicaraguan people the technical military means to defend itself against the terrorism unleashed by the U.S. government." Indeed the Nicaraguans need direct international aid. As we have said: "Stop Reagan's Bay of Pigs—Nicaragua Needs MIGs!" ...and the most advanced surface-to-air missiles and anything else they need to defeat the bloody U.S.-backed *contras*. But as the U.S. becomes more directly involved in the war, it will take revolutionary struggle throughout the isthmus, backed up by international proletarian mobilizations, particularly in the U.S., to defeat the imperialist invaders.

Not long ago Reagan and the State Department were talking about the 55-adviser limit on U.S. military personnel in El Salvador. But now in Honduras

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Reagan's KAL 007 Plot Unravels

Ferreting Out the Truth

When a Soviet fighter pilot shot down Korean Air Lines Flight 007 on 1 September 1983, Ronald Reagan made KAL 007 the propaganda centerpiece of the U.S. anti-Soviet crusade. The world's most dangerous and barbaric leaders sharply escalated their drive toward World War III in the name of 200-plus innocent civilians killed on the KAL airliner. As the U.S. moved its nuclear first-strike missiles into Europe, Congress condemned the Soviet Union as perpetrators of "cold-blooded barbarous murder." From the Moonie crazies and émigré "freedom fighters" on the streets to "responsible" media like the *New York Times*, here at last was the act which they said proved Ronald Reagan's view of the USSR as an "evil empire" which must be destroyed. After all, they asked, what kind of government kills innocent civilians? What kind indeed.

KAL Flight 007 was clearly an American Cold War provocation in which civilians were held hostage by the real perpetrators of "cold-blooded barbarous murder." The U.S. story was fishy from the start, and we would like to believe that we have done our bit to expose the lies of the imperialist plotters. But now the Reagan story is really unraveling. And that would be an important blow to their campaign to mobilize opinion for war against the Soviet Union. For the Reaganites the truth of Mission 007 is particularly dangerous. And now additional pieces of the puzzle are falling into place.

The first major breach in the U.S. government's story came in early September when it was accidentally revealed that a U.S. electronic spy plane, the RC-135, had been in the vicinity of KAL 007. Two former Air

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Mitterrand's Austerity Breeds Rightist Mobilization

Behind French Truckers Strike

ADAPTED FROM LE BOLCHÉVIK NO. 45, MARCH 1984

PARIS, March 1—"We'll make the Parisians eat rats, then when they've got no more gas and nothing to eat they'll see who's in charge" (*Libération*, 22 February). So said an over-the-road truck owner-operator who, along with hundreds of others, was blockading the Garonor freight hub on the *autoroute du Nord* [main superhighway leading into Paris from the north]. He was repeating the battle cry of Versailles against the heroic Communards of 1871. But today there is no revolutionary workers government in Paris, only Mitterrand's class-collaborationist government that has succeeded in sending all sectors of the population into a furor.

The goal of the trucking bosses is to expand their fleet. Their business success depends on their ability to eliminate the competition and on their willingness to work harder and harder in worse and worse conditions. This contradiction was explicitly spelled out in interviews with salaried drivers, often forced by their bosses to participate in the blockades yet conscious that the "strike" demands such as easing limits on the length of the working day were not at all in their interests. Marxists were *against* this "strike"—not because it put Mitterrand up against the wall, but because this mobilization was objectively opposed to the working class.

At the time, everyone was talking about the "Chile syndrome," recalling the Chilean independent truckers strike that was one of the reactionary hammer blows leading to the bonapartist military coup d'état which brought down Allende's popular front in 1973. While it is true that things haven't yet gone that far, nevertheless, in the context of capitalist crisis and given the volatility of the petty-bourgeois proprietors, this "strike," manipulated by reactionaries, could only become a fertile terrain for far right-wing and fascist organizations.

What we have just seen with the long-distance truckers is a continuation of the classic cycle produced by popular front governments. Smashing workers strikes, such as Talbot (see *WV* No. 346, 20 January), demoralizing the most militant workers, conciliating reaction with racist and anti-Soviet campaigns, the Mitterrand government is provoking an ongoing spiral of sinister mobilizations by the enraged petty bourgeoisie. Students and shopkeepers last May. Farmers sacking a county courthouse. Wine growers sacking a town. And repeatedly, for months, one mobilization after another of fanatical Catholic school supporters: "If they take our school away, then they'll take our money and our land." There was also the threatening assault on the Elysée palace [the French White House] by the cops in June. All this stirred up by the most reactionary elements of the bourgeois opposition, including the fascists. Le Pen [head of the fascist New Forces Party] the torturer is promoted to the rank of "respectable" politician. But who lends "respectability" to his program of anti-Communist race hatred? The day following Le Pen's TV broadcast (which provoked a rash of new members for his organization of thugs), the Mitterrand government one-upped this racist scum by organizing an SS-style raid on Îlot Chalons [an immigrant ghetto in Paris]: 600 Africans and Algerians rounded up.

To break this infernal spiral and stop the threat of bonapartist reaction, we need powerful proletarian mobilizations against the government-implemented capitalist austerity. Breaking with Mitterrand is today a simple matter of self-preservation! The immigrant workers' struggle at Talbot could have been the spark to set aflame the entire auto industry, bringing out solidarity strikes in related industries such as steel and transport. Talbot was defeated, but in struggle—thus laying the basis for future actions, for example now in Citroën or Renault which are threatened with thousands of layoffs.

And today it's the miners' turn. How obscene to talk of "industrial restructuring" when what [finance minister] Delors & Co. mean is to dump experienced and skilled workers proud of their

continued on page 10

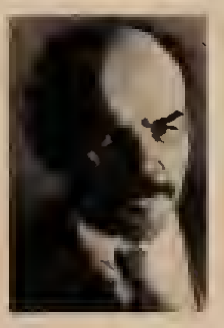
Bachelet/Paris Match

Right-wing truck owners strike ties up France.

Bolshevism and Revolution in the Colonial World

Trotsky polemicized against the centrist Socialist Workers Party (SAP) of Germany, which broke from social democracy but continued to share many of its prejudices, for its passive and pacifistic attitude toward social revolution in the colonial world.

TROTSKY



LENIN

What characterizes Bolshevism on the national question is that in its attitude toward oppressed nations, even the most backward, it considers them not only the object but also the subject of politics. Bolshevism does not confine itself to recognizing their "right" to self-determination and to parliamentary protests against the trampling upon of this right. Bolshevism penetrates into the midst of the oppressed nations; it raises them up against their oppressors; it ties up their struggle with the struggle of the proletariat in capitalist countries; it instructs the oppressed Chinese, Hindus, or Arabs in the art of insurrection and it assumes full responsibility for this work in the face of civilized executioners. Here only does Bolshevism begin, that is, revolutionary Marxism in action. Everything that does not step over this boundary remains centrism.

—Leon Trotsky, *What Next?* (1932)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 350 **16 March 1984**

Beatifying Souls for the Cold War Crusade

TRANSLATED FROM LE BOLCHÉVIK NO. 45, MARCH 1984

Wojtyla is the pope of Reagan and Mitterrand's anti-Soviet crusade. He says so and he proves it. He has supported, organized and financed Solidarność, the counterrevolutionary "trade union" that wanted to bring Poland back home to capitalist paradise. He supports the Nicaraguan bishops who oppose the draft, in order to sabotage defense of the revolution against attack by the *contras* in the pay of the CIA. He's against abortion, contraception, sexual pleasure. And in his antiprogressive rage, he now attacks the French Revolution by beatifying the "martyrs" executed at Angers in 1794 after the revolutionary troops had smashed the "Catholic and royal army," in other words the monarchist peasant revolt in the Vendée.

We're not surprised to see this rabid anti-Communist defend the monarchists of 1794 after having shed tears for those of 1984, the Afghan "freedom fighters" who likewise fight to defend their feudal interests and their priests (even if they are mullahs, heretical Muslims; when fighting atheistic communism, sibling rivalries are unseemly) against the Red Army, the local incarnation of the devil (social progress).

In fact this is all quite logical. The commanding general of the holy Roman Catholic church detests the French Revolution as did all his miserable predecessors. But now, with the Cold War, numerous anti-Communist liberals (like this other Solidarność notable, Wajda, in his film *Danton* [see *Le Bolchévik* No. 39, May 1983]) have set out to denigrate the great revolution, the democratic, antifeudal, anticlerical bourgeois revolution. So much for the erstwhile "leftists" who explain, Jesuitism rampant, that it is necessary to slay Wojtyla's clericalism in France but support it in Poland; who are fiercely against "free schools" in Nantes while fiercely for "free trade unions" in Gdansk!

In its struggle to the death against the workers state born of the October Revolution, against proletarian gains, rotting imperialism must mobilize the most repulsive reactionaries, the most backward superstitions, all the stinking garbage of the old world, and vilify all the victories of the progressive classes over the worm-eaten old regimes. But we revolutionists know that ours is the cause of progress for humanity.

Long live the French Revolution! Long live the Commune! Long live the October Revolution!

We'll seize the factories and wreck Sacré Coeur! "*Ah! Ça ira!*"

Letter

The ETs Didn't Ring Twice

29 February 1984

To the Editor:

As a matter of elementary prophylaxis I wanted to prevent further distortion in future by the ETs in reference to a very minor point in the article concerning them in *WV* No. 349 ["The 'External Tendency': From Cream Puffs to Food Poisoning," 2 March].

The article correctly reports that, after my expulsion from the international Spartacist tendency, I received an initial phone call from the ETs, all eager to commiserate, who were quite taken aback when I told them that my expulsion had been fully justified. The article however says that I "never heard from the ET again." Indeed, I did eventually receive documents from them, but only after a lapse of some months—it evidently took them some time to bring themselves to expend postage on anyone loyal to the iSt. The promised visits never materialized, despite their repeated trips to New York, and I had the dubious pleasure of conversing with the ETs only when I sought them out at the SL national conference.

Again an iSt member and proud of it

Black Minister Target of Boston Cop Vendetta

Hands Off Reverend Ellis-Hagler!

BOSTON—For the "crime" of defending the picket lines of striking Greyhound workers, black community activist Rev. Graylan Ellis-Hagler is being targeted in an outrageous racist frame-up. Ellis-Hagler was one of nearly 90 picketers arrested last November while trying to stop scab buses at the downtown Boston Greyhound station. Charges were subsequently dropped against all the protesters except the black minister, whom the cops have singled out to face prison on patently phony charges of assault and battery of a policeman. Ellis-Hagler told *WV* that the cop "called me 'nigger' and said, 'I'll take your head off'."

The cops are out to get Ellis-Hagler! They hate him for his opposition to the corrupt Police Commissioner Joseph Jordan and for his active involvement in opposing racist cop brutality. And they want to send a message to minorities and the working class of Boston: in this segregated, heavily non-union city, integrated labor struggle will not be tolerated; scabs will do their dirty work without fear while unionists and their supporters will be jailed. Ellis-Hagler told us that he's being singled out because "For one thing, I got involved in union work. And union work in this town means crossing over neighborhood borders that black people are not supposed to cross." Hands off Graylan Ellis-Hagler! Drop the charges!

Rev. Ellis-Hagler is well known in Boston for his community and labor-support work. Having been asked by Greyhound strikers to participate in mass picketing on November 17, he joined the line. In an interview with *WV*, Ellis-Hagler described what happened that morning:

> "We had made a decision that when the buses started to roll we would be sitting in front of them to stop them from rolling. There were quite a few people out there, I'd guess about 400, picketing both sides of the terminal. Word was passed that there was to be no violence, if the police wanted to arrest us, then that's all they simply had to do, arrest us. When the first bus began to roll around 9:30, people began to sit down in the street in front of it.... [But] instead of arresting anyone, the police decided to kick, to punch, to club people, and to pick them up and throw them on the sidewalk down the street. So it was a leapfrog sit-in all the way down the street and around the corner, because as soon as people got thrown out of the way, they scrambled back and sat down again.... I was grabbed by a sergeant by the throat. He called me a few names and threatened me. When I asked him for his badge number, he turned and ran down the street."

When a second scab bus pulled out of the terminal over an hour later, picketers again sat down in the street in front of the bus. The cops moved in and this time arrested 51 picketers, including Ellis-Hagler. After he was detained for three hours, the original charge leveled against Ellis-Hagler, disorderly conduct, was upped to assault and battery of a police officer. At the arraignment, the cop who had threatened Ellis-Hagler read what the minister describes as "a laundry list of injuries that I supposedly inflicted on an officer, from a broken kneecap to a broken leg and a whole list of other things." Meanwhile, there has been a virtual press blackout of the case, with neither of Boston's two daily newspapers printing a word about it.

The bitter battles over Boston busing in 1974 spelled the defeat of efforts at school integration throughout the North. When white racist mobs rampaged through the streets, stoning school buses and terrorizing minorities, it was a hunting license for every kind of racist pig, and an incitement to outright murder for the racist thugs in blue. Now a book has been published documenting the police department's cover-up of a 1975 killing of a young black Roxbury man by the police. The book, *Deadly Force*, implicates then-Superintendent Jordan in orchestrating the cover-up and has sparked widespread criticism of Jordan and his Boston P.D.

Lately, the police department has been beset with problems: one cop accused of rape while on duty, another charged with 29 cases of arson; Commissioner Jordan was involved in a hit-and-run in New Hampshire, then ran off to a ritzy Newport, Rhode Island alcoholics rehab clinic to dry out just as *Deadly Force* hit the bookstores. Calls for Jordan's ouster have snowballed and both the *Boston Globe* and the *Herald* have run editorials urging him to resign. But while the "ranks" of the cops may not be fond of Jordan, still less do they like "outsiders" criticizing "one of their own." And Graylan Ellis-Hagler has been in the forefront of the move to oust Jordan.

After years of unrelieved racist terror for black people in Boston, one solid anti-racist stand was made which even the brutal cops couldn't stop. On 16 October 1982 an angry, jeering crowd of 1,500 successfully stopped the Ku Klux Klan from rallying in City Hall Plaza, running the hooded race-terrorists out of town. Not even a full-scale riot by scores of motorcycle cops and mounted police could disperse the protesters. The cops put 12 demonstrators in the hospital and injured dozens of others, but the crowd was determined to—and did—stop the fascist provocation. A $10 million police brutality lawsuit, in which Rev. Ellis-Hagler is one of the plaintiffs, was subsequently filed and is now in the pre-trial discovery process.

The anti-racist militants who withstood the rampaging cops to stop the KKK deserve every penny they can get! But "cleaning up" the Boston cops by dumping Jordan, who's become an embarrassment to those he serves, or by a civilian review board to monitor complaints against the police (a proposal backed by Ellis-Hagler) is no answer. The cops' job is to enforce capitalist "law and order" by violence and intimidation against minorities and working people. To combat racist cop brutality will take mass labor/black mobilizations—a fighting labor movement committed to forging unity of the working people through active struggle for the rights of the most oppressed—on the road to workers revolution.

The racist railroading of Rev. Graylan Ellis-Hagler must be stopped!

WV Photo

Rev. Graylan Ellis-Hagler, targeted for supporting Greyhound strikers and protesting police brutality.

At stake in this important case are defense of picket lines, the battle lines on which strikes are won or lost, and defense against racist attack. These same issues are posed in the case of militant California phone workers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, whose defense Ellis-Hagler has endorsed. Lauren and Ray, an interracial couple and members of a class-struggle opposition group in their union, face four years in prison on phony "assault" charges, for defending themselves and their picket line against gross racist insult and violent attack by a racist scab/manager during last summer's national phone strike.

Stop the racist anti-labor frame-ups! Drop the charges against Rev. Ellis-Hagler! Please send urgently needed contributions to: Ellis-Hagler Defense Fund, c/o Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local 26, 58 Berkeley Street, Boston, Mass. 02116. ■

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KAL 007 Plot...

(continued from page 1)

Force intelligence officers, T. Edward Eskelson and Tom Bernard, further undermined the government's story, revealing the extensive detection capabilities of the RC-135 and noting that the plane would not simply leave the scene, as Reagan asserted, because it is always relieved by another RC-135. They concluded:

> "Because of these RC-135 capabilities we believe that the entire sweep of events...was meticulously monitored and analyzed instantaneously by U.S intelligence.
>
> "...the official U.S. version of events is incomplete and misleading."
>
> —*Denver Post*, 13 September 1983

Now anti-CIA muckraker David Wise has reported on Cable News Network (25 February) that the two former RC-135 fliers were recently paid a visit by an FBI agent sent by the ultrasecret National Security Agency (NSA). The men were warned that they had "technically violated U.S. espionage laws," thereby emphasizing the accuracy of their account. Wise concluded correctly, "Censorship only arouses the suspicion that there's more to the story." Indeed there is.

Since last September a number of reporters have pieced together the available evidence to conclude that KAL 007 was on an intricately engineered U.S. spy mission in which the 269 passengers would become innocent victims. One lengthy piece by R.W. Johnson in the prestigious British *Guardian* (17 December 1983) sketches a scenario in which KAL 007 was assigned the task of penetrating Soviet airspace as part of a surveillance mission over the militarily sensitive Okhotsk Sea region. "It is the U.S. which owes the USSR an apology," Johnson concluded. And many other reporters have pointed up the innumerable contradictions in the American story, which depends on an incredible string of "coincidences" and "accidents." Even *Playboy* (March 1984) has joined the controversy, in an article by Asa Baber which raises some pointed questions:

> "Why were we first told the plane was OK and sitting safely on Sakhalin Island when for many hours our Government had known that it had been fired on, had fallen in a 12-minute descent to about 2000 feet and then had lost all control and crashed into the sea?...
>
> "Was the many-hour delay in getting any news to the public connected with our Government's need to know whether or not the Russians had already obtained the black boxes from the wreckage of K.A.L. 007?...
>
> "How could a 747 encounter all the problems that this one did? Wrong coordinates on the computer? All radios dead? Radar transponder dead? Weather radar dead? Visual and celestial navigation unused? Cockpit blind to warning shots and the presence of waggling fighter aircraft fore and aft? Coordination with RC-135s a coincidence, as well as significant changes in flight direction during those two and a half hours that sent K.A.L. 007 over some of the most classified territory in the Soviet Union? Radio silence from our own observers another coincidence? Changes in K.A.L. 007's altitude as fighters closed in another coincidence?"

Der Spiegel

The ultrasecret CIA/NSA spy station at Pine Gap, Australia. When Labor government leader Gough Whitlam started asking questions about the base in November 1975, CIA sent threatening cable to its Australian counterparts, ASIO, and Whitlam was suddenly dismissed in an unprecedented coup by the Queen's representative. Now Soviets report that "It was from Pine Gap that the CIA watched the provocative intrusion of a South Korean plane into Soviet airspace" (New Times, February 1984).

Piece by piece, the complex mosaic of the American spy plot is being revealed, but a few important pieces are still missing.

NSA Spy in the Sky

During the height of the anti-Soviet media hysteria last September, the Soviets tried to crack through the Reaganite propaganda offensive with the unusual step of revealing some of their own military intelligence. In a technically detailed TASS press release (19 September 1983), the Soviet air marshal Pyotr Kirsanov revealed that the mysterious off-course flight of KAL 007 was "strictly synchronized" with the passes of an American spy satellite identified as "Ferret-D." This satellite has a period of revolution around the earth of 96 minutes, Kirsanov explained, and three passes made by the satellite on 1 September provided three stages of an intricate spy plan. On the first pass, starting at 6:45 p.m. Moscow time, "immediately before the intrusion of Soviet airspace by the South Korean plane," the satellite "for about 12 minutes flew east of Kamchatka and the Kuril Islands." Thus the "ferret" could pick up the signals of Soviet radar in the Kamchatka area in their normal working mode. Then at 8:30 p.m. Moscow time, "i.e., precisely at the moment of the intrusion of the trespasser plane into Soviet airspace" at Kamchatka, the spy satellite conveniently passed over the area of Kamchatka on its second pass. And the third pass of the "ferret" satellite "coincided with absolute accuracy" with KAL 007's penetration of Soviet airspace over Sakhalin.

Kirsanov noted that the unscheduled 40-minute delay of KAL 007 in its stopover at Anchorage, Alaska had been calculated to synchronize the planes's flight path with that of the "ferret" satellite. Interestingly, this last point fit in with the discordant note made by anti-Soviet commentator Martin Abend, who to everyone's surprise announced on TV in September that "he had information that the relevant South Korean jumbo had been the subject of last-minute technical alteration in Alaska" and that the U.S. and Reagan "bore direct responsibility for the deaths of 269 people" (Alexander Cockburn, "Press Clips," *Village Voice*, 20 September 1983).

The spy plan was a repeat of a well-practiced American spy technique—Soviet radar would be provoked into switching on by a deliberate penetration of Soviet airspace, and the reactions and capabilities of the Soviet defense systems would be recorded by American spy planes and satellites. James Bamford, who revealed the workings of the ultrasecret NSA (they actually tried to retrieve and suppress unclassified documents used by Bamford in his book), described how this works:

> "For many years the NSA had been 'ferreting' the Soviet borders with aircraft jam-packed with the latest in electronic and communications eavesdropping gear. Flying parallel to the Russian border, the aircraft would pick up the faint emissions of air defense radar, ground communications, and microwave signals. Once captured, the signals would be sent on to NSA for analysis.
>
> "It was an effective and efficient method of collecting the needed intelligence.... But there was one major handicap: only that radar which is activated can be captured, and some of the most important radar became activated only by a border penetration. For this reason pilots occasionally engaged in the dangerous game of 'fox and hounds'; they would fly directly toward the border, setting off the radar, and then pull away at the last minute. Once in a while pilots would actually penetrate Soviet airspace, intentionally or unintentionally."
>
> —James Bamford, *The Puzzle Palace* (1982)

Satellite technology enhanced the possibilities of this spy technique, Bamford reports, since it would enable the U.S. to "eavesdrop on various defenses deep within the nation's interior." Thus was born a new spy apparatus:

> "Known as ferret satellites, the SIGINT [Signals Intelligence] craft were originally developed during the late 1950s primarily to supplement the lumbering four-engine ferrets that prowled the Soviet and Chinese borders—and occasionally didn't return....
>
> "The satellite is apparently designed so that, as it passes over its preprogrammed targets, it can capture the various signals on tape and then, when over friendly territory, like Australia, transmit intelligence back down to an earth station in highly compressed bursts."

The advantage of using a civilian airliner to provoke Soviet radar would presumably be that it would *not* get shot down, and if it did, the U.S. could scream bloody murder. It would not be unprecedented—an editor of *Defense Science* admitted that KAL airliners "regularly overfly Russian airspace to gather military intelligence" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 4 September 1983).

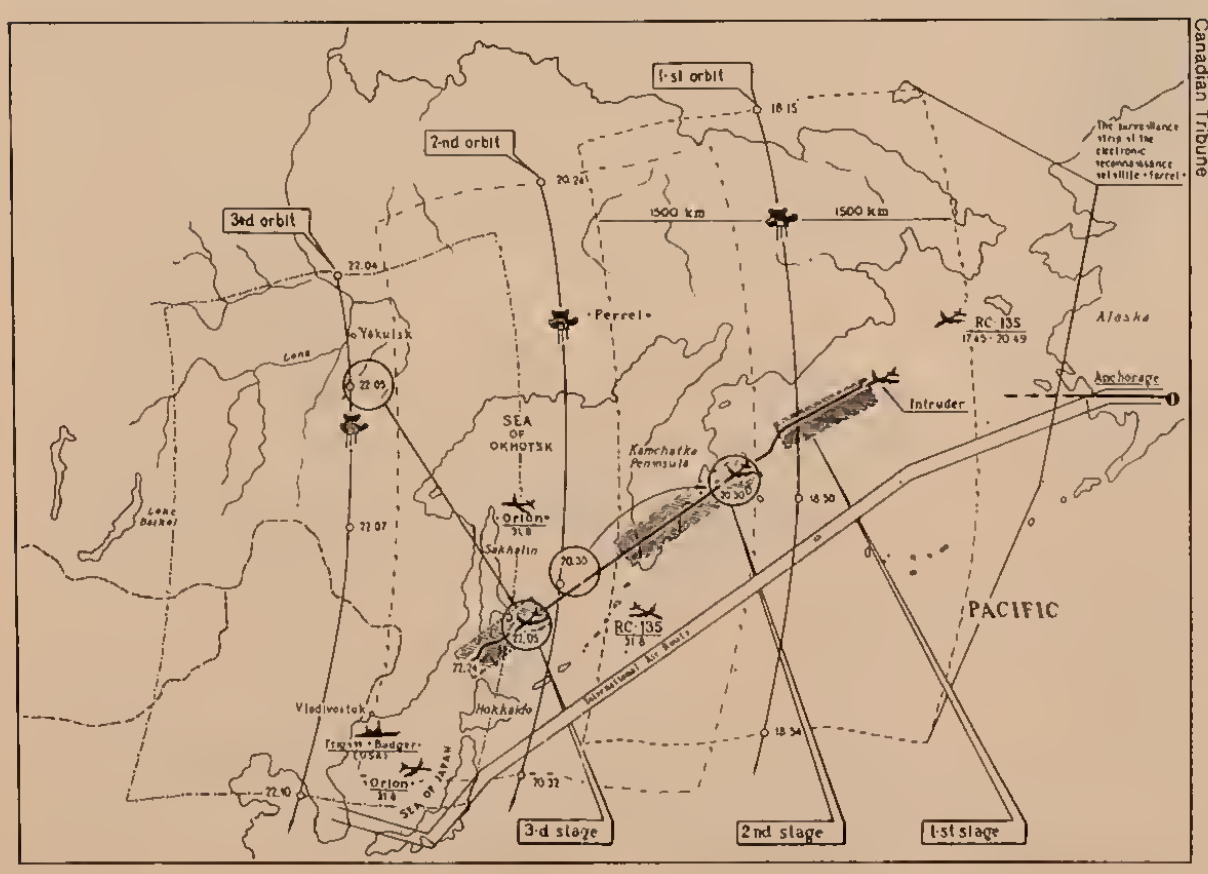
The Missing "Ferret"

So was there an American "ferret" satellite in orbit at the time of KAL 007's ill-fated flight? Here was a concrete assertion made by the Soviets which could be investigated to get to the bottom of the story. But predictably the American capitalist media showed their true class colors by dropping the story like a hot potato. The *New York Times* editors, who already know or could probably verify it by making a phone call to one of their friends in the Pentagon, chose instead to bury it in the inside pages without comment or follow-up. *Workers Vanguard* does not have the resources of the *New York Times*, and we certainly don't have any friends at the Department of Defense, but we do have access to the New York Public Library. And what we found there supports the Soviet story 100 percent.

After years of practice, the U.S. has developed "ferrets" into a fine and predictable art, whereby the "ferrets" are launched as "piggyback" packages on a larger spy satellite known as Big Bird. According to an authoritative book with an introduction by former CIA deputy director Ray Cline:

> "From 1972...subsatellites for electronic snooping have ridden exclusively on the Big Bird family, two separate ferrets sometimes being released in orbit."
>
> —Colonel William V. Kennedy, *Intelligence Warfare* (1983)

The Big Bird would provide photo-reconnaissance of the area in question,



The flight of KAL 007 was "strictly synchronized" with the passes of U.S. "ferret" spy satellite (TASS, 19 September 1983).

Let In Soviet Olympic Official!

The State Department on March 2 refused to allow Soviet Olympic official Oleg N. Yermishkin into the country, only hours before he was due to arrive in Los Angeles to prepare for the summer Olympic games. Yermishkin, who had visited Los Angeles in November, applied for a six-month visa February 10. This last-minute refusal by the State Department upset the Olympic Organizing Committee of Los Angeles, which stated, "We are deeply troubled by the timing of this denial, which appears to be inefficient and unfair" (*New York Times*, 3 March).

The State Department's action wasn't "inefficient"—it was a conscious provocation against the Soviet Union, the latest in a series of of escalating vicious and petty bureaucratic outrages. "Internal security" was the only *official* explanation given, but one State Department official said it was all part of an "intricate game" between the KGB and the FBI/CIA: "we sent a message to the K.G.B. that we were in no mood to let one of their guys in on the Olympics ticket, once we knew who he was" (*New York Times*, 3 March). We haven't the faintest idea whether Yermishkin has any connection to the KGB or not—there's certainly no reason to believe State Department propaganda. But considering that the FBI and CIA, not to mention thousands of cops and the LAPD's racist paramilitary troops, will be crawling all over the Olympics, and that California right-wingers are already whipping up provocative anti-Soviet hysteria, it would seem perfectly reasonable for the USSR to try to provide its athletes some protection and security.

The Reagan administration, as part of its war drive against the USSR, has in effect declared "open season" on representatives of the Soviet Union in this country. Earlier, the State Department prevented San Francisco-based TASS correspondent Yuri Ustimenko from attending an L.A. Olympics press conference on December 7, while whole sections of L.A. County (including Disneyland!) remain off-limits for Soviet diplomats, journalists and athletes. More serious than this petty bureaucratic harassment, however, is the U.S. government's provocative attempts to undermine the principle that the Soviet Union, like any other state, has any right to diplomatic immunity for its personnel abroad. This is in effect the posture of war; as we noted in "Teheran Embassy Revisited" (*WV* No. 345, 6 January 1984): "...the barbarous treatment of Soviet diplomatic personnel of late is an index of the Reagan administration's drive to smash Soviet state power: e.g., (1) the invasion of the Soviet diplomatic retreat on Long Island during the KAL 007 hysteria by a mob led by the Moonie cult with the connivance of local authorities; (2) the outrageously illegal denial of landing rights for Soviet foreign minister Gromyko, who was scheduled to address a UN session; (3) the humiliating prisoner-of-war treatment of Soviet embassy personnel on Grenada...wherein the Soviet staff was held for hours and searched with their hands behind their heads."

This latest visa refusal, though in itself just one more small jab at the Soviet Union, is yet another ominous signal that this ruling class will not give up its deadly, provocative search for some incident to unleash its hysterical war appetite. We demand: Down with the anti-Soviet Olympic bans, provocations and travel restrictions! ■

AP

East German Olympic figure skating champion Katarina Witt. Reagan sees rad as Soviet-bloc athletes get the gold.

while the "ferret" would be separated from Big Bird in orbit to go about its business of picking up electronic intelligence. But "ferrets" are short-lived spy satellites sent up for a specific mission—they reportedly have an endurance of only 100 days (James F. Dunnigan, *How to Make War*, 1983). The question then becomes, was a Big Bird launched within 100 days of the KAL 007 incident?

The answer is yes. In an article in *Aviation Week & Space Technology* just before 007's fateful flight, this unofficial mouthpiece of the U.S. Air Force revealed that a Big Bird was launched on 20 June 1983 as part of an intensified search for Soviet radar:

> "The radar is under construction near the village of Abalakova, in south-central Siberia.... The facility was not discovered until mid-July because the U.S., for reasons of economy, has not been making frequent, large area searches using the USAF/Lockheed Big Bird and KH-11 reconnaissance satellites.
>
> "On June 20, a Big Bird satellite was launched from Vandenberg AFB, Calif., by a Titan 3D.... Approximately three weeks later, analysts at the Central Intelligence Agency's National Photographic Interpretation Center spotted the new radar....
>
> "The Abalakova radar appears to be oriented outward but to the northeast rather than south across the nearby border with Mongolia. This would enable it to detect Trident missiles launched from submarines in the Bering Sea or Gulf of Alaska."
>
> —*AW&ST*, 22 August 1983

What better way to test the capabilities of the Abalakova radar than to send a plane *from* the northeast—i.e., from Alaska? Furthermore, the flight path of such a plane would provide the added bonanza of photographing the sensitive Soviet military installations at Kamchatka and Sakhalin island. Enter KAL 007.

As if to emphasize the high priority the U.S. attached to this, *Aviation Week* revealed that the U.S. had also sent two "film-drop" KH-9 satellites over the Soviet Union in this period—one on April 15 and another on July 31. As the magazine itself noted, "KH-9 spacecraft have more limited lifetimes [than Big Bird] and are launched to photograph only the highest-priority U.S. intelligence targets in the Soviet Union and other foreign areas" (*AW&ST*, 25 April 1983). Furthermore, the film-drop satellites are *no longer produced* because of budgetary restraints. And in fact, by January 1984 the U.S. had "only two film-return reconnaissance spacecraft remaining in its inventory" (*AW&ST*, 16 January 1984). They really depleted their stock for this mission. Similarly, the U.S. is running out of Big Birds and KH-11s, so that "until at least the middle of the decade [of the '80s] an average annual launch of just one reconnaissance satellite will be possible" (Kennedy, *op. cit.*). The inescapable conclusion: something extremely important was being planned by U.S. intelligence circles in this period.

Was there a "ferret" riding piggyback on the Big Bird launched on 20 June 1983? The Pentagon won't say, of course, but certainly the heightened interest in Soviet radar in that period would call for a "ferret" reconnaissance. We checked the *Telecommunication Journal*, a publication of the United Nation's International Telecommunications Union (ITU), which publishes a delayed listing of satellite launchings. No doubt the CIA/NSA launders the list given to the ITU, but what was published is revealing. On the June 20 launching, Big Bird is listed as "1983-60-A." But also apparently there were *two other* satellites in the same launching. One is listed mysteriously as "No name" and designated "1983-60-C." This implies that there was a "1983-60-B," which is mysteriously not listed at all.

Lo and behold, the mysterious "No name" satellite is described in the "Observations" column as an "electronic monitoring satellite"—i.e., a ferret! Its inclination to the equator was 96.7 degrees, meaning it had a polar orbit typical of a ferret reconnaissance over the Soviet Union. This ferret is said to have had a period of revolution of 111.3 minutes—somewhat longer than the 96 minutes mentioned by the Soviets, implying a higher orbit. But since this is only the "initial orbital data," it is possible that the orbit could have decayed over two months into the lower orbit described by the Soviets. Or perhaps the unlisted "B" satellite mentioned above was the culprit. In any case, it's clear the Defense Department has a lot of explaining to do, but so far the bourgeois papers have not raised the obvious questions.

"Coincidences"

This string of amazing "coincidences" goes back *years*. Remember the previous KAL airliner which was forced down over the Soviet Union on 20 April 1978, after mysteriously going way off course and flying over the Murmansk area and the Kola Peninsula? (Murmansk is the location of a large Soviet submarine base and headquarters of the Soviet Northern Fleet.) One month before that, a Big Bird was launched on 16 March 1978 by a Titan 3D rocket, and aboard that Big Bird was most probably a "ferret" spy satellite:

> "A piggyback vehicle also was launched by this Titan.... In the past, such piggyback payloads have involved ferret spacecraft."
>
> —*AW&ST*, 3 April 1978

After the Korean plane was forced down by Soviet fighters south of Murmansk, the *New York Times* (22 April 1978) raised some eerily familiar questions:

> "Why was the plane in the Soviet Union's airspace? The South Korean Embassy in Helsinki was reported to have blamed navigational errors, but a Korean Air Lines navigator in Seoul said that was unthinkable because the plane was too far off course....
>
> "Why did the pilot evidently defy the orders of Soviet intereceptors to land and instead take what a State Department spokesman described as 'evasive' action?"

Another amazing "coincidence"? Well, after a hundred or so such "coincidences" it begins to look like proof of a plot. Indeed it has already been publicly admitted that the ferrets are used not only for mapping Soviet radar but for tracking Soviet submarines:

> "The role of the ferrets has never been more important than it became in the 1970s with the obvious expansion of [Soviet admiral] Gorshkov's ocean Navy. Because the Soviets employ separate codes for each type of SLBM-equipped submarine, the United States' ferrets are the ideal and frequently the only means of identifying the specific Soviet boats, and type of warhead that they carry, and the nature of the operations...upon which they are engaged, *especially in coastal areas where NATO surface ships are denied access.*"
>
> —Kennedy, *op. cit.* [emphasis added]

Such as the Soviet submarine base at Murmansk, we presume?

What's clear is that Reagan's charges against the Soviet Union were a Big Lie designed to cover up an American spy plot, and that the U.S. under Reagan is prepared to sacrifice any number of innocent lives in order to "get" the Soviet Union. What's more, the spy plots and first-strike plans have been developed by both Republican and Democratic administrations. The willful blindness of the American news media in this incident cannot be explained as simply incompetent journalism, but rather is the result of their commitment to the ruling class's anti-Soviet war drive. As we wrote in the introduction to our pamphlet, *KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation* (7 October 1983):

> "The Spartacist League press told the truth about KAL 007 because we are not blinded by the class ideology of this country's rulers—and because we are not muzzled by fear of confronting 'the Russian question.' Thus our published views in the heat of the KAL 007 crisis contrast sharply with those of America's other self-styled 'left' papers....
>
> "The American government, whether under Republican or Democratic coloration, is driving straight toward nuclear war against the USSR. The motor force for World War III is the imperialist drive to reverse the anti-capitalist social revolutions that have ripped sections of the world from the orbit of direct imperialist plunder....
>
> "When the terror-bombers of Vietnam talk about 'freedom,' the workers of the world know that war is coming. It's time that American working people know this as well. For the U.S. working class, acting in its own class interests and on behalf of all the oppressed, has the power to wrest from the most dangerous imperialist ruling class in history the means of mass nuclear death. To do so, what's needed is a revolutionary leadership that tells the truth about what's going on and what needs to be done." ■

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Behind Bloody Tragedy of Ana María and Cayetano Carpio

On April 6 of last year, the second in command of the People's Liberation Forces "Farabundo Martí" (FPL) of El Salvador, Mélida Anaya Montes, better known as Comandante Ana María, was brutally murdered in her residence in a heavily guarded compound in Managua, Nicaragua. Three days later tens of thousands paid homage to their comrade at a mass demonstration in the Nicaraguan capital; FPL founder and leader Salvador Cayetano Carpio (Comandante Marcial) returned from Libya to deliver the funeral oration. On April 12, Carpio in turn was found dead in his study in Managua after reportedly committing suicide. He was buried the following day in a private ceremony attended by his wife and leaders of the Nicaraguan Sandinista Liberation Front (FSLN), although the news was not published for another week. The loss of two top leaders was a severe blow to the Salvadoran leftist guerrillas grouped together in the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

Who was responsible for the double tragedy? Over the last year, several different and contradictory accounts have been circulated by the Salvadoran insurgents and the FSLN. An initial FPL communiqué (and Sandinista commander Tomás Borge at a press conference on April 7) pointed an accusing finger at the American Central Intelligence Agency for the murder of Anaya Montes. The CIA is certainly up to its neck in the assassination business, from the slaying of Congolese independence leader Patrice Lumumba to its countless attempts to kill Cuba's Fidel Castro. And the hideous details of the death of Ana María—she was stabbed 82 times with an ice pick, her throat then slit with a fishing knife—had the marks of a rightist death squad job.

But on April 20, the People's Liberation Forces and the Nicaraguan interior ministry named a member of the FPL's Central Command, Rogelio Bazzaglia ("Marcelo"), as the murderer. According to this second FPL communiqué, Carpio took his own life because of an "emotional crisis" caused by the assassination and the fact that the crime was carried out by his protégé, Bazzaglia.

This now became the official version: that it was all the work of a lone "madman" (as one FPL spokesman told the *New York Times*). Anyone who suggested that the deaths were related to a political struggle going on inside the FMLN was accused of fueling an imperialist "disinformation" campaign. Yet in early December the FPL issued a third statement, this one with the startling accusation that Carpio himself was the mastermind and organizer of the assassination of Ana María. Until 8 December 1983, Comandante Marcial was a "legendary" revolutionary leader, the "Ho Chi Minh of Central America" no less; the next day he is proclaimed a cowardly assassin, ten months after the crime.

Why the sudden "revelation"? The occasion was a split from the FPL of a militant faction, the Revolutionary Workers Movement "Salvador Cayetano Carpio" (MOR), accused by their former comrades of holding the "sectarian and anti-unity positions" of their namesake and "seeking to elevate the figure of Carpio." All three versions have been sworn to by the FPL, FMLN and FSLN leaders and duly repeated by their followers around the world. The American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) took the prize for cynicism: *Intercontinental Press* headlined its article on the deaths in Managua "FMLN rebels press forward in unity"; their denunciation of Carpio and report on the split in the FPL is titled "Big strides toward revolutionary unity."

Barricada

The funeral of murdered Salvadoran guerrilla leader Ana María in Managua last April.

We have refrained until now from commenting on the deaths of Mélida Anaya Montes and Salvador Cayetano Carpio because of the extreme murkiness of the affair. Much is still obscure: did Carpio order the death of Ana María; did he commit suicide or was he killed? We don't know. Certainly the bloody Salvadoran dictatorship, responsible for the annihilation of more than 50,000 of its own citizens, and its Yankee godfathers who slaughtered over one million Indochinese (and now preach "human rights" in preparation for a nuclear World War III against the Soviets) are trying to take full advantage of the consternation. But it is now apparent that behind the deaths was a political fight inside the FPL which resulted in murder. Nor is this the first time Salvadoran militants have been killed by another guerrilla faction. And the FPL/FMLN/FSLN have carried out, by their own evidence, at least a cover-up if not a frame-up as well. In particular, they are blaming the murder of Ana María on "anti-unity sectarians," using her mutilated body to discredit any opposition to their treacherous policies of a negotiated sellout of the Salvadoran revolution.

Over the last four years, some *50,000* people have been murdered in cold blood by the kill-crazed rightists in El Salvador. And the pathological murderers who rule this "free world democracy" talk openly of a "peace of 100,000 dead." The Salvadoran rulers already did it once, bloodily mowing down the heroic Communist-led revolt of agricultural workers and peasants in 1932. The Gatling gun ruled the country, and in the insurgent areas of western El Salvador every single Indian peon was thrown into the mass graves. As a result of that decimation and terror, those areas have remained "pacified" up to the present day. It is crucial to win the struggle; it is a matter of life and death not to lose.

At stake in the Salvadoran civil war is far more than the fate of this tiny country or even all Central America. Reagan has made El Salvador the front line of his war drive against the Soviet Union, turning the death squads into "freedom fighters." The oppressed of the world have a vital stake in the victory of the workers, peasants and youth fighting to liberate their land from a bloodthirsty oligarchy and Yankee imperialism. The international Spartacist tendency has uniquely raised the slogans, "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists!" and "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!" Our aim is not to place in power the national Stalinists of the FPL, much less second-string bourgeois politicians like Ungo and Zamora, but to open the road to proletarian rule. By fighting for workers revolution throughout Central America and extending the struggle north to Mexico, the industrial powerhouse of the region—*and by fighting for militant labor solidarity action in the U.S. itself*—we can smash the Pentagon pirates and their invasion plans.

Murder and Lies

From the beginning, the FPL, the FMLN and the Sandinistas have lied about the Ana María/Cayetano Carpio affair. And their lies keep changing. In April, the FPL said the assassination of Ana María was the work of Bazzaglia/"Marcelo" alone, to "settle a grudge and alleged political differences." In December it is a result of the "ideological and political decomposition" of Cayetano Carpio, a process extending over "recent years."

"His murder of Ana María is totally and absolutely proven," concludes the FPL document. Marcial's "ideological and political decomposition" allegedly produced "grave distortions and deviations that eventually resulted in Compañera Ana María's assassination." In other words, since Carpio was politically at odds with Anaya Montes and other FPL leaders, therefore he must have ordered her killed. That reasoning speaks volumes about the internal functioning of this "Marxist-Leninist" organization.

As for the violent outcome of this infighting, settling political accounts by killing off your opponents is standard practice among petty-bourgeois nationalists of both right and left. Recall the 1979 murder of Afghan nationalist Taraki, the respected leader of the Afghan left, by a rival member of his faction. Or the spectacular shoot-out at the Ethiopian Derg in 1977, when Colonel Mengistu gunned down eight fellow members of the military council which had deposed Emperor Haile Selassie. The most recent example, on everyone's mind, was the assassination last fall of Maurice Bishop, prime minister of the tiny Caribbean island of Grenada, by rivals in his New Jewel Movement. This crime provided a pretext for U.S. invasion a week later. Both the imperialists and reformist-nationalists have tried to pin that despicable deed on "hard-line Marxists" or "ultraleft sectarians," though the facts are very different. But there *is* a political fight brewing among the Salvadoran leftist rebels, and right-wing elements in the FDR/FMLN are trying to dismiss any militant as a would-be murderer in order to push their schemes

Solidarity Publications

Mélida Anaya Montes (Comandante Ana María)

Barricada

Salvador Cayetano Carpio (Comandante Marcial)

of "unity" with a mythical "patriotic" bourgeoisie.

We certainly don't claim to know the whole truth about the disputes among the Salvadoran guerrilla leaders. This is a dirty and murky business among Stalinists and petty-bourgeois nationalists who don't even pay lip service to workers democracy (like not murdering your factional opponents). All their debates—with the ritual charges and countercharges of "sectarian" and "opportunist"—ultimately center on how and how grossly to sell out, what layers of the so-called "patriotic" bourgeoisie to include in the popular front and what deals to negotiate with Yankee imperialism. The murderous factional disputes among the Salvadoran guerrilla chiefs have nothing in common with the Leninist program and perspective of proletarian revolution.

A sclerotic old Stalinist, moreover with delusions of grandeur, Carpio apparently did not want to go quite as far as his main rivals in drawing all "non-oligarchical" sectors of Salvadoran society into the popular front. So his enemies within the FPL and FMLN now want to paint him as a firebreathing "ultraleftist" in order to justify their own particular sellout policies. His adulators, including various pseudo-Trotskyists, portray him as a latter-day Che Guevara, a "shining example of a revolutionary" (French LCR) and "the best Salvadoran example of the revolutionary man of action" (Mexican PRT). But Carpio was no Guevara, much less an "unconscious Marxist" or "instinctive Trotskyist" such as these inveterate tailists are forever discovering. Carpio never claimed to stand for working-class independence from the capitalists. He just wanted a more "left" version of the popular front.

The Mandelites' *Quatrième Internationale* (1 December 1983) has published the text of a lengthy speech by Carpio delivered just five days before the murder of Ana Maria. In this "political testament," the FPL leader said that "the working class can play the leadership role in a class alliance including also sectors of the bourgeoisie." By this typical Stalinist sleight-of-hand, he tries to obscure the fact that he is talking of *class-collaborationist* alliances. (And if, by calling for a bloc with "democratic" capitalists and "constitutionalist" officers, this popular front leads to bloody disaster, as in Chile or Indonesia, well then the working class didn't have "leadership" after all!) The "class alliance" Carpio is referring to, of course, is the Salvadoran FDR, which includes marginal bourgeois liberals (Guillermo Ungo's "social-democratic" MNR), dissident Christian Democrats (Rubén Zamora's MPSC), small business groups and even members of El Salvador's landowning elite (Enrique Alvarez Córdova, first president of the FDR, was a scion of one of the "14 Families"). But if the language in this veiled polemic is too oblique, Carpio spelled it all out in the *New York Times* (9 February 1982):

> "Our program is for a democratic, revolutionary government, not for a Socialist government. The program for the democratic government is very broad...there is room for everybody's contribution, from large businessmen to small farmers and merchants—for anyone who supports the independent development of the country, opposes fascism, and wants democracy. We don't believe that this broad program has anything to do with Socialism or a Socialist government."

We don't either.

The People's Liberation Forces have often appeared the most left-wing, sometimes talking of socialism and uncomfortable with the line of "negotiated settlement." Nevertheless, all the key rebel proposals for a "political solution" to end the war bear the signature of Salvador Cayetano Carpio as well as the other leaders of the FMLN.

Ultimately the political differences between Carpio and the other comandantes were subordinated to their power plays and maneuvers. And those maneuvers are centered on getting a deal with a section of the local bourgeoisie. The various FDR/FMLN leaders are all prepared to send their peasant guerrillas against the urban workers should the latter make problems for their "government of broad representation." Thus the organizational independence of workers militias is vital. Instead of murder and lies in the name of "unity," what's needed is one hell of a factional struggle on clear programmatic lines, for *proletarian* revolution.

Sellouts and CIA-Baiting

For the leaders of the rebel fronts, for the reformist-nationalists in general, the lesson of the deaths in Managua is: war on "ultraleft, anti-unity sectarians." The FPL statement makes a pointed reference to the murder of Maurice Bishop in Grenada: "No one is unaware that recently in Grenada a group of revolutionaries was used either directly or indirectly by imperialism to provoke division and confrontation within the New Jewel Movement." Here is the meaning of all the "unity"-mongering: Bishop's murder is not mentioned—their crime is that they "provoked division"! Thus anyone who objects to FDR proposals for an army including much of the present genocidal officer corps, for the preservation of capitalist property in the framework of a (bourgeois) "democratic government of broad representation"...is supposedly a witting or unwitting tool of the CIA. This "argument" is spelled out even more explicitly in a 16 December statement by the FMLN General Command against the MOR: "It will not take long for the CIA to dress in sheep's clothing and use its money to give a shot of oxygen to this group...."

All sectors of the Salvadoran left are for a popular front. But in this context some of the running dogs of the bourgeoisie are more rabid than others. Their appetites for class-collaboration are almost limitless, aiming to include wider and wider layers and components of their supposed rulers. And anyone who balks at sitting down with such direct representatives of the CIA is labeled...a CIA agent. It is a familiar phenomenon. In his time Lenin was labeled a wholesaler of the Kaiser's gold by Kerensky and the Mensheviks; Stalin claimed Trotsky was an agent of the Mikado (and of Hitler, and the British king, etc.); the Spartacists are supposed to be CIA agents, KGB agents, or both simultaneously. The closer the sellouts are to being on speaking terms with the imperialist monster, the more they revile their more-or-less left opponents as being imperialist agents. One of the great rooter-outers of "fascisto-Trotzkyites," Molotov, remarked while sipping champagne with von Ribbentropp: "Fascism is a matter of taste." If so, then how come Molotov and his master Stalin butchered tens of thousands of Trotskyists (Bolsheviks) as "Nazi agents"? Answer: it was convenient. They had to say something, something other than the truth.

Neither the FPL nor the FMLN condemn assassination of opponents on the left (not to mention the use of gangster methods in general). This is not accidental. We recall in particular the execution of Roque Dalton in May 1975 by his "comrades" of Villalobos' Revolutionary People's Army (ERP). Dalton accused the ERP leaders of following a "militarist" strategy. His opponents answered by "trying" him on charges of being a "Cuban-CIA agent," and on 10 May 1975 they "executed" El Salvador's greatest poet. (FMLN apologists Robert Armstrong and Janet Shenk refer to the murder of Roque Dalton in their book, *El Salvador: The Face of Revolution*, as "The Death of Revolutionary Innocence"! We say this was an abominable *crime* whose authors must be brought to justice by the soviet democracy of a victorious workers revolution.)

Morles/Gamma

Salvadoran guarrillas have Reagan's butchers on the run. Military victory of leftist insurgents would open the road to workers revolution.

Caudillismo and the Latin American Left

> "The phenomenon of *caudillismo* has been overcome in the FPL. Today any leader can fall in combat, from the highest official on-down, and our organization would immediately be able to replace them."
>
> —Salvador Cayetano Carpio, *Combate* [Spain], 28 April 1983

Comandante Marcial was quickly replaced, but the vice of *caudillismo*, the unrestricted domination by the Great Leader, was hardly absent from the People's Liberation Forces or the Salvadoran left in general. In the one part of their December 9 statement which has the ring of truth rather than cover-up, the new FPL leaders complain of Carpio:

> "He began to consider himself the most consistent, pure, and flawless revolutionary of our country and of the entire region, as the sole genuine spokesman for the Salvadoran proletariat and people.
>
> "He developed a strong inclination toward receiving praise and adulation, toward placing himself and his opinions above those of the collective leadership and of party bodies, to protect and pay attention solely to those who applauded him blindly."

Well, what did they expect? He was, after all, their *líder máximo*. And the practice of settling political disputes by killing your opponents is, to put it baldly, as Latin American as empanadas and machismo. From the dawn of independence from Spain, one "man on horseback" after another has shot his way into the presidential palace. Even in recent years most Latin Americans have been living under the jackboot of military rulers. Though he's a wacko, a character straight out of the movie *The In-Laws*, Guatemala's (now deposed) Leader-by-the-Grace-of-God-and-His-Machine-Guns, Rios Montt was no freak. Only now the traditional *caudillo* has been replaced by the army as the bourgeoisie's Party of Order, whose slogan, as Marx said of the second French Bonaparte, is "Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery!"

The prevalence of *caudillismo* in Latin America has been seized upon by imperialist war criminals like America's Madame Nhu, Jeane Kirkpatrick, an admirer of "moderate authoritarians" like the butcher Somoza in Nicaragua and El Salvador's mad tyrant General Maximiliano Hernández Martinez who slaughtered more than 30,000 peasants and workers in putting down the Communist-led insurrection of 1932. Reagan's first "human rights" adviser Ernest Lefever excused the bloodbath unleashed by the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile as merely a "residual practice of the Iberian tradition." (In contrast to the Anglo-Saxon tradition of genocide against the American Indians?) Such "democratic" apologists of mass murder neglect to mention that the most refined techniques of torture and assassination have been brought to the Latin American dictatorships by their U.S. advisers, importing methods from the Nazis (such as Chile's concentration camps) or developed as "counterinsurgency" techniques by the Americans in their dirty war in Vietnam. Political violence has been endemic in Latin America for generations, but it has never come close to the levels employed by the current crop of "free world" dictators armed, financed, trained and often installed by Washington.

Modern Latin American dictatorships are a reflection of a process of "combined and uneven development," as Trotsky described the evolution of tsarist Russia. The growth of production for the world market led to the appearance of a modern proletariat, while the peasantry was robbed of its lands to make way for coffee and banana plantations. Facing this huge propertyless, impoverished mass was a tiny local bourgeoisie, which lived mostly on crumbs left over by the imperialist giants, from United Fruit to ITT, which sucked most of the surplus value out of the continent. Too weak to confront its imperial overlords, living in dread fear of a revolutionary upheaval of the exploited masses, this stunted capitalist class was and is incapable of achieving the democratic gains of the bourgeois revolutions. Rather than the mythical "national bourgeoisie" the Stalinists invented to justify their program of "two-stage revolution," they are a "branch office bourgeoisie." Even moderate agrarian reform is enough to give them apoplexy, and democracy is a "luxury" they can't afford. They prefer death squads.

continued on page 8

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BOSTON

Free Salvadoran Unionists!

On January 19 of this year a congress of the Revolutionary Labor Federation (FSR) being held in San Salvador was raided by the National Police on the pretext of searching for armed guerrillas. No arms were found, hut 65 trade unionists present were held by the police. Fourteen of those "captured" in the raid were held indefinitely without charge. According to *El Diario/La Prensa* (22 January) the arrested labor leaders were identified as belónging to the Revolutionary Workers Movement (MOR), a leftist grouping which split from the People's Liberation Forees (FLP) guerrilla group and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) last December.

There has been virtually no publicity from the El Salvador "solidarity movement" abroad about the 14 unionists, whose very lives were endangered by the arrests. We have learned from Amnesty International that those held include the FSR leaders José Jeremias Pereira, Dinora Ramirez de Pereira, Herber Orlando Guevara Alfaro, Oscar Orlando Rosales Arriola, Salvador Arana Flores, Salvador Chavez and Cèsar Alvaro Escalante. Also held were three members of the metal workers union ACOTRAMES: Juan Salvador Ramos Hernández, Oscar Armando Benavides and Magdalena del Carmen Rivas Valencia. Two others detained were Antonio Escamilla Acosta, a bus driver, and Esteban Gonzàlez, head of a housing project workers union.

(As we go to press we have been informed by an FSR spokesman in Los Angeles of reports that the 14 have just been released. However, this rumor has not been confirmed.)

The present leftist insurgency in El Salvador grew out of a brutal crackdown by the government and the rightist death squads against a wave of workers' struggles in 1979-80. The National Federation of Salvadoran Workers Unions (FENASTRAS) reports that 8,239 trade unionists were killed, abducted, "disappeared" or wounded between 1979 and 1981. Not a single union hall in San Salvador has escaped being bombed, burnt or vandalized. Today only the Christian Democratic trade unions linked to the CIA's "labor" front, the AIFLD, continue to operate openly—and even these yellow unions have had leaders murdered by D'Aubuisson's killers.

Meanwhile, a series of government decrees has frozen wages, forbidden strikes, dissolved unions, militarized public services and legalized arbitrary detention and torture. For the last two weeks thousands of Salvadoran public sector workers have been on strike demanding large wage increases. On March 6 some 30,000 workers at more than 20 factories and work sites reportedly stopped work for two hours in support of the striking water workers union, affiliated to the FSR. An army unit reportedly surrounded the water workers on the first day of their strike, and the head of the National Police has accused the strikers of trying to "provoke chaos and repudiate the elections." The umbrella union grouping MUSYGES denounced the electoral farce, saying it "was not a solution to national problems." The U.S. press has blacked out this important development.

Despite last summer's highly publicized amnesty, hundreds of unionists still languish as political prisoners in the Mariona and Nueva Esperanza jails. Among the important labor leaders still imprisoned are Héctor Bernabé Recinos, secretary general of FENASTRAS, and José Arnullo Grande, secretary of the electrical workers union STECEL. It was STECEL that touched off the strike wave in 1979 with a dramatic plant occupation shutting off power throughout the country, and which played a key role in the three general strikes during 1980. While most of the left-led unions have been forced underground and many unionists have joined the guerrillas in the countryside, there is still an active labor movement in the capital. This would be the core of any struggle for workers revolution in El Salvador.

An international campaign to save imprisoned Salvadoran unionists is urgently needed. Unfortunately, the El Salvador "solidarity" milieu, which politically supports the FMLN, is more interested in pressuring Democratic Senators to support negotiations than in freeing these class-war prisoners. During the 1920s the International Red Aid, a defense organization linked to the Communist International, mounted a worldwide campaign for the American labor radicals Sacco and Vanzetti. Much support flowed in from Latin America, including demonstrations in Havana and Buenos Aires. The person responsible for the Caribbean Bureau of the Red Aid working out of New York was a young Salvadoran, Agustin Farabundo Marti. Martí, who reportedly wore a red star with a picture of Trotsky on his lapel during the late '20s, went on to lead the Salvadoran Communist Party and was executed by the dictatorship in the 1932 revolt which the Stalinized Comintern denounced as "left-sectarian." *It is the duty of American workers to reciprocate the internationalist solidarity Martí valiantly fought for.*

Free all Salvadoran unionists and all other victims of the rightist repression! Hot cargo military goods to El Salvador and rightist regimes of Central America! ■

Bloody Tragedy...

(continued from page 7)

This has reflected itself within the left in many ways. Politically: if the army is the main political party of the bourgeoisie, the guerrilla bands or today the "politico-military organizations" of the Salvadoran insurgency are the "party-armies" of the nationalist left. But pick-up-the-gun militancy does not equal revolutionary Marxism. Socially: the phenomenon of *caudillismo* has always been bound up with the social values of machismo, of male dominance. *El Jefe*, wrote Mexican novelist Octavio Paz, is "*El Gran Chingón*" (The Big Fucker). The struggle for socialist revolution in Latin America is not only a programmatic fight against the nationalist and reformist programs which seek a compromise with sections of the domestic bourgeoisie. It is also a sharp fight against the practices of a petty-bourgeois left whose would-be supreme leaders share common values with the reactionary generals they seek to replace. As we wrote last year:

> "The struggle to forge genuinely bolshevist parties in Latin America is an arduous task, requiring a clear political break from nationalism and from the social values of a nationalist left that imitates its own rulers, embracing the values that have led to every mass-murdering bourgeois *caudillo*.... For the imitative macho pigs of the petty-bourgeois nationalist 'left,' what goes for a programmatic split is to say, '*Cabrón*, I screw your wife. And you steal party funds.' And of course they blame everything on *yanqui* CIA agents, to amnesty their own rulers."
>
> —"Bolivian Labor Shakes Popular Front," *WV* No. 330, 20 May 1983

The assassination of Mèlida Anaya Montes cannot be explained by the perfidy of a "Marcelo" or even the "cult of personality" of Marcial. This is the product of a political milieu in which all political disputes degenerate into accusations of personal betrayal, cowardice and theft, a petty-bourgeois cockpit in which norms of proletarian morality are utterly absent.

Trotskyism vs. Murderous Stalinism and Nationalist Betrayal

Lenin's Bolsheviks were able to build an internationalist communist party in Russia which drew from a century of profound alienation of the intelligentsia from the corrupt morals of the tsarist autocrats and landed aristocrats. It is remarkable, by way of contrast to Latin America, that although there were numerous assassinations of hated tsarist officials during the nineteenth century, there is only one case of murder within the left (by the anarchist Nechàev). But Russia was itself an imperialist oppressor power, and rejection of Great Russian chauvinism was therefore a precondition to any real struggle against the autocracy. In Latin America, however, the oppressive weight of Yankee imperialism makes it hard to see the main enemy at home. The nationalist left has clung to the "national" culture, traditions and values of their oppressors. (In the Salvadoran insurgency, national narrowness has been so pronounced that when the Central American Workers Party joined the FMLN it was required to separate itself organizationally from its Honduran comrades as the admission price!)

UPI

Mill workers occupy the Tres Ríos cotton mill to demand higher wages in December 1979.

The bloody tragedy of Ana Maria and Cayetano Carpio was the product of a petty-bourgeois left marked by the intersection of nationalism and Stalinism. The "moderate" elements of the opposition popular front are such sellouts that evidently some sellouts are looking to hardline Stalinism as an alternative. The right-wingers of the left accuse them of being "ultraleft sectarians." Not at all. From Mao's China to the Salvadoran guerrillas, we have noted that "Stalinism under the gun" may adopt a posture of militancy without being substantially to the left of their rivals. Often these "hards" merely have a taste for bonapartism—people who would rather shoot you than argue politically. Contrary to the bourgeois propaganda about "bloodthirsty communists," such methods are the antithesis of everything the Russian Bolsheviks and the early Communist International stood for.

Stalin perpetrated widespread gangsterism within the left precisely in order to wipe out the remnants of Leninism: at the same time he was killing off the Trotskyist Left Opposition, the "Great Organizer of Defeats" was seeking a deal with the imperialists to let him build "socialism in one country." Leon Trotsky himself was of course assassinated in Mexican exile by an agent of Stalin's GPU (after a failed attempt organized through the Mexican CP). Stalin murdered the Red Army officer corps as "German collaborators" while he was preparing his pact with Hitler. And in Vietnam, as the defeated Japanese withdrew in 1945, the Stalinists—in league with the French—massacred the Trotskyist leaders to stifle mass opposition to the return of imperialist troops.

It will take a profound fight against Stalinism and nationalism to forge authentic Leninist-Trotskyist propaganda groups in Latin America, and sharp revolutionary struggles internationally to transform them into mass communist parties. It was the electrifying impact of the Bolshevik Revolution.

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El Salvador...

(continued from page 1)

they have 1,700 U.S. troops armed with "heavier weapons" according to the *New York Times* (10 March). And as NBC described this latest move: "Several thousand Honduran troops will join the U.S. infantry units in what is described as a major effort to show support for the Salvadoran army and at the same time threaten the Salvadoran guerrillas." The U.S. and Honduran troops will be backed up by U.S. planes flying missions over guerrilla-held areas of El Salvador.

Having tried and failed to revive the Salvadoran dictatorship with changes of military command and Vietnam-style "pacification" tactics, the U.S. is now engaged in military provocation to set up a Gulf of Tonkin incident in Central America. Saying that U.S. military personnel for the "first time...have provided regular tactical support for Salvadoran government forces on the battlefield," a *Los Angeles Times* (13 March) editorial condemned this policy of provocation: "Sending U.S. pilots on observation missions in support of El Salvador's army is a dangerous escalation of U.S. involvement in that country's civil war." In what *Newsweek* (19 March) described as a "bold new military buildup," the Pentagon has "erected a network of airstrips, supply depots and training camps all over Honduras." With Honduras as a military base and U.S. troops lining the ill-defined Salvadoran border, Reagan is poised for invasion. We say: Yankee imperialism—Get out of Central America! For military victory to leftist insurgents in El Salvador! Nicaragua: Kill the invaders!

The latest U.S. move is as desperate as it is dangerous. After an uninterrupted string of defeats for the U.S.-backed government forces on the battlefield, Reagan is trying to Americanize the Salvadoran civil war. The latest guerrilla offensive in January revealed the power and coordination of the insurgent forces and the vulnerability and demoralization of the government press-gang army. Added to the leftist offensive, a strike wave has hit San Salvador as thousands of water utility workers walked out, supported by work stoppages and solidarity strikes by workers in other sectors. As the army crumbles Reagan is attempting to divert attention with his standard tactic: call a phony election. But this time the "election" seems to be a booby trap for the imperialists.

Two years ago, Washington's "psy war" specialists managed to pull off a propaganda coup with photos of long lines of voters and padded vote totals. But this time things don't look so hot for the "free world" dictatorship. If Christian Democratic candidate Napoleón Duarte is "elected," the military is likely to stage a coup. Duarte—who was junta president from 1980 to 1982 and is routinely and accurately referred to as "butcher Duarte" around the world—is widely seen by the Salvadoran ruling class as a "sellout to Communism." If the victory goes to Roberto D'Aubuisson, who runs the notorious death squads and ordered the murder of Archbishop Romero, it exposes the Americans' phony "electoral process" as a cover for mass murder. Especially since the "tropical fascist" known to U.S. military advisers as "Blowtorch Bob" vows to unleash a bloodbath that would make Pinochet look like a Quaker.

For the U.S., these death squad "elections" are failing even as a propaganda diversion. Instead they have become the excuse for increased "emergency" military aid. Warning that the "Salvadoran armed services will run out of key materiel in the next few months," Secretary of State George Shultz announced late last month that the administration was sending some $80 million to El Salvador without Congressional approval. Later he accused Congress of "walking away" from Central America—preparations for the debate on "who lost El Salvador?" And with his butchers on the run in El Salvador, Reagan seems to be losing the battle for the "hearts and minds" at home. The growing defeatism in the U.S. is reflected even in Congress which balked at tripling military aid this year for these losers.

In any case, Reagan is going ahead with tens of millions in military equipment to turn Honduras into a giant weapons platform for U.S. aggression. In a country the size of Tennessee, the Army engineers and Navy Seabees have built or improved five airstrips, constructed three radar installations and a training base for Salvadoran and Honduran soldiers near Puerto Castilla. And more is on the way. Even the government's General Accounting Office noted that the U.S. was "engaged in a continuing, if not permanent, military presence in Honduras."

Under the guise of the joint U.S.-Honduran military maneuvers Big Pine I and II, the Pentagon has laid the infrastructure for a full-scale invasion. Now it has announced another "exercise" for the summer called "Operation Grenadier," no doubt to remind the guerrillas about the U.S. invasion of Grenada. With its puppets in trouble, the U.S. is waving the Big Stick, threatening the Grenada treatment if the guerrillas so much as say "boo" during the election. In the wake of the U.S. invasion of Grenada last fall, the *Baltimore Sun* (26 October 1983) headlined its analysis: "Lesson to left there for learning: Soviets, Cubans, Sandinistas might take heed." The lesson Reagan wanted to drive home was that if you go "too far" you'll get hit with the Yankee Big Stick. And the Sandinistas and Salvadoran insurgent leaders have evidently taken Reagan's lesson to heart: withdrawal of Cuban teachers from Nicaragua, removal of FDR/FMLN offices from Managua, guarantees to cut off all aid to leftist guerrillas, offers to join a government with anyone but D'Aubuisson...and anathemas and threats against any "anti-unity" "ultraleftists" who resist the suicidal perspective of abject appeasement. But El Salvador is not tiny Grenada. Here the guerrillas are fighting a bloody civil war and winning!

Yet treacherously, the opposition Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) has responded with a promise of an electoral truce. FDR head Guillermo Ungo even denounced the dissident left-wing MOR (Revolutionary Workers Movement) for refusing to go along with this betrayal ("We cannot assume responsibility for what they do.") Spelling out their "political solution" sellout, the FDR popular frontists have advanced a craven call for a "provisional government of broad participation" (FDR statement, 31 January). How broad? They would exclude only D'Aubuisson's far right ARENA party. That means they would form an alliance not only with butcher Duarte but also the PCN, the official government apparatus which ruled for decades with its own death squad terror and brutality.

The made-in-USA election provocation means more mass murder for the Salvadoran masses. Only a rebel victory on the battlefield can sweep away the pathological killers and their landlord-capitalist bosses, opening the road to workers revolution throughout the region. That is what the White House fears above all.

A defeat of U.S. imperialism and its local butchers in Central America would be a powerful blow against Reagan's global war drive aimed at the Soviet Union. We hail the heroic Salvadoran guerrilla fighters and the workers and peasants of Nicaragua battling the CIA-organized *contra* terrorists. It is the urgent duty of all class-conscious American workers to mobilize to prevent Yankee imperialism from unleashing the full horror of its war machine against the toiling masses of Central America. Boycott military cargo bound for El Salvador, Honduras and other rightist regimes of the region! For labor strikes against U.S. intervention in Central America! Such a mobilization of the American working class against Washington's ravaging of Central America can be the beginning of the end for American imperialism—the monstrous enemy of all the peoples of the world—through revolution from within. ■

NACLA

Communist Agustín Farabundo Martí (right), leader of the 1932 Salvadoran uprising, with Nicaraguan nationalist guerrilla leader Augusto César Sandino.

in fact, which brought Marxist socialism to Latin American shores. And in the early years, the founders of the Communist parties of South and Central America fought for the same program as the Trotskyists today: not the Stalinist-Menshevik formulas of "democratic revolution" (anti-feudal, anti-imperialist, etc.), but mobilizing the oppressed masses behind the working class to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat and extend the revolution internationally. This is the program of *permanent revolution*, the program of October 1917. Thus a call to the working class of the Americas by the Communist International (January 1921) proclaimed:

> "Only with the participation of the Communist party will clarity and revolutionary honesty be introduced into the movement in South America....
> "The revolution of the proletariat and the poor peasantry, in any country of South America, will immediately provoke armed intervention by the United States which, in turn, will make necessary the revolutionary intervention of the proletariat of the United States.... "'Revolution at home, combined with proletarian revolution in the United States,' that is the slogan of the revolutionary proletariat and the poor peasantry of South America."
>
> —reprinted in Michael Löwy, *El marxismo en América Latina* (1980)

Compare this internationalist call with the nationalist program of the FDR/FMLN today, who look to a non-existent "democratic" bourgeoisie at home and to the Democratic imperialist "doves" rather than the working class in the U.S.

Most striking of all is the sharp contrast between today's nationalist-reformist supporters of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and Agustín Farabundo Martí himself. Miguel Mármol, the sole survivor of the Salvadoran Communist Party leadership from the 1932 uprising which was crushed in the infamous *Matanza* (massacre) reports: "Martí broke with [Nicaraguan nationalist general] Sandino for ideological reasons. Although he considered Sandino a great anti-imperialist patriot, he broke with the narrow nationalist conceptions of this great popular *caudillo* who did not share the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist vision of the class struggle and proletarian internationalism which Martí already had solidly implanted in his head and heart" (Roque Dalton, *Miguel Mármol: Los sucesos de 1932 en El Salvador* [1972]). And the Manifesto which called for the January 1932 Communist-led insurrection announced:

> "The general insurrection of the working men and women to establish a government of workers, peasants and soldiers.
> "Comrade workers: arm yourselves and defend the Proletarian Revolution! Comrade railway workers: take the railways and place them at the service of the revolution!
> "Comrade peasants: seize the lands of the great haciendas and farms and protect him who today has a piece of land and defend your revolutionary conquests with arms, without pity for the rich!
> "Comrade soldiers: don't shoot a single shot against the revolutionary peasants and workers! Kill your commanders and officers! Place yourselves at the orders of the comrade soldiers who have been named Red Commanders by this Central Committee!
> "Comrades: form councils of workers, peasants and soldiers!
> *"All power to the workers, peasants and soldiers councils!"*
>
> —quoted in Löwy, *El marxismo en América Latina*

This is the tradition to which the international Spartacist tendency looks: not the petty-bourgeois reformist nationalism and Stalinism of Villalobos and Carpio, but the proletarian internationalism of Lenin, Trotsky...and Farabundo Martí. ■

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Transit Workers the Real Target

Defend Foremen Against NYC Subway Bosses!

When ex-CIA spymaster Robert Kiley took over the post of New York City transit czar last fall, we warned: "New York City transit workers, beware—you are Kiley's next target" (*WV* No. 340, 21 October 1983). Kiley wasn't long in showing his hand. On February 14, Kiley delivered an anti-union tirade (aptly dubbed the "St. Valentine's Day Massacre speech" by the *Amsterdam News*). Kiley demanded the elimination of all civil service and union membership for supervisory and management personnel of the Transit Authority (TA). Kiley made no bones about his real target—the 36,000 transit workers organized by the Transport Workers Union (TWU). "What we've had at the Transit Authority is a strong union, looking out for the interests of its members, always pushing, but with nobody pushing back on the other side on a day-by-day basis. We must and we shall restore balance to the labor-management equation" (*Chief-Leader*, 24 February). So Kiley wants to fire foremen who won't crack the whip at the TWU and hire anti-union, racist punks from the outside for his union-busting speedup drive.

Kiley's crackdown has already gone into gear with a series of "inspection" tours of transit workplaces. Foremen and supervisors caught for not enforcing "productivity" have been written up and disciplined. A particular target is the maintenance and repair shops, where union work rules and job conditions remain relatively intact. Kiley wants to turn them into sweatshops run like the subway transportation unit, where safety and union rules have been shot to hell, and where in the past month alone two transit workers were killed. And the labor-hating bosses, who want to get rid of the union altogether, won't stop there either. These union-busters must be stopped in their tracks, now! And central to that is the mobilization of the TWU itself, which has the power to bring the bosses to their knees.

Militants grouped around the class-struggle Committee for a Fighting TWU call for mobilizing the TWU to smash Kiley's union-busting speedup assault. As the Committee leaflet printed below stresses, what is vitally important are authoritative, *elected* shop stewards to mobilize the workers against the bosses' intended victimizations. This involves a sharp break with the Lawe bureaucracy's policies of subordinating the union to the state.

When Kiley was appointed, John Lawe said of this consummate labor hater: "From everything I hear about him I think he's good material" (*Chief-Leader*, 14 October 1983). A Committee spokesman told *WV* that the TWU Local 100 executive board at its March 12 meeting *voted down* the Committee motion for "solidarity and support to the Subway Supervisors Association...." This deadly betrayal must be overturned by the TWU ranks!

For years now NYC's labor leaders have crawled on their knees before the banks and Democratic Party city bosses. They mortgaged the unions' pension funds to Big MAC, accepted layoffs and wage freezes, kowtowed to government legislation banning strikes, and meekly accepted massive penalties when they did strike. The end result has been simply and predictably to embolden the bosses, from racist mayor Koch's vicious strikebreaking against the TWU in 1980 to Kiley's union-busting today. The fight now being organized by the militants of the Committee for a Fighting TWU, the only grouping in the TWU with a hard opposition to the union bureaucracy's sellout subordination to the state and suicidal alliance with the Democratic Party, is critical to the future of the union.

The city bosses, the banks and their agents think they should get something for nothing. They won't invest the billions to turn the subways into a safe and efficient operation, pay us a decent wage or hire the thousands more workers needed. Instead they want to patch up the decaying system that they've let go to hell with our blood and guts. Koch and Kiley are on a union-busting rampage. Kiley's attack on the supervisors association is the first step in an all out drive to get the TWU. The T.A. is singling out and disciplining foremen who have stuck their necks out for us. Kiley wants to fire the foremen and dispatchers who whip us only now and then and replace them with outsiders and those who will whip us every day. The T.A. tops want the power to fire supervisors and foremen on the spot in order to break what union conditions we have, and implement a massive speedup drive that will murder even more of us.

The TWU must adopt and implement the following motion in all sections: **The TWU must express solidarity and support to the Subway Supervisors Association in its struggle against the abuse and victimization of members by higher management!**

Committee for a Fighting TWU Leaflet:

Stop Kiley's Union-Busting!

The union leaders' program for "fighting" the union-busting attacks is to appeal to Cuomo and the liberal Democratic politicians. It was Cuomo himself who appointed "Killer" Kiley! The courts and politicians Lawe grovels to are the very ones that have set the Taylor Law on us and enforced the rotten contract through binding arbitration. The liberal Democrats ran the trial of the killers of Willie Turks and let the lynchers off with a slap on the wrist. Lawe's latest proposal for a seat on the T.A. board would make our union into an *enforcer* of Kiley's union-busting speedup drive. And instead of handing the few crumbs we have to the enemy through the COPE fund, we should be laying the groundwork for battle. We need to use our real power—we need mass labor action to stop the union-busting!

By this we don't mean the token "solidarity" that Lawe gave to the Greyhound workers. Big flashy media stunts in front of TV cameras didn't stop Greyhound from rolling its buses over the bodies of picketers. Real solidarity means concrete industrial action. For example, in less than thirty days Long Island Railroad unions say they'll honor picket lines of the supervisor association which is protesting Kiley's refusal to bargain with them. If our LIRR union brothers and sisters walk out, any and all MTA bus and subway routes that can be used to break the LIRR strike must be SHUT DOWN! The way to get rid of the Taylor Law is by making its existence irrelevant through effective acts of labor militancy that will bind city labor into a single powerful fist of working class force.

Preparing our union to fight means taking measures today that will effectively end our dependence on Kiley, the city bosses and the forces that are out to break us. The dues checkoff makes our union leaders lazy and dependent on Kiley. Making the bosses our bankers means entrusting the dues structure to our enemy and insuring we won't have it when we need it most. We must immediately institute a system of *elected* shop stewards responsible for dues collection!

—Kartsen, Brewer, Smith and the Committee for a Fighting TWU

12 March 1984

France...

(continued from page 2)

labor onto the garbage heap. The miners must not allow themselves to get boxed into "protest" strikes. Elect strike committees, recallable at all times, where the union bureaucrats' treacherous strategies can be scotched. Such strike committees will also be organizing centers for mass pickets and flying squads to close the pits in all the mining regions and form the embryo of workers militias protecting the industrial locations from scabs and strikebreaking cops. These strike committees must also set themselves the task of extending their struggle, not only to all the mines but to all other sectors hit full-force by the industrial "restructuring." The miners are an integral part of the great traditions of struggle in steel, the naval shipyards, auto. Moreover, these sectors that today are under the repeated blows of capitalism and its reformist managers have close economic and in large part geographic ties. The miners can also play a specially important role because in their industry, with its large minority of North African workers, racial and national tensions are alleviated by traditions of struggle, by the very nature of the work. Defensive strikes in one or another of these various industrial sectors can well bring others into the struggle to divide the work available among all who seek it. Not one layoff!

The shameful betrayal of the heroic Talbot strike by the bourgeoisie's lackeys in the workers movement once again confirms that the key to victory for workers' struggles is the building of a vanguard party firmly resolved to fight to the bitter end against rotting capitalism. Mitterrand's blatant economic incompetence can't hide the reality: the imperatives of capitalist crisis, in this country as in the rest of the capitalist countries, throw millions of workers into the street, plunging them into misery and leading the petty bourgeoisie to ruin. And the fact that the phony "workers leaders" accept responsibility for this capitalist crisis can only propel the desperate petty-bourgeois elements into the arms of a "savior" on the order of a Pétain or de Gaulle, or worse yet Le Pen. The French economy certainly needs "restructuring," but on the basis of a socialist economy and in the framework of a socialist United States of Europe. And only if the working class fights resolutely on such a far-reaching program for the expropriation of the bankrupt bourgeoisie and the rational reorganization of society can it split off and win over whole sectors of the petty bourgeoisie to its struggle. ■

UCLA...

(continued from page 12)

who's next? 'Blowtorch Bob' D'Aubuisson? Will Huey helicopters swoop down and 'disappear' students to make Bruin Walk 'safe for democracy'? Rivas-Gallont was decorated by the notorious South African apartheid regime! What the hell are they trying to teach us here? How to blow away nuns? Drown babies in rivers? While pushing their war criminals here and at universities around the country, administration 'academic freedom' hypocrites want to label students who protest imperialism 'non-people' and deny them their democratic rights. At UCLA the administration brands them as 'Nazis.' Tell that to students from El Salvador's National University, closed down by the junta's jackboot. Reagan wants a victory in Central America to gear up his drive to roll back social revolutions from Cuba to the USSR. We want to defeat the imperialist war drive for nuclear Armageddon against the Soviet Union. Now's the time to stand with the Central American masses fighting to break their chains of oppression!"

Now the administration is sending out letters threatening individual students for their protest against Colonel Waghelstein in January, including CISPES members. The administration has made it clear that it stands by its butchers and any student who protests against imperialism is on their hit list! Against the outrageous jailings the SYL held a rally on Tuesday March 6 which drew an enthusiastic crowd, and bull-horning continued throughout the day. A speakout for Wednesday March 14 is being organized to demand "War Criminals Off Campus! Drop the Charges Against the SYL Four! Hands Off All Anti-Imperialist Protesters!" ■

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Forums

Reagan's Lebanon Mess

- **Israel Out of Lebanon and the Occupied Territories!**
- **For a Binational Palestinian Workers State as Part of a Socialist Federation of the Near East!**
- **Defend the Soviet Union! U.S. Out of the Near East!**
- **Yankee Imperialists—Hands Off the World!**

Speaker: Ed Clarkson, SL Central Committee

Friday, March 23, 12:00 noon
Wayne State University
SCB, Hilberry A

Saturday, March 24, 7:00 p.m.
Northwest Activities Center
18100 Meyers, Room 290

DETROIT

Phone Workers:

Defend Kathy Ikegami–Win Strikes!

SAN FRANCISCO, 9 March—In a strong show of support for Militant Action Caucus (MAC) leader Kathy Ikegami, over 100 members of Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9410 unanimously voted tonight against the purge of Ikegami from her union. The Local 9410 bureaueracy, knowing in advance that they had no support for the witchhunt from the assembled workers, resorted to the tactic of declaring the meeting "adjourned" before it began. Ikegami, a well-known militant socialist and supporter of the Spartacist League, had been framed up and convicted by ex-president Jim Imerzel's hand-picked kangaroo court, suspended from the union for six months and fined $300.

In response to Ikegami's conviction, over 500 CWA members signed petitions demanding tonight's special membership meeting. Despite the fact that the local bureauerats seheduled the meeting for a Friday night in an attempt to cut attendanee, over 125 angry members showed up. Faced with the large turnout for Kathy, the local officers fell back on a quorum rule that is invoked only when the pro-company bureaucrats are really pressed to frustrate the will of the membership. Ikegami told *WV* that the rule requiring nearly 200 members to be present for "official business" to be conducted is regularly ignored; this was in fact the largest local turnout since last summer's contract meeting. In the last ten years, quorums have been present only at the once-every-three-years strike vote meetings.

With many workers still lined up at the door, recently appointed local president Marie Mallict declared that there was no quorum and adjourned the meeting. One bureauerat reportedly tried to start a hrawl by attacking a MAC member and shutting off the lights and sound equipment, and the bureaucrats' clique staged a walkout with a handful of their supporters. But the assembled workers quickly restored order, eleeted a temporary chair and secretary, and heard Kathy's appeal. The workers voted a special invitation to the witchhunter Imerzel to return and present his case, which the eoward declined to do. After an open discussion a vote was called and the workers unanimously roared their approval of a motion reversing the trumped-up charges: "We sustain the appeal of Sister Kathy Ikegami and find her not guilty of all the charges brought by former President James L. Imerzel, Jr., and reverse all the decisions and penalties imposed on her by the Local 9410 Trial Court and Executive Board."

While the most militant section of the union came out to support Ikegami, it was not enough to definitively defeat the bureaucrats who use their posts and rules to police union members on the employer's behalf. A MAC spokesman told *WV* that militants would continue the fight to mobilize the membership to reaffirm and enforce this vote.

We reprint below the March 5 appeal of Kathy and MAC addressed to the Local 9410 members:

Militant Action Caucus Leaflet

Throw Out the Witch-Hunt Verdict! Vote No on Ikegami's Conviction!

Brothers and Sisters:

Come to the special membership mecting Friday March 9th at 6 p.m. to throw out my frame-up conviction by ex-President Jim Imerzel's kangaroo court. *Your* presence at this meeting is crucial.

So they're trying to get me for what I stand for. Sure, I'm an obscure and esoteric red—I've *never* hidden that or hidden my views. I believe in the power of lahor, I don't trust the leadership of the Soviet Union, and I am irreconcilably opposed to the U.S. ruling class. I think the labor movement must defend black people and other minorities against Ku Klux Klan and Nazi racist terror. If they get me then who and what is going to be next? They want to go hack to the "good old days" of the McCarthy period in the 1950's where the only acceptable union members are "wholesome" white people, like Anita Bryant and Dan White, or Klan lovers like Joe McKenna.

How about the rest of you union members, are you safe? Look at your skin color or your sexual practices. When you get drunk do you mutter about the government? If they get me, a lot of you will be in line for the same treatment. *Who will be next?* This frame-up conviction of me must not be allowed to stand!

Why did they decide to go after me? Two years ago the Militant Action Caucus blew thc whistle on the CWA officials' *cover-up* of Ma Bell's job cuts. We called for a fight while we still had jobs! I was "charged" for *telling the truth* to union members in a MAC leaflet titled "Secret Company/Union Meeting: Massive Layoffs Slated 1/83." The leaflet warned of company plans to cut the work force by 6-10%. Since then PT&T has cut over 15% of the work force (18,000 jobs) and nationally, the Bell System has cut over *50,000* jobs. *Everything MAC said two years ago, and more, has come true.* I was also "charged" because as an Executive Board member I refused to rubberstamp Imerzel's hand-picked steward appointments. I happen to believe that our members should have the right to *elect* the stewards to represent them.

To wage a real fight against the vicious and powerful phone company, a class struggle leadership must be forged to replace these sellouts and two-bit McCarthys. It's time to get on with what should be the *real* business of this union—*defending our members against the company*, chucking out the scabs who crossed our picket lines last August and defending our strike militants like Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, victims of those despicable scabs.

We say it's better to fight on our feet than die on our knees! Every decent unionist has a stake in squashing this verdict. Be there March 9th and VOTE NO ON THE CONVICTION!

Kathy Ikegami
March 5, 1984

Lauren and Ray...

(continued from page 12)

of the Bay Area labor movement to make the struggle to defend Mozec and Palmiero their own. Notable among the many unionists present were members of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), who madc up a fifth of the marchers. One CWA member told *WV* that her entire work crew requested time off work to attend the demonstration and hearing, and the company was forced to let most of the crew attend.

Lauren and Ray were made targets of this racist anti-lahor frame-up because of their membership in the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), a class-struggle opposition in the CWA, because Lauren was a ten-year member of the Black Panther Party and because she and Ray are an interracial couple. As a member of the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense and coworker of Lauren Mozee put it: "Before you had the KKK that just eame in and heat your brains out and got away with it—not that they're not still doing it. But now they have the courts hehind them."

Determined to spike this frame-up the Phone Strikers Defense Committee (PSDC) has been filling the courtroom during each of the many court appearances of the railroaded militants. The PSDC has initiated militant protests and conducted a widespread campaign of protest and exposure. Defense of Mozec and Palmiero is critical for lahor! Strikes are won on the picket line and Ma Bell's frame-up takes dead aim on the main weapon of the unions against the bosses.

The marchers cheered as it was announced that the Alameda Central Lahor Council, representing 50,000 AFL-CIO members, has demanded the dropping of charges against Lauren and Ray, as well as charges against three other phone strikers arrested during the course of the strike on misdemeanor charges. The defense effort has gathered wide support among labor and civil rights organizations and the demonstrating workers were very pleased to hear statements of international solidarity from the Australian Telecommunications Employees Association and the Aboriginal Legal Service, both of New South Wales, Australia.

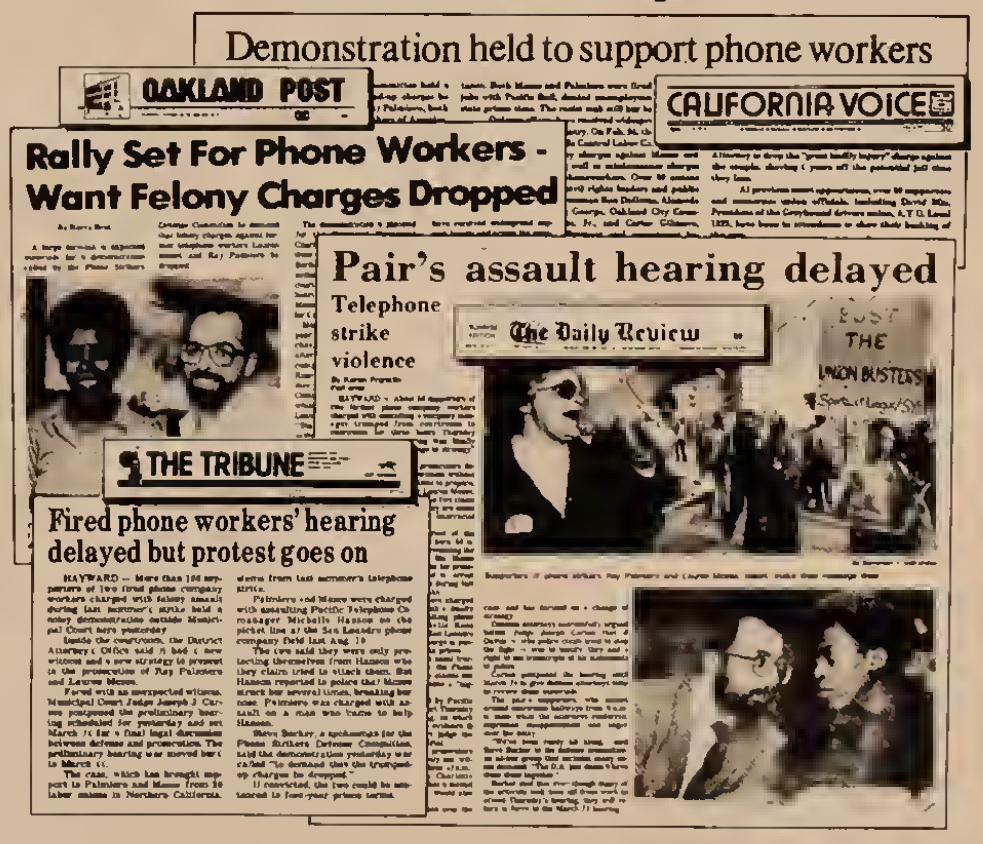
The militant activity on behalf of Lauren and Ray has the Alameda County D.A.'s office worried. In a conversation between two prosecutors accidentally overheard by one of our supporters in the courthouse cafeteria, one of the prosecutors lamented that some of his staff of unionized clerks, taking the demonstration for a picket line, refused to come to work! Meanwhile none of the resident judges wanted to handle the case. The previous judge on the case was seen heading toward the calmer waters of a session in small claims court and the judge who ultimately drew the short straw was from rural Siskiyou County on the California-Oregon horder! Meanwhile the case has been shoved to yet a third Assistant D.A. named Charlotte Green. Ms. Green is one of the few, if not the only, black Assistant D.A.s in Alameda County, and her assignment to the case is doubtless a reflection of unease in the D.A.'s office in pushing this very unpopular and transparently racist anti-lahor frame-up.

Green, in what she termed a "change in strategy," announced her intention to call a second prosecution witness. The D.A.'s office has consistently refused to turn over background information on this witness, claiming he would not be testifying in the preliminary hearing. The judge granted a defense motion for a postponcment in order to permit the defense to ohtain this material and prepare cross-examination. The next preliminary hearing is now scheduled for March 21 in Hayward at 9 a.m.

Certainly this case is far from over. The PSDC urgently needs funds both to pay off past debts and cover further protest and defense activities. As Spartacist supporter Diana Coleman, formerly a phone worker and member of MAC, noted in her remarks to the March 1 Hayward rally:

> "This frame-up is part of a general government and company assault on the unions.... ATU striker Ray Phillips was murdered by a scab driver; OCAW striker Greg Goobie was crushed to death by a scab truck. Yet in both these eases the murderers went free and Lauren and Ray stand to go to jail for four years for defending themselves on the picket line against racist assault. We say, 'Freedom for Lauren and Ray!' and vengeance for our martyred union brothers!" ■

——West Coast Press Covers—— Lauren and Ray


Demonstration held to support phone workers

OAKLAND POST

CALIFORNIA VOICE

Rally Set For Phone Workers - Want Felony Charges Dropped

Pair's assault hearing delayed

Telephone strike violence

The Daily Review

THE TRIBUNE

Fired phone workers' hearing delayed but protest goes on

WORKERS VANGUARD

Drop the Charges Against SYL Four!

UCLA Protesters Confront Salvadoran Ambassador of Death

LOS ANGELES—UCLA students got a taste of "democracy El Salvador-style" on Monday, March 5, when four members of the Spartacus Youth League were dragged out of Dickson Auditorium and jailed for protesting the bloody Salvadoran government's ambassador, Ernesto Rivas-Gallont. These comrades now face 90 days in jail and $200 fines for "offensive words" and "disturbing the peace." Offensive words? Disturbing the peace? The only "offense" was the obscene presence of this ambassador of death; the only "peace" the SYL disturbed was the "peace of the graveyard" the murderous rulers want to impose on the workers and peasants of El Salvador. These charges are designed to silence activists who want to keep war criminals off campus and to give the administration a protest-free quarter to make UCLA a haven for mass murderers. No way! Drop these outrageous charges against the SYL Four!

Silvers/Daily Bruin

Spartacus Youth League spokesman Jeanne McNiff denounces Salvadoran ambassador of death Rivas-Gallont just before cops drag her away.

Death squad front man Rivas-Gallont had to slither through the back door under cop protection because out front 75 students responding to the emergency demonstration called by the SYL were chanting "Military victory is what we want—A workers tribunal for Rivas-Gallont!" An hour later 250 students crowded into Dickson Hall, over half of them to confront this representative of the Salvadoran terror regime. The crowd erupted into pandemonium when the cops moved in on SYLer Jeanne McNiff for their first arrest. Chants of "Cops off campus!" and "Keep the butchers on the run!" mixed with cries of "Let her go!" Rivas-Gallont, butcher in diplomat's clothes, temporarily fled the podium. Shouts of "Murderer!" continued as one after another SYLers Juvenal Martinez, Eileen Kelly and Jeffrey Kaye were dragged out of the hall by helmeted cops in full riot gear. At the police station, Martinez, who grew up in the L.A. barrio, was chained to a chair like a dog and interrogated.

As the SYL letter to the *Daily Bruin* explained (a letter the "free speech" *Bruin* refused to publish): "The SYL is singled out because from 'soldier-scholar' Waghelstein [former head of U.S. forces in El Salvador] to Salvadoran butcher Gallont we have been consistently out in front leading the fight at UCLA to keep war criminals off campus and because we defend the gains of social revolutions from Cuba to the USSR against imperialism's Armageddon."

The SYL "Call to Action" distributed to thousands of students for the March 5 action read:

> "Straight from the land of the death squads, from a kill-crazy junta with the blood of 50,000 on its hands, El Salvador's blood-drenched ambassador Ernesto Rivas-Gallont comes to UCLA today on behalf of the Latin America Center for Counterrevolution to sell the junta's 'election by death.' DRIVE THE AMBASSADOR OF DEATH OFF CAMPUS!
>
> "If you hated McNamara and Waghelstein you'll really hate this guy. And

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Courthouse Demo Demands:

Freedom and Jobs Back for Lauren and Ray!

HAYWARD, California—Nearly 100 angry and militant supporters of framed-up strike militants Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero demonstrated at 8 a.m., March 1 at the Hayward Municipal Court and then filled the courtroom to attend the scheduled preliminary hearing of the two unionists fired and arrested during last summer's phone strike. Chanting "Freedom and Jobs Back for Lauren and Ray!" "Smash the Racist Anti-Labor Frame-Up!" and "Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!" demonstrators from over a dozen Bay Area unions, socialists and students—black, white and Hispanic—sent a determined message to Pacific Telephone and its lackeys in the Reaganite-infested Alameda County D.A.'s office. The marchers expressed their resolute opposition to the bosses' efforts to import South Africa-style "justice" to Oakland and to make it a crime to defend union picket lines against racist scum scabs.

While on picket duty in Klan-infested San Leandro during the national phone strike last August 10 Lauren Mozee was called a "black nigger bitch" and struck in the face by a racist scab-manager, Michelle Rose Hansen. Lauren defended herself, while her companion and fellow unionist Ray Palmiero came to her assistance. For this act of self-defense and defense of the picket line Mozee and Palmiero were fired from their jobs at PT&T, denied unemployment compensation and face four years in state prison on felony charges. The racist scab still has her job!

The size and militancy of this early morning workday demonstration show the determination of important sections

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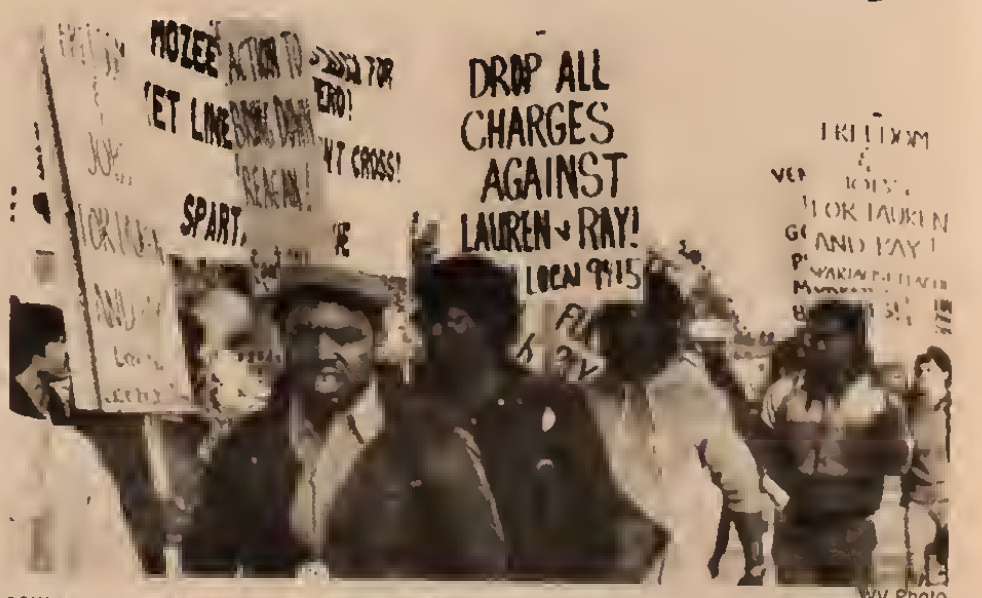

WV Photo

Militant protesters picket Hayward Municipal Court chanting, "Smash Racist, Anti-Labor Frame-Up!"

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 351 30 March 1984

U.S. War Piracy

Defend the Soviet Union!

George Hall

On March 21, the aircraft carrier Kitty Hawk (above) rammed a Victor I class Soviet sub.

AP

MARCH 26—The code name for the current series of war "games" being played by Ronald Reagan and the Pentagon ought to be Nuclear Chicken. From one side of the globe to the other, the U.S. is daring the Soviet Union to respond to escalating provocations and overt acts of war. On Tuesday a Soviet oil tanker docking at Puerto Sandino in Nicaragua struck an underwater mine laid by CIA demolition squads, ripping a hole in the hull and critically injuring five Soviet seamen. The same day a Navy reconnaissance plane repeatedly buzzed a Soviet helicopter carrier, the *Leningrad*, steaming toward Cuba, passing a dozen times within 300 yards of the ship. And on Wednesday the U.S. aircraft carrier *Kitty Hawk* deliberately rammed a nuclear-armed Russian submarine in the Sea of Japan and nearly sunk it. One of these days a Soviet commander is going to lose his cool and with full justification blow one of these hit-and-run cowboys clean out of the water. Right now if the madmen in Washington keep this stuff up we are literally a matter of a few seconds or feet away from World War III.

Moscow does not take such attacks lightly. In response to the mine detonation in Nicaraguan waters, Soviet foreign minister Gromyko fired off an angry protest to the American chargé d'affaires holding the U.S. directly responsible for this act of "piracy" committed by "terrorists." The insolent buzzing of the *Leningrad* is an incredibly reckless stunt, particularly when you recall that the U.S. Navy

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Hot Cargo Coal—Shut Down the Power Stations!

Bloody Thatcher's War on British Coal Strikers

Seeking to defeat the strike launched by militant Yorkshire coal miners on March 6 and since spread throughout the industry, Conservative (Tory) prime minister Margaret Thatcher has mobilized thousands of police to the coal counties. This poses a deadly threat to British labor, designed to render impotent for a long time the trade unions' capacity to struggle. We print below an article by our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain, which has been playing an active role agitating to spread the strike.

ADAPTED FROM SPARTACIST BRITAIN SUPPLEMENT, 23 MARCH 1984

LONDON—As the miners strike nears the end of its second week, the trade-union movement in this country stands at a crossroads. Britain's battling miners are today locked in life-and-death struggle with the raw naked power of the capitalist state. Mass arrests of strike militants, cold-blooded murder on the picket line, martial law in the coalfields. With a bloodlust which makes [former Tory prime minister] Ted Heath look an upstanding gentlemen, the Iron Lady is out to redress the Tories' humiliating defeat at the miners' hands

continued on page 4

Sturrock/Network

Martial law in Nottingham coalfields as cops make mass arrests of picketing miners.

Cops Assault Trotskyist Publisher

Hands Off Lanka Spartacists!

In the aftermath of the July 1983 anti-Tamil massacres in Sri Lanka, the bonapartist UNP government under president J.R. Jayewardene has continued and even escalated its assaults on leftists and pro-Tamil organizations. We print below a statement from the Spartacist League/Lanka (SL/L) protesting the attempted suppression of *Lanka Spartacist* (in Sinhala) and *Elangai Spartacist* (in Tamil) and the murderous threat against their publisher, Vincent Thomas. The murder threat took place when comrade Vincent, summoned by the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) secret police, appeared for interrogation on January 5. As stated in his complaint of January 8:

> "During this time the police officer who was seated at the other table nearby came up to me, scolded [me] in filth[y] [language] and hit me seven or eight times on my face and head. Thereafter he caught me by my neck, took me to the window and threatened saying 'It is from here Dodampe Mudalali was pushed. Jump you rascal'."

Dodampe Mudalali, a member of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, was in fact pushed to his death from the fourth floor CID office during the 1965-70 UNP government. The secret police are well known for their tactic of setting up the deaths of leftists and oppositionists to look like suicide, destroying their homes and then accusing them of having been "terrorist Tamil Tigers" or "spies" for the Tigers. The SL/L has been targeted by the state powers in Lanka because of their courageous defense of the brutally oppressed Tamil minority. It is particularly galling to the authorities that the SL/L raised its voice against Tamil repression in the Sinhala community. We demand: Hands off SL/L and other left parties! Stop repression against *Lanka* and *Elangai Spartacist* immediately! Stop anti-Tamil terror!

State Suppression Towards Lanka Spartacist and Elangai Spartacist: Police Assault on Publisher

COLOMBO—Local and foreign capitalists have laid big hopes on J.R. [Jayewardene, president of Sri Lanka]. The only aim of the capitalists is to use J.R. to fulfill their ambitions. More than any others, the American imperialists have laid great hopes on J.R. This is why J.R. has been known as a pro-American throughout a long period. For Reagan's war drive against the Soviet Union, J.R. was the man he was searching for in Lanka. From the day he came into power J.R. began implementing one by one the hopes of the local capitalists and of the foreign imperialists. For that, he has up to now taken many actions.

These aims of the Lankan capitalists and imperialists did not originate automatically. They are the results of the subjective conditions of the greatest economic crash since the depression in the 1930s. J.R. understands these very well. He took power with the intention of doing everything possible for the capitalists. His ambition is to do everything that other capitalist rulers failed to do.

From the beginning J.R. took steps to prevent labour action. For this, legislative regulations, thug forces and the state armed forces were used. The meaning of this was the suppression of the left movement. Just like the craziness of Reagan's attempt to "stop the expansion of communism"—a thing that not only he but even his "God" will never be able to do—J.R.'s intention is to suppress the left movement and stop all its activities.

This anti-labour-left suppression plan of the UNP [United National Party] government led by J.R. was disclosed in advance through *Lanka Spartacist* and *Elangai Spartacist*. The voice of *Lanka Spartacist* and *Elangai Spartacist* against the continuous suppression of the Tamil people echoed not only within but even outside the island. Whilst reporting to the working class and to the other oppressed classes in this country about the activities of the proletarian internationalists denouncing the suppression of the Tamil people in Lanka, we clearly explained the Marxist position on the national problem. This created a deep hatred in the minds of Sinhala communalists. We were subject to filthy disgrace and threats by angered Sinhala communalists.

The challenge by the Tamil nationalist movement in the North and East has created a situation where a government dedicated to fulfilling interests of the capitalists cannot smoothly function. The main challenge to the government within the country today is the Tamil Question (National Question). J.R.'s plans are to attempt to get out of this problem and launch an attack on the left simultaneously. It is according to this plan that all others—especially the left—were blamed by the government for the recent anti-Tamil communal violence, except for the people who really did it.

After the leftists were blamed for the anti-Tamil riots in July and the suppression then expanded to leftist parties, now *Lanka Spartacist* and *Elangai Spartacist* are targeted for suppression. Comrade Vincent Thomas, publisher of *Lanka Spartacist* and *Elangai Spartacist*

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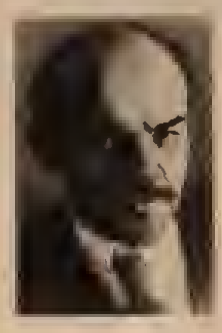
Der Spiegel

Colombo, July 1983: Tamil homes, shops and factories burned down in the terror orchestrated by J.R.'s ruling United National Party.

TROTSKY

Zionism and Capitalist Reaction

Zionist Israel arose under the impact of the Nazi Holocaust and through the machinations of British imperialism. As the destructive frenzy of Israeli expansionism mounts, the Zionist rulers threaten to plunge the world into a new and even greater holocaust. During the 1930s the young Trotskyist Abram Leon foresaw the reactionary nature of Zionism as a "solution" to the Jewish question.



LENIN

Far from being a product of the development of the productive forces, Zionism is precisely the consequence of the complete halt of this development, the result of the petrifaction of capitalism. Whereas the national movement is the product of the ascending period of capitalism, Zionism is the product of the imperialist era. The Jewish tragedy of the Twentieth Century is a direct consequence of the decline of capitalism....

In the sphere of nationality, only socialism can bring the widest democracy. It must provide the Jews with the opportunity of living a national existence in every country they inhabit; it must also give them the opportunity of concentrating in one or more territories, naturally without injuring the interests of the native inhabitants. Only the widest proletarian democracy will make possible the resolution of the Jewish problem with a minimum of suffering.

—Abram Leon, *The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation*
(published posthumously in 1946)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 351 **30 March 1984**

Letter

Could Indian Troops Save Tamil Refugees?

Barcelona, 6 January 1984

I am a reader of *Spartacist* (Spanish-language edition), and in the last issue (No. 13, November 1983) there is an article about the massacres in Lanka last summer. In this article there is a slogan that I do not understand. It refers to the patriation of Tamils under "the protection of the Indian army" (and I quote you accurately). I do not understand how you can call on an imperialist army to protect this patriation. You make clear that one should not put any confidence in Indira Gandhi, but this does not disappear the fact that you are calling on the military arm of the Indian bourgeoisie to supervise this patriation. In the same manner that you say no to the UN troops, I assume because they are imperialist, you should apply the same criteria to the Indian army. We cannot say no to an imperialist army and yes to another, equally imperialist, army. I think it is a question of principles.

Another reason is that if we call on the Indian army to protect the patriation, one must accept the consequences this fact may produce, and in the case (which I believe probable) that after the patriation the Indian army were to stay in Eelam and were to annex it to India, the Spartacist position would not be very coherent since it would be calling for an independent Eelam while at the same time supporting the intervention of the Indian army which has annexed Eelam.

Lastly, I do not believe that the argument that the Indian army is the only one that can guarantee the patriation is valid because I think that the fact that it is an imperialist army has a greater weight. Besides, isn't this slogan similar to Arafat's call on the Yankee and French imperialists to protect the Palestinian retreat from Beirut?

My knowledge of Marxism is very limited and I am confident that you will be able to give me the correct answer.

Sincerely,
Sergi

WV replies: We work to see the anti-Tamil slaughter stopped by a Red Army, product of proletarian revolution on the island which recognizes two nations needing to coexist within a

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State Drops Felony Charges Against Ray Palmiero

Defend Lauren and Ray—Keep the Heat On!

OAKLAND, March 21—It was a step forward for the Phone Strikers Defense Committee (PSDC) and all partisans of the rights of labor. Felony assault and battery charges were dropped against Ray Palmiero. Palmiero and his companion and fellow Communications Workers of America member Lauren Mozee were slapped with felony charges and fired from their jobs during last summer's national phone strike. In a courtroom of the Hayward Municipal Court filled with nearly 40 Defense Committee supporters, Alameda County Assistant District Attorney Charlotte Green moved to drop the felony charges for "insufficient evidence" just prior to the scheduled preliminary hearing on the charges against Palmiero and Mozee.

The D.A.'s claim of "insufficient evidence"—over eight months after the charges were brought, after over ten court appearances—is admission that Palmiero was framed from the start and that the D.A.'s office is exacting legal vengeance on phony charges! But Lauren, who has been singled out as a former ten-year member of the Black Panther Party, still faces years in jail on felony charges, and Ray is still up for a misdemeanor. Drop all charges now!

This is the second major setback for the state in this case as the PSDC has mobilized wide opposition to this racist anti-labor frame-up. Last October, on the eve of a widely publicized protest demonstration in downtown Oakland that drew an integrated, militant crowd of 400, the D.A.'s office was forced to

WV Photo

Ray Palmiero and Lauren Mozee in court.

drop the "great bodily injury" clause against Mozee and Palmiero, shaving three years off their potential sentences. Just three weeks ago, following an angry demonstration of 100 defense supporters in front of the Hayward Courthouse, D.A. Green tried to call a previously unannounced witness against Palmiero, in what she then termed a "change of strategy." In the ensuing period, that "change of strategy" was transformed into a decision to drop the felonies.

The prosecution's disarray is the direct result of the pressure that has been brought to bear on the D.A.'s office against the frame-up. On March 12, the San Francisco Central Labor Council of the AFL-CIO joined with earlier action by the Alameda County Central Labor Council—together representing over 100,000 unionized workers—in demanding that the D.A.'s office drop the charges against Palmiero. Mozee and three other phone workers facing misdemeanor charges as a result of last year's strike. Hundreds of rank-and-file unionists, over 200 labor officials, prominent individuals and numerous public officials, including Congressman Ron Dellums, Oakland City Councilmembers Wilson Riles, Jr. and Carter Gilmore, Alameda County Supervisor John George and Berkeley mayor Gus Newport have endorsed Defense Committee demands that Mozee and Palmiero be reinstated at their jobs with full back pay, that charges be dropped against them and *all* phone strikers, and that amnesty be granted to all victimized phone strikers. The PSDC has from the beginning understood that it would take the widest protest and mobilization of black and all working people to win freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray.

The frame-up of militant strikers Lauren and Ray began when they defended themselves and their union picket line during last year's strike against Ma Bell. Lauren was called a "black nigger bitch" and struck in the face by a racist scab manager on a picket line. She defended herself and Ray came to her assistance. But at today's hearing, the racist manager Michelle Rose Hansen, who was the D.A.'s only witness, predictably stood the facts on their head and told a string of lies to make herself appear the innocent victim of an unprovoked attack. In cross-examination, defense attorney Anne Flower Cumings exposed numerous glaring discrepancies between Hansen's testimony and previous statements she had made to the San Leandro Police Department, Pacific Bell security officers and medical personnel. Hansen repetitively "couldn't recall" numerous facts when caught out on her lies. The judge adjourned the hearing until April 3.

It's up to all of us to make sure that these victims of violent racist insult and government/company union-busting don't go to jail. The frame-up of Lauren and Ray must be smashed. The Defense Committee has also learned that an April 4 trial on misdemeanor charges is scheduled against Dan Nedeau, a laid-off Western Electric phone worker being framed for self-defense against scabs during the strike.

Funds are urgently needed to continue this defense work and to pay off back debts. Contributions should be sent to the PSDC, P.O. Box 24152, Oakland, CA 94623. Protest telegrams should be sent to Alameda County D.A. John Meehan, 1225 Fallon St., Oakland, CA 94612 and Pacific Bell President T.J. Saenger, 140 New Montgomery, Room 1816, San Francisco, CA 94105. Keep the heat on the frame-up artists! **Smash the racist anti-labor frame-ups!!!** ■

Defend Anti-Fascist Militants!

Vicious Nazi Provocation in Ann Arbor

ANN ARBOR, Michigan—The handful of degenerate Nazi thugs who call themselves the "SS Action Group" came back to the Federal Building here March 17. Brandishing deadly sharp-edged two-by-two poles and stomping around in jackboots, with swastika-emblazoned shields and helmets, they had come to terrorize the heavily Jewish, black, gay, and foreign student population of this liberal college town. This racist provocation led to an altercation in which we are glad to say the Nazis wound up sprawled on the ground. Three supporters of the Spartacist League were arrested—auto workers Frank Hicks and Joe Blair, and Mark Kelly. Brother Hicks faces charges of misdemeanor assault and battery, while Blair and Kelly were slapped with a "disorderly fighting" charge.

This was the latest round of fascist terror here. This city has become a yearly target of the fascist creeps who came last year vowing to "break the red hold in Ann Arbor." In recent months they have goose-stepped in Dearborn, in Lansing, and attacked the Progressive Labor (PL) office in a westside Detroit black neighborhood. The Nazis' main target for intimidation and violence is the predominantly black population of Detroit and its integrated unions.

The Nazis are still smarting from their total rout two years ago in Ann Arbor where a 2,000-strong labor/black mobilization organized by the Spartacist League chased them out of town. This mass labor-centered mobilization drew on the powerful heart of Michigan organized labor—the black auto workers from the plants throughout the area. It was precisely the success of this demonstration which brought out the wrath of the city fathers, the bourgeois media and the motley crew of reformists led by Peter Sollenberger's cult-sect, the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), and the tiny state-capitalist Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL). These most active saboteurs of the labor/black strategy became the loudest noise in the "Big Lie" violence-baiting of the Spartacist League.

This strategy of labor/black mobilizations is the only one which can *win*. When, encouraged by the new anti-Soviet Cold War, the fascists have tried to stick their heads up in the big northern cities in the last several years, the Spartacist League and our program of mass labor/black action has been instrumental in running these killers out—from Detroit in November 1979 when 500 mainly black workers and youth mobilized to stop the Nazis and KKK, to similar actions in Boston, Chicago and San Francisco. And on 27 November 1982 in Washington, D.C. 5,000 came out at the SL's call in a powerful combination of red and black backed up with the social power of organized labor to clean the streets of this fascist filth.

But when the Nazis threatened to come back to Ann Arbor's City Hall this year, they faced a few score demonstrators who had come out to toothlessly protest their presence, but certainly not to *stop* them. After waiting several hours, the protesters announced a "victory" and called off the demo just as the Nazi vermin were showing up at the other site. Outside the Federal Building, as two-bit Führer John "Reich" was spouting off his filth about "mulatto rapists" and "communist conspirators" to the media, a shout rang out: "You're a goddamn killer!" The next moment "Reich" was on the ground. That evening, tens of thousands of Detroit working people saw on TV how the racist scum were sent sprawling, humiliated and exposed, their swastikas scattered.

But the cops soon moved in to protect their blackshirt pals. While the three Spartacist supporters were shoved on a sheriff's bus, the cops escorted the frightened, disoriented Nazis to the rear of the Federal Building. En route, some PL militants tried to get their licks in. They were quickly set upon by the cops; one young black, Ricky Lewis, who had been arrested at last year's demonstration, was singled out and tackled while standing on the sidewalk. Marcella Silveri was arrested on "felonious assault" for allegedly attempting to throw a flashlight battery, with "intent" to hit a cop. Then, in a deliberate move to set the five arrested leftists up for murder, the cops loaded the dozen Nazi thugs, still armed and helmeted, onto the same sheriff's bus while the SL and PL supporters were handcuffed!

A Progressive Labor supporter, attorney Doyle O'Connor protested this deadly threat and was himself set upon by the cops, roughed up, arrested and charged with a felony, "interfering with a police officer." Charges against Lewis were dismissed, and the three other men released that night. Marcella Silveri,

Habib/Michigan Daily

Nazi provocation meets pavement in Ann Arbor, March 17.

however, was locked up in the county jail for 48 hours and only released on bond Monday afternoon. These charges are an outrage! The state defends the Nazi scum and their provocations while setting up their black, Jewish and socialist victims. Drop the charges against all the anti-fascist protesters!

Contributions may be sent to: Anti-Fascist Committee to Defend Blair, Hicks and Kelly, P.O. Box 19204, Detroit, Michigan 48219. ■

British Miners...

(continued from page 1)

in 1974. Fresh from her victory over the NGA [printers union] and her smashing of trade-union rights at GCHQ Cheltenham. Thatcher has precipitated the sharpest and most deep-going conflict of British labour since the turn of the century.

They want to chain the unions and they'll kill to do it. That was the message written in the blood of young David Jones, the strike militant who died on his 24th birthday from a fatal wound inflicted while picketing Ollerton colliery. Whoever the cowardly swine that struck him down, it was Thatcher/MacGregor [National Coal Board president] that killed him. Thatcher is today running preventive civil war: thousands upon thousands of cops deployed at roadblocks leading into and out of Yorkshire and other centres of strike militancy. The "sus" [suspect] law victimisation formerly a fact of life only for the inner-city black and Asian ghetto populations is now the daily experience of Britain's miners.

But the miners have not been broken. For all its crowing over the "success" of this state of siege in the coalfields, for all its cheering over the strikebreaking ballots and splitting tactics pushed by its favoured "moderates," even Fleet Street [the capitalist monopoly press] cannot hide the fact that with every passing day the miners' determination grows more solid, the number of pits picketed out more numerous. With every new Tory provocation, the miners' tradition of militancy and solidarity, of respect for picket lines is more intensely rekindled. Having voted against a strike three days earlier, the North Derbyshire area walked out in solidarity against Thatcher's martial law. Then came Lancashire. Of the strikers' militancy and determination there is no question. But with the awesome might of the capitalist state confronting the miners at every step, the key to victory is a class-struggle strategy. The burning immediate task is to spread this strike, to galvanise ever broader sectors of the labour movement in a fight to defend the unions and bring down this union-hating government. *Victory to the miners! Spread the strike now! Smash the Tory assault!*

Spartacist Britain

Striking miners defend union headquarters in Barnsley, Yorkshire, March 19.

In the first four days of the strike all but six of the 80 or so recalcitrant collieries were shut down by flying pickets with local reinforcements. That's why the Tory [London] *Times* (16 March) vented its spleen in an editorial entitled "Fear under the law":

> "We hear a lot about picketing these days, lawful and unlawful. The point about picketing—any and every form of picketing—is that it is a form of intimidation. Intimidation, according to the dictionary, is to overawe with fear."

They want to outlaw effective picketing altogether. They know, as does every militant striker, that without picket lines there would be no union. As one NUM [National Union of Miners] official aptly put it on television, the only law he knew was that you didn't cross picket lines. And that simple lesson has to be hammered into the mind of every would-be scab. When striking U.S. coal miners in Stearns, Kentucky were faced with a gang of company gunmen during a 1977 strike for unionisation, they put up a sign next to their picket line—"Warning: The Stearns miners have determined that scabbing is dangerous to your health"—and responded in kind. In the past week miners here have seen that Britain is no more immune than anywhere else to the hard realities of the class struggle and begun to organise disciplined picket defence squads. In such formations are to be found the nuclei of workers militias and the future workers state power.

The miners cannot take on the superior might of the bosses' state alone. It takes a multi-front struggle. Welsh miners have already begun picketing two power stations to stop transport of supplies. Now Scotland has followed suit, picketing a nuclear power station as well. Central to making this strike bite hard and fast is to *shut down* the power stations—every last one of them—not just coal-fired, but oil- and nuclear-fuelled generators as well. What's needed is mass pickets outside the power stations coupled with a direct official appeal for immediate strike action—in solidarity with the miners, in defence of their own right to strike against the Tories' "essential services" strikebreaking, in defence of the entire trade-union movement.

[Scottish miners leader and prominent Communist] Mick McGahey's promise that all transport of coal will be brought to a halt by blacking [boycott] action has been implemented in Scotland but must be put into practice everywhere with a call on all unions to immediately black every ounce of coal in the country. The sentiment is there. Already NUR and ASLEF [railway unions] members are being sent home for refusing to breach miners' pickets. At least one NUR branch, in London Transport, has pledged itself to fight for full blacking throughout the union and for immediate national strike action against any victimisation. Scuttle the rabid anti-union lies being churned out by Fleet Street through a national printers strike! What we need now is a *pro*-strike daily paper! An effective fighting lead by the labour movement now can mobilise whole sections of the population being crushed under the Tory juggernaut. Not only carloads of miners but mass delegations from every union and the army of the unemployed must be recruited to build the picket lines.

The Main Enemy Is At Home

British imperialism is marching in lockstep behind the U.S. imperialist-spearheaded drive to restore the profit system to the Soviet bloc—at the price of international nuclear annihilation if necessary. Thatcher's vendetta against the miners is part of a deadly assault designed to reduce the population of Britain to a living standard approaching that of the Argentine people under General Bignone. What the Iron Lady's rule means is starving babies, freezing old people and the majority of the male adult population who can't find work put in jail.

From riding tanks during NATO exercises in Germany, to dressing up in camouflage smock to toast SAS [Special Air Services, "anti-terrorist" commandos] hitmen to smashing strikes, Thatcher is no "lie back and think of England" type—she enjoys it. Too bad that Britain as well as Argentina didn't suffer defeat in the Falklands. Had the Argentines managed to sink an aircraft carrier (leaving Prince Andrew's helicopter hovering over an empty ocean with fuel gauges showing zero), Thatcher's "Falklands factor" would have been different. Argentina's defeat in the Falklands war exacerbated massive social unrest in that country to the point that General Galtieri was toppled from power almost immediately afterwards. At the time, in contrast to the social patriotism of the [Trades Union Congress head] Len Murrays and the pro-imperialist social pacifism of the Labour "lefts," we said, "The main enemy is at home," and called for revolutionary defeatism on both sides.

The British ruling class are past masters at "divide and rule," from the days when Welsh archers were used against the Scots, through the Scots regiments in Ireland and India. The South Wales valleys have been devastated and Scottish miners are a particular immediate target. The bosses are dumping the Scottish, Welsh and other militant coalfields while holding out bribes for "moderation" to areas like Nottinghamshire. The proletariat of the Celtic fringe must support every just struggle of the English working class, no matter what reciprocation they do or do not receive. The order of the day is class unity and no police Hadrian's Wall should stop Scottish miners doing their duty, much as, when the need arose, their forebears stormed down across the border under Wallace and Douglas. There's nothing more calculated to upset the smug arrogance of Home Counties stockbrokers than a disciplined army of Scots and Welsh miners shoulder to shoulder with their English class brothers extending this strike throughout the island and meting out a small measure of retribution for centuries of exploitation and oppression.

David Jones family

David Jones
Union Martyr
1960 - 1984

Bring Down Thatcher!

From the Prior Act to the Tebbit Act to the proposed new King Bill the Tories try to chain the unions through their laws. But for the treachery of the Labour Party/TUC chiefs, their "laws" would be nothing but scraps of paper. The "new realism" enunciated by Len Murray & Co. at Blackpool last autumn amidst the Cold War barrage directed at [Miners union leader] Arthur Scargill was the signal to Thatcher that they would not stand in her way. Murray's allies in the NUM executive, who today scream for ballots, joined the hue and cry against Scargill. The conduct of the ballot-mongers is just the sort of splitting and wrecking policies which the CIA teaches its labour friends. And hand-in-hand with that goes corruption—we wonder how many papal funds Thatcher has got diverted from Poland to swing this ballot.

In the course of this struggle, the Labour Party leaders have demonstrat-

Are You Ready to Take the Power?

We reprint below an excerpt from In Place of Fear, *the autobiography of the late Aneurin Bevan, who for years was leader of the left wing of the British Labour Party.*

I remember vividly Robert Smillie describing to me an interview the leaders of the Triple Alliance had with David Lloyd George in 1919. The strategy of the leaders was clear. The miners under Robert Smillie, the transport workers under Robert Williams, and the National Union of Railwaymen under James Henry Thomas, formed the most formidable combination of industrial workers in the history of Great Britain. They had agreed on the demands that were to be made on the employers, knowing well that the government would be bound to be involved at an early stage. And so it happened. A great deal of industry was still under government wartime control and so the state power was immediately implicated.

Lloyd George sent for the Labour leaders, and they went, so Robert told me, "truculently determined they would not be talked over by the seductive and eloquent Welshman." At this Bob's eyes twinkled in his grave, strong face. "He was quite frank with us from the outset," Bob went on. "He said to us: 'Gentlemen, you have fashioned, in the Triple Alliance of the unions represented by you, a most powerful instrument. I feel bound to tell you that in our opinion we are at your mercy. The Army is disaffected and cannot be relied upon. Trouble has occurred already in a number of camps. We have just emerged from a great war and the people are eager for the reward of their sacrifices, and we are in no position to satisfy them. In these circumstances, if you carry out your threat and strike, then you will defeat us.

"'But if you do so,' went on Mr. Lloyd George, 'have you weighed the consequences? The strike will be in defiance of the Government of the country and by its very success will precipitate a constitutional crisis of the first importance. For, if a force arises in the State which is stronger than the State itself, then it must be ready to take on the functions of the State, or withdraw and accept the authority of the State. Gentlemen,' asked the Prime Minister quietly, 'have you considered, and if you have, are you ready?' From that moment on," said Robert Smillie, "we were beaten and we knew we were."

Washington Orders Union-Busting at British Spy Center

LONDON—Following the Trades Union Congress (TUC) sellout of the printers union (NGA), Tory prime minister Margaret Thatcher's ban on trade-union membership at the Government Communications Headquarters in Cheltenham (GCHQ) has again ignited wide-scale opposition to the Tories' union-bashing offensive. On February 28 hundreds of thousands of trade unionists from civil servants to building workers and miners took various kinds of industrial action in protest. Nearly 40,000 marched through London, with smaller rallies in cities and towns up and down the country.

The Cheltenham ban is part of the ruling class's drive to turn trade unions into little more than ineffectual "staff associations." From the Prior and Tebbit Acts to the new King legislation, the Tories continue slashing away at the right to strike and picket, the closed shop and other historic hard-won gains of the working class. The latest "think tank" leak shows that Thatcher wants a no-strike rule in essential services including gas, electricity, water and health, and a ban on strikes which affect these services (including transport and the mines). Already a no-strike rule for phone workers has been added to the Telecommunications Bill in Parliament.

The blanket ban on trade unions at GCHQ effective from March 1 harbingers the threat that all government employees and the broader labour movement face. At the same time basic democratic rights and liberties are increasingly threatened by legislation like the Police Bill. Now she talks of McCarthyite purges of opponents of government policy (including CND [pacifistic Committee for Nuclear Disarmament] members and even Liberal and SDP [Social Democratic Party] supporters) from part of the civil service, and total bans on political activity in the army. These sweeping attacks on basic rights, including the very right of trade unions to function or even exist, must be stopped through mobilising the social power of the labour movement. Defend trade-union rights at GCHQ! Smash the Tories' reactionary onslaught!

The Cheltenham ban directly serves the NATO imperialist anti-Soviet war drive. GCHQ is an integral part of the mammoth international spy network directed against the USSR and other Warsaw Pact countries and run by the sinister American National Security Agency (NSA). Established through a secret 1946 treaty between the U.S. and British (Labour) governments, GCHQ monitors communications and intelligence from the Soviet bloc as well as compiles its files on 75,000 individuals, including so-called "enemies of the realm" like trade-union militants and leftists. Under Tory and Labour administrations alike, GCHQ provided the Americans with crucial information during the Vietnam War which undouhtedly helped the U.S. army murder thousands of heroic Vietnamese fighters.

Britain is about the only country where you can even imagine workers at such an institution heing unionised. It must have horrified the CIA/NSA as they geared up for Cold War II, especially when industrial action at Cheltenham reportedly disrupted intelligence-gathering at the time of the December 1979 Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and the rise of Polish Solidarność in 1980-81. Then came the Geoffrey Prime case, when a minor GCHQ operative arrested for child molesting turned out to have been passing information to the Russians for years previously. And all this after Burgess, Maclean, Philby, Blunt and god-knows-who-else. Since the CIA/NSA foot most of the bill for GCHQ anyway, they must have wished they could just cut the British off and run the show themselves. "Jeezus," someone in the CIA or NSA HQ must have

continued on page 10

ed yet again where their true loyalties lie. Neil Kinnock, fresh from a visit to Washington where he called mass murderer Ronald Reagan "a man with whom I have a great deal in common," now spits on the Welsh miners who put him in Parliament hy condemning the strikers' "violence." And why isn't Tony Benn, out of step with the Cold War austerity right wing of the party, out rallying forces to join the miners' pickets instead of restricting himself to parliamentary speeches? Throughout the steel strike Benn said and did virtually nothing; and now he has paid for his seat in Parliament by bowing shamelessly to the likes of Denis Healey, the chancellor of the exchequer [treasury minister] under [Lahour prime minister] Callaghan who gouged the workers' eyes.

Given the outright political disarray and betrayal of all those claiming to represent politically the wings of British labour and liheralism, the struggle on the industrial front is the only evident immediate tool for British workers. Strike militants around the country express increasing frustration at the lack of direction and coordination heing provided hy the union leadership. With the full weight of the capitalist state breathing down upon the miners' necks, simple trade-union tactics point directly to a general strike, and that poses the question of power. The reformist limitations of simple trade unionism, no matter how militant, are being put to the severest test and the abject servility of the Labour/TUC tops laid bare.

We of the Spartacist League have thrown our full resources into fighting for a victory in this strike, as part of our struggle to huild the revolutionary leadership and party which alone can lead the 8ritish workers to final victory over the capitalist class. The two supplements we have distrihuted, in thousands of copies, at miners' picket lines and welfare cluhs and strike headquarters in Wales, Yorkshire, Kent, the Midlands and elsewhere have found a resonance among mine worker militants looking for a way forward. The militant miners who have read our leaflets and say, "These people tell the truth," know that shutting down the power stations is crucial and spreading the strike to the rest of the trade-union movement is key to victory. Many of them know too that the Spartacist League is the organisation that defended Scargill for his opposition to counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność.

The self-styled Workers Revolutionary Party [WRP, led hy Gerry Healy] and its *Newsline* triggered the anti-communist witchhunting hysteria by Fleet Street and the Cold War rights with their deliherately timed puhlication of Scargill's letter denouncing Solidarność. Scargill has shown often enough in the past that he's no particular friend of the Spartacist League, but at least this union leader thought he had some duty to the British miners to speak out against the CIA/Vatican-inspired operation in Poland. And whatever pronounced conciliationist politics he has, unlike the WRP he is capable of recognising a scab in Poland as well as in Notts. Who'd want to listen to these WRP political handits after their role as fingermen for Thatcher at Blackpool? Indeed militant miners, who quit reading *Newsline* after the TUC, warded off appeals from WRP leader Mike Banda by telling him they had now joined the Spartacist League.

The imperialist anti-Soviet war drive is today the cutting edge of ruling class attacks on the gains of the working class. As Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the Bolshevik Revolution which overthrew capitalism and tsarism in Russia, said over 40 years ago, "Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones." The Spartacist League has sharply demarcated itself from the rest of the left in the period since the renewal of the Cold War hy its firm unconditional defence of the Soviet Union against imperialism. Just as class-conscious militants must defend their unions against capitalist attack despite the treacherous leaders who today run the unions, so must the USSR he defended despite the bureaucracy which wields political power there.

We are fighting to ensure that Tony Cliff's years-old thesis that the British trade-union movement has suffered a decisive defeat does not become a matter of fact as the outcome of this struggle. If the consequences of defeat now are dire, so too there is a great opportunity to stop Thatcher dead in her tracks and open the road towards workers rule. As we wrote last September:

> "At bottom, the industrial decomposition of British industry, direct product of loss of empire, and devastating victory in two world wars, objectively poses point blank the need for a workers state. The maintenance of jobs in uneconomic industries is just a stretched out version of the dole; and all the present Labourite and Tory schemes to shift the basis of the British economy naturally and necessarily involve brutally smashing every gain and right and privilege hard won by the British working people. Quite simply, to undertake a renewal of British economic life and to correspondingly vastly increase the presently pathetic quality of life for British working people is to pose point blank—what class rules."
>
> —*Spartacist Britain* No. 52, September 1983

What is needed is not another Labour government which would act just like the Mitterrand Socialist government in France, imposing Cold War austerity and slashing miners' jobs, but a genuine workers government based on elected workers councils which expropriates the entire capitalist class and sets about reviving economic life with socialist planning and as part of a Socialist United States of Europe. Then we wouldn't be paying compensation to the coal hosses, then we could provide jobs and a decent future for all working people, their sons and daughters. For that we desperately need to forge a revolutionary leadership, a Leninist/Trotskyist vanguard party of workers and oppressed broken from the deadening grip of Lahourism. That is what the Spartacist League fights for.

- Victory to the miners!
- Spread the strike now!
- Shut down the power stations! Black all coal! ■

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Racist Pig Ed Koch

Edward I. Koch is uniquely the worst big city mayor in America. He's in a class by himself, even with heavy competition from garden variety racists like ex-Chicago boss "Crazy Jane" Byrne. Koch is a monster who loves to hurt the poor, the minorities. He is a virulent nationalist, a right-wing extremist who believes in genocide. He gets Harlem and the South Bronx confused with the West Bank. He treats blacks and Hispanics like Arabs, and turnstile jumpers like PLO "terrorists." The only difference between him and the gang of fascist killers in Israel led by JDL *Führer* Meir Kahane (the one-time Michael King of New York) is that Koch made it up the greasy pole in a bourgeois-democratic society. So he rounds the edges a little. Otherwise, he's as chemically pure a fascist as you get.

Koch is the backlash mayor, the voice of white petty-bourgeois rage against blacks and labor. "I speak out for the middle class," he writes in his just published book, *Mayor: An Autobiography* (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1984). "Because they pay the taxes; they provide the jobs for the poor people.... I'm gonna recognize the sacrifices that they make." It was the "fiscal crisis" engineered by the Wall Street bankers in the mid-1970s which brought Ed Koch out of his relative obscurity as the East Side "silk stocking" district Congressman onto center stage. "The black community had been...a protected area," he ranted as he took the budget ax to hospitals, fire stations and job-training centers. "This City had been brought to its knees by pressure groups," he fulminated as he declared war on labor. Koch became a blatant racist and labor-hater as a matter of deliberate policy.

Borscht Belt Fascist

Koch's autobiography should have been subtitled, "Diary of a Borscht Belt Fascist." He's a stand-up Catskills comedian, constantly playing for laughs. He recently came to a costume ball dressed as a gold lamé statue of himself with a pigeon shitting on his head. His style is as haughty as Marie Antoinette: just last year he fainted from overeating and overdrinking in an Upper East Side restaurant the same week he announced the eviction of homeless families from welfare hotels. And behind the gags is one of the most depraved and dangerous politicians in the U.S. today. Perhaps the best

Conrad/NY Times

Koch celebrates Purim 1984 in Queens with genocidal Israeli butcher Ariel Sharon (left).

expression of Koch's contempt for black people was seen at the 1980 "Inner Circle" fundraising ball where he donned an Afro wig and did a minstrel jig mocking black activists who had been protesting hospital cuts.

Koch deeply believes Jews are the chosen people. He celebrates Purim, a Jewish holiday of deliverance from extermination, by parading through Flushing with General Sharon, the exterminator of Sabra and Shatila. (The victims of the Beirut massacre, you see, were Palestinians—"two-legged beasts" Begin called them.) Koch is a liar and an egomaniac, too. But then this psychic apparatus is part of the standard fascist profile. Of course, as the Jewish mayor of New York City in the United States of America, he has a few restrictions. He can't lead an American nativist movement in white sheets. He's out of time and out of place. For Edward Koch really belongs in the ruling establishment of Israel, terrorists who enjoy the respectability conferred by power.

It's not simply that he's a virulently anti-Soviet Zionist politician. Ben Gurion, after all, was fluent in Arabic and a master of hypocrisy, the vaseline of bourgeois democracy. But Koch is the counterpart of the present butchers in power in Jerusalem, like Menachem Begin, whose Irgun massacred Arab villagers at Deir Yassin and blew up the King David Hotel; or Yitzhak Shamir, whose Stern Gang assassinated British high commissioner Lord Moyne and UN observer Count Bernadotte. The Stern Gang declared for the Nazi "New Order" and tried to ally with Hitler in World War II. Forty years later Sharon proclaimed a "New Order" in Lebanon and his spokesman called for a "final solution" to the "Palestinian problem."

These guys are not different in their mentality from the SS division commanders who put down the Warsaw ghetto uprising. When the British firebombed whole German cities, they always explained it was an "accident" or they "had to do it." But when the Germans divebombed Rotterdam, they said it was a policy of *Schrecklichkeit*, of pure terror. That's Koch all over. At the height of the 1982 invasion when Israeli warplanes were leveling West Beirut, killing god-knows-how-many Arabs, Koch went to Israeli-occupied Lebanon to embrace the bloody butcher Sharon. At the same time, Koch is really more akin to the strutting Mussolini than to Hitler atop his awesome German military machine. Italian fascism, reflecting its weaker base, was vicious but less efficient; it took Italy 20 years to conquer Libya's tiny population. As befits the weak social base of Jewish fascism in America, Koch will prove historically to be a sick joke—but it's no joke while you're living through it.

Koch believes that Jews deserve special privileges and everyone else is trying, every day in every way, to obliterate Judaism. Thus when Bonn announced arms sales to the Saudis, Koch declared that "Germany is once again embarked on a program to destroy my people." The same kind of reasoning was shown in a recent ad in the *New York Times* (9 March). "A Letter to the World from Jerusalem," which treats all non-Jews (really all non-Zionists) as Nazis, as in, "Do you really believe that after Dachau and Auschwitz we are frightened by your threats of blockades and sanctions?" This is an extremely dangerous mentality, one which disarmed Central European Jews in the face of Hitler. They couldn't tell the difference between one more bunch of pogromists and genocide. Today Israeli leaders think they have the right to blow up the planet—and they already have the means. This kind of "Masada complex" threatens us all, *especially* the Jews.

Backlash Mayor

If they love him in Queens, Harlem hates Koch—passionately and justly. When the mayor showed up at the Diana Ross concert in Central Park last spring he was booed by hundreds of thousands of black youth. And municipal judge "Turn 'Em Loose" Bruce Wright spoke for black New York when he said that trying to talk to Koch was like starting a "pissing contest with a skunk."

From Day One, Koch's record as mayor has been an unmitigated trail of racist horrors. He rode into office on a wave of racist backlash, peddling the politics of death even as the bank-induced "fiscal crisis" was making an economic graveyard out of New York. "Hi, I'm Ed Koch, I'm for capital punishment," he'd say as he shook voters' hands at the subway stops, scapegoating blacks with his "Fear City" theme. Echoing the "Night of the Animals" press hysteria which followed the looting in Con Ed's June 1977 blackout, he attacked incumbent Abe Beame for not calling in the National Guard to "protect" the city against its black population. Once in office Koch dumped his "reformer" anti-Tammany Hall image to declare war on the "poverticians"—welfare was slashed, summer job programs scratched, every token advance won by blacks through a decade of struggle in the '60s was put on the chopping block.

Koch has a chapter in *Mayor* on Charlotte Street, the South Bronx wasteland which has become the symbol of the brutality of life in black and

AP

WV Photo

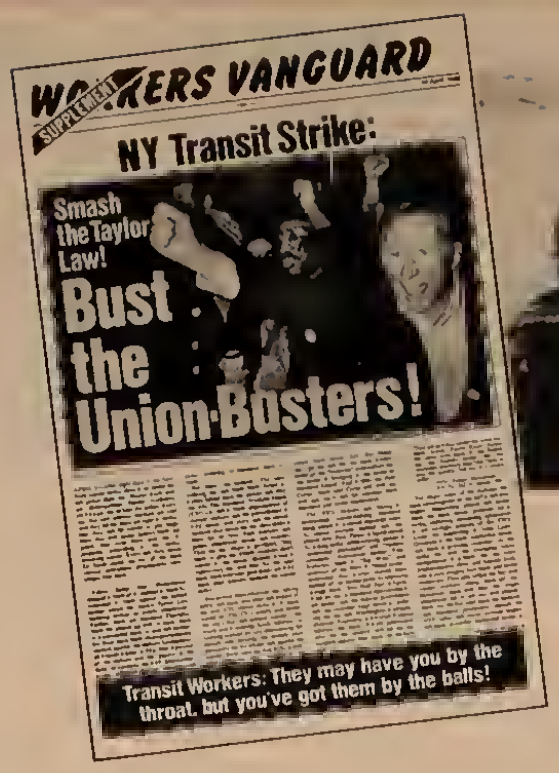
Koch's cossacks bust heads of Harlem protesters fighting against closing of Sydenham Hospital, 1980.

Puerto Rican New York. Arson-for-profit fires have produced an eerie horror of miles upon miles of abandoned burnt-out buildings and bulldozed wreckage where once there was a city. Every politician comes to Charlotte Street—Carter, Reagan, even the pope. But nothing ever happens, nothing can happen: the decaying racist capitalist system which created Charlotte Street as its supreme monument is incapable of changing it. Big MAC financial wizard Felix Rohatyn called for tearing down the South Bronx and blacktopping it. Koch baptized it "Charlotte Gardens" and put up a couple of ranch houses with white picket fences in the middle of the rubble. Meanwhile he plasters decals on the broken windows of buildings facing the major thoroughfares, hoping to hide the destruction. Things got so bad that former city councilman Gilberto Gerona-Valentin called for Soviet aid to the South Bronx. Koch's response was to redistrict him out of a job.

But it was the closing of Sydenham Hospital, on 125th Street in the heart of Harlem, which became the focus of black protest—as Koch put it in *Mayor*, Sydenham "was a kind of litmus test and a rallying point against the Koch administration." For the poor, the emergency room is the family doctor: 24-hour access is a life-and-death question when the old take sick, or the baby gets burned playing near the stove. Here in the ghetto, where infant mortality rates rival that of Third World countries, where TB rates are ten times the national average, Koch's campaign to close down Sydenham, along with Metropolitan Hospital in East Harlem, was correctly seen as racist murder. Protesters denounced "Koch's Killer Cuts."

Beginning in mid-September 1980, 60 demonstrators began a sit-in inside the hospital; each day the crowds outside grew. Koch railed against "rabble rousers" and the "black mob" as police denounced "communists" and "white agitators" who "might bring guns into the community." Labor/black mass action began to materialize as black Hospital Workers Local 420 and transit workers, neighborhood activists, leftists, tenants and church organizations mobilized. The climax came after five days when an army of 500 police was massed around Sydenham to confront a demonstration of 2,000. There was a bloody cop riot as Koch's cossacks charged into the defenseless crowd, clubs swinging and guns drawn, picking out the most militant protesters for the most vicious treatment.

So when Koch dared to show his face in Harlem last summer at the police brutality hearings, the furious crowd ran him out. While the hearings had been set up by the black Democrats as a controlled legalistic session, outraged blacks sent the "respectable" Black Elected Officials packing along with the mayor, turning the armory into a "people's tribunal" where the masses' testimony was heard. They spoke of the racist terror which stalks the streets of NYC, from the case of young black artist (and son of a transit worker), Michael Stewart, choked to death by a transit cop, and the cover-up which stretched to the highest municipal authorities; to black transit worker Willie Turks, beaten to death by a white racist mob in the Gravesend section of Brooklyn. One of Turks' killers was given a token sentence and the rest are walking the streets today, thanks to Brooklyn D.A., liberal Democrat Liz Holtzman.



During 1980 transit strike Koch incited white middle-class commuters against heavily black union. Left: special WV transit strike supplement.

Levin/Black Star photos

Transit Strike Showdown

In ramming through the massive cutbacks of social services for the black and Hispanic populations, in going after the municipal unions, Edward Koch was point man for the whole of the capitalist class. And from Jerry Ford (who told NYC to "Drop Dead") to Carter and Reagan, America's rulers aren't exactly wearing "I Love New York" buttons. As we put it four years ago: "The racist WASP politicians that run this country try to paint New York as a city filled with welfare chiselers and

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Zionist Racists Exploit

Jesse Jackson's Disgusting Anti-Semitic Slur

Black Democratic presidential candidate Jesse Jackson has become the darling of rad-lib types and the reformist left. The would-be builder of the "rainbow coalition" is hailed in particular as a champion of minorities. So it was something of an embarrassment for his fake-left cheerleaders—who also claim to be staunch enemies of anti-Semitism—when their hero called Jews "Hymies" and New York City "Hymietown" in a conversation with black *Washington Post* reporter Milton Coleman. At first Jackson tried to deny what he had said, but was finally forced to apologize: "However innocent and unintended, it was wrong." And the Zionist lobby picked up on Jackson's disgusting slur with glee.

Such anti-Semitic jibes at New York City have long been a staple of Middle-America bigotry. The great metropolis, with its large and influential Jewish community, has never really been considered part of America by the rest of the country. In the 1930s-40s the city was called "Jew York" by Middle-America racists. And Jackson's "Hymietown" remark will do him no harm as he glad-hands Dixiecrats like George Wallace in the Southern Democratic primaries.

From the start we have told the truth about the Jesse Jackson campaign (see "Jesse Jackson: Front Man for the Racist Democrats," *WV* No. 344, 16 December 1983). An unprincipled opportunist and demagogue, he is an enemy of black struggle. His main purpose is to channel the oppressed black masses' just anger against Reagan into traditional Democratic Party ethnic politics. Whether it comes to protectionist attacks on Japanese imports or agitating black GIs in West Germany to defend the "free world" against the Soviet Union, Jackson serves the interests of U.S. imperialism. And his anti-Semitism only underscores his ties to America's white racist rulers.

Anti-Zionism Does Not Equal Anti-Semitism

The "Hymietown" scandal has focused attention on the long-standing hostility of the Jewish establishment to Jackson and rekindled the debate about black anti-Semitism. Jewish community leaders have been out for Jackson's blood ever since he embraced Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasir Arafat during a trip to the Near East in 1979. A group of right-wing Zionist thugs, calling themselves "Jews Against Jackson" (reportedly an offshoot of the fascistic Jewish Defense League), have harassed, hounded and disrupted his campaign since the very day he announced his candidacy. So-called "respectable" Jewish leaders have not denounced these racist attacks, nor have they been the subject of finger-wagging editorials in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*.

The fact is that those who rant most about "black anti-Semitism" are themselves violent racists who believe the only good Palestinian Arab is a dead one. New York mayor Ed Koch, New York teachers union head Albert Shanker, the *Commentary* crowd, all supported Israel's genocidal invasion of Lebanon in the summer of 1982. Jackson's "Hymie" baiting is grist for the Zionist propaganda mills. For this slimy demagogue reinforces their big lie, that anti-Zionism equals anti-Semitism.

Jackson's defenders on the left argue that his condemnation of Israeli policy and support for Palestinian rights do not equal anti-Semitism. That is true. But Jackson has bought the Zionist myth. He sees no difference between Jews and Zionists and therefore between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism. Thus, during his famous 1979 Near East tour when he embraced Arafat, Jackson exclaimed:

> "I'm sick and tired of hearing about the Holocaust and having Americans being put in the position of a guilt trip. We have to get on with the issues of today and not talk about the Holocaust."
>
> —*New York Times Magazine*, 4 March 1984

He also correctly stated, "The Jews do not have a monopoly in suffering." Every American black and Palestinian Arab knows that very well.

WV Photo

The Nazis' systematic extermination of six million Jews—almost all of European Jewry outside the Soviet Union—is one of the most terrible crimes in history. No one should forget this! To remember the Nazi Holocaust in no way justifies or mitigates the crimes of the "Jewish state" against the Palestinian Arab people. It is the Zionists—the Begins, Sharons and Kochs—who maintain that the Holocaust gives them license to kill anyone and everyone they deem their enemy.

Zionism and the Rightward Shift

Today the most prominent black political figure in the country indulges in anti-Semitic slurs, while in Ed Koch, New York City has the most flagrantly racist mayor outside those Mississippi hamlets where the city council doubles

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Ed Koch Racist Pig...

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kill-crazy ax-murderers. They act as if they would like to see this black, Jewish, Puerto Rican, Italian and union town sliced off and floated into the Atlantic Ocean. But the capitalists ultimately *need* New York, as they will quickly find out in a transit strike!"

For Koch the high point of his administration so far was the 1980 subway strike, when the grinning union-buster mobilized the white middle class against the heavily black transit workers. In *Mayor* he writes:

> "There was something in the atmosphere of strikebound New York that made people, and not just me, ebullient. Women in their Madison Avenue business suits strode along wearing their Uptown nylons and their jogging sneakers. People pulled rusty bicycles out of basements. Everyone had an excuse for being a little late. On the rainy days, New Yorkers looked as if they'd just stood under a downspout. Somehow, all those things made people feel better about themselves and their city."

Strikebreaking really turned Koch on. As he stood out on Brooklyn Bridge at 8 a.m. each morning asking people, "How'm I doing?" he wasn't just showing off. He roused the white collar workers hoofing it over the bridge from their gentrified Park Slope brownstones to their Wall Street jobs in defiance of the strike. It recalled the Chilean counterrevolutionaries mobilizing the enraged middle class housewives banging their pots and pans as a prelude to Pinochet's bloody coup, which slaughtered tens of thousands of Chilean workers.

DeLucia/NY Times

Angry black residents drive Koch out of police brutality hearings in Harlem last summer.

WV Photo

South Bronx: Koch's "Charlotte Gardens" ranch houses amid the rubble.

Koch claimed, "The City won the strike in the streets; the Metropolitan Transportation Authority lost it at the bargaining table." From the point of view of militant transit workers, however, the story (as we put it) was "Strikers Winning in the Streets... Union Misleaders Sell Out at the Bargaining Table." While it was true the "young urban professionals" were tripping happily along at first, a month of rainy days and Mondays dragging their asses to work was sure to get the "yuppies" down. Meanwhile, the threat of "dreaded gridlock" hung over the city as the financial center of U.S. imperialism was grinding slowly to a halt. As we said in our strike special: "Transit Workers: They may have you by the throat, but you've got them by the balls!":

> "The TWU solidly shut down the city's bus and subway system—the trains aren't running. Koch, however, is running around the city denouncing the unions and rallying the middle class politically for his all-out war against the unions. Both sides are dug in for a cold, hard economic duel, waiting to see whose nerve breaks first. But things can't go on like this for long. Underneath all the 'funstrike' atmosphere lies the threat of bringing in the army or National Guard. And if they do, then Carter, Koch and Carey will find out that you can't run the subways with bayonets and court injunctions!"
>
> —"Bust the Union Busters!" *WV* strike supplement, 11 April 1980

Koch was pissed because he was after more than concessions which the MTA wrung out of the union bargaining committee. He was out to break the TWU. He demanded prosecution of Local 100 and individual members to the hilt under the state's Taylor Law, forbidding government employees to strike. He demanded immediate elimination of the dues checkoff from transit workers' paychecks. The checkoff was later suspended and strikers hit with whopping fines. And it was fear of losing their guaranteed income provided via the state that caused the TWU tops to buckle. But the whole system—giving the capitalist state control over the union pursestrings—is guaranteed to lead to disaster. The union had to prepare for all-out struggle—it's *insane* to place the union's strike funds in the hands of the enemy! That is why the Committee for a Fighting TWU is fighting for elected shop stewards to collect the dues, toward building a powerful union prepared to struggle.

In *Mayor*, Koch writes, "The labor people...fight us tooth and nail. And that is what we have to do." Unfortunately the "labor people" didn't fight tooth and nail, but were terrified to mobilize the union's massive social power precisely because it would mean a showdown with the state. When Koch was out there building support for union-busting on the bridge, our message was to hang tough and put the TWU in the vanguard of all city workers, poor and minorities. What was needed, we said, was "A Transit Strike to Save New York." Support from transit riders could be won by resurrecting and *fighting for* the TWU's traditional demand for "free transit fare." When the turnstiles are ripped out, no more black youths will be shot down by trigger-happy transit cops for "turnstile jumping." As we wrote in the strike supplement, "The transit strikers must fight Carter, Koch and Carey *politically*, just as the politicians are fighting against the TWU."

During his Brooklyn Bridge antics, Koch railed against the "wackos," by which he meant anyone opposing his strikebreaking crusade. A couple of people actually took a whack at the mayor. When a frustrated Teamster waited at the bridge and tried to wipe that Howdy Doody grin off Koch's face, it was a heartfelt punch from all of us. And we hailed the Progressive Labor doc, Dr. Nayvin Gordon, who threw an egg in Koch's face when that budget-ax murderer had the gall to speak at the American Public Health Association convention in the midst of his ghetto hospital-slashing spree. But gut hatred and a pow in the kisser won't change a thing. What's needed is powerful labor action mobilizing the ghetto masses to bring the city bosses to their knees. We need a transit strike that *wins*. And for that you have to dump the current leadership of the labor movement, both the "in" and "out" bureaucrats, the losers who tie the unions' hands by binding them to Koch's Democratic Party.

"We're Not Partners"

Koch upset the city union tops' cozy relationship with the Democratic "friends of labor" in Gracie Mansion. "Mayatollah" Koch gleefully described how the bureaucrats squealed like stuck pigs when he declared the "partnership" over. Just after he was elected, the new mayor met with the big *machers* of NYC labor in December 1977. They were all there—Albert Shanker (teachers), Victor Gotbaum (city workers), Barry Feinstein (Teamsters), also PBA head Sam De Milia and the ubiquitous "labor consultant" Jack Bigel—the very ones who engineered the dumping of union pension funds down the Big MAC rathole. Koch writes:

> "And everything is wonderful and we are all on the same track behind the Rohatyn plan and Bigel happens to mention that we—the City and the unions—are partners.
>
> "I say, 'Just a moment, fellas. Can I say something? There is no government by partnership or government by committee here. Let's make sure we all understand that. I was elected. Not you....'
>
> "Then, after a hushed silence, they say, 'Okay, we're not partners,' and the meeting goes on. But that was the first time I can recall that it was laid out to them that this Mayor was not going to be their patsy."

Yet in Koch's million-dollar 1985 re-election fund, donations of several thousand dollars each are reported from Gothaum and Feinstein's unions and the Longshoremen. Someone's a patsy here, and it ain't Koch.

As hatchet man for the capitalist class, Ed Koch presides over the devastation of New York City. All preventive maintenance on the subways was canceled for four years: now motors fall out of subway cars, buses fall apart not only because of massive corruption in the TA but also due to pothole-riddled streets. Every time it rains hard, whole sections of the city are blacked out due to exposed wiring and tunnel flooding. Koch laid off thousands of sanitationmen when he "won" the two-man garbage truck, made possible by replacing metal trash cans with plastic bags—to the glee of the city's burgeoning rat population. NYC schools are so bad that of the 6,000 teachers hired every September, one-third are gone by the end of the second week. A few more years of this deliberate destruction and the movie *Escape from New York* may not be a horror fantasy but the barbaric reality.

So what are we going to do about this racist pig mayor? Koch got a little taste of what he deserved last summer when angry blacks drove him out of the police brutality hearings in Harlem. But it will take more than Harlem and Bed-Stuy, where Koch is universally hated, to bring him down. To run the likes of Koch out for good will take a fighting labor movement leading the ghetto poor. The heavily black transit union is key—Bust the Union-Busters! ■

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Jackson...

(continued from page 7)

as the local KKK chapter. Yet it was not all that long ago that the black and Jewish communities were considered the staunchest supporters of Democratic Party liberalism.

No section of white American society was as sympathetic to the Southern civil rights movement as the Northern Jewish communities. In the early 1960s *Commentary*, the organ of the American Jewish Committee, which now criticizes Reagan from the right, ran article after article praising Martin Luther King and the SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) militants. Albert Shanker—believe it or not—was an early civil rights activist. The liberal political alliance between blacks and Jews, as the main outsiders in American society, lasted from Roosevelt's New Deal through the early-mid 1960s.

At the same time, American capitalism tended to set the Jewish and black communities against one another. In a number of U.S. cities the black ghetto exists today where the Jewish ghetto of East European immigrants existed yesterday. Thus, a black ghetto dweller often identifies Jews with his landlord or shopkeeper. But the undercurrent of anti-Semitism among some blacks is not of the "civilized" ruling-class variety which periodically results in anti-Jewish pogroms and extermination in gas ovens. Indeed it cannot be. For the oppression of blacks and Jews in the U.S. is fundamentally different. Jews in the U.S. today are generally well-off and comfortable, while blacks are impoverished, miserable, brutalized by the cops and forced to live in ghetto hellholes. At the same time, Jews, even if relatively privileged, have a deep sense of historic oppression.

Traditionally, Jews lived for centuries in "other peoples' countries." They have often been targets of nationalists of all stripes who lead the pogroms against "the alien Jew." It is a tragic fact of history that Jews got "their" state (Israel) in the epoch when the capitalist nation-state has become a force of reaction. To the extent that Zionism has become politically dominant in the American Jewish community, a large section of Jews shifted radically from a posture of enlightened cosmopolitanism of a liberal or left-wing variety to an increasingly rabid nationalism as Zionist Israel moved ever rightward.

From then-Israeli ambassador Yitzhak Rabin successfully hustling votes for Nixon in 1972 on the basis that a "strong America" is good for the Jews, to the marshaling of support to the anti-Soviet war drive in the name of Soviet Jewry, a section of the Jewish community has placed itself actively on the far right wing of American politics. This Zionist-nationalist shift forms the political background of the anti-black Jewish backlash in the U.S. in the late 1960s.

Jews Join the White Backlash

Increasingly, Jews viewed black demands for economic advancement as a threat to their own status. The New York City Jewish community, for example, reacted strongly against the black demand that admission to the city's tuition-free colleges be proportional to the ethnic make-up of the high school student population. Admissions had been based on academic competition, and as a result the student bodies at City College and Brooklyn College were overwhelmingly Jewish. The case of City College was especially galling for blacks, since it was located on the fringe of Harlem.

The sharpest confrontation between black radicalism and the Jewish community in this period was the 1968 New York City teachers strike. In the name of "community control," a black school district superintendent in Brooklyn attempted to turn the teaching staff into his personal fiefdom and to break the heavily Jewish United Federation of Teachers (UFT), led by Albert Shanker, in Ocean Hill-Brownsville. This fit neatly into plans by the Ford Foundation and New York's liberal mayor, John Lindsay, to bust the power of the UFT and set the minorities against the unions. Significantly, the main black organizer of scabbing during the '68 teachers strike, Albert Vann, is today Jesse Jackson's New York campaign manager. The Spartacist League stood against the stream, defending the trade-union movement against this major attack by bourgeois liberals and their black front men, while insisting that organized labor must champion black rights and struggle against racism.

Spearheading the racist backlash within the Jewish community was the Jewish Defense League (JDL), founded in Brooklyn in 1969. Today the JDL is seen rightly as a dangerous group of violent Zionist crazies. Its founder, Meir Kahane, soon emigrated to Israel in order to terrorize West Bank Palestinians. But the JDL originated primarily as an *anti-black* paramilitary organization. Its first act was to picket a black nationalist college teacher, John Hatchett, who had denounced Jewish "domination" of the NYC Board of Education. A few months later Kahane's thugs first gained public notoriety when they threatened to break the legs of well-known black radical James Forman if he entered Manhattan's prestigious synagogue, Temple Emanu-El. The same political climate in the Jewish community which gave rise to the fascistic JDL a few years later gave New York City mayor Ed Koch, the most racist administration in its modern history.

The growing anti-black attitude among American Jewry was strongly reinforced by its unquestioning, indeed fanatical, attachment to Zionist Israel. American Jews act like they have dual citizenship. And, in fact, they do. Israel is the only country where an American can emigrate and still keep his U.S. citizenship rights.

One effect of the black radicalism of the 1960s has been to make black activists identify with the dark-skinned peoples of the world oppressed by Western imperialism. Many politically conscious blacks sympathize with the dispossessed Palestinians under the boot of a state whose racist arrogance equals only that of South Africa. And, in fact, the relations between Israel and South Africa are quite close.

At the same time, black leaders have tended to put themselves forward as America's natural ambassadors to the so-called "Third World." Well attuned to the voting patterns in the UN general assembly, some black establishment figures like Jackson and Andrew Young publicly criticized Israel and expressed sympathy for the Palestinian cause. For the rabid Zionists who pervade the American Jewish community, anyone who embraces Arafat deserves the same treatment. So today the most prominent black political figure in the United States, Jesse Jackson, probably cannot walk unguarded through New York City's Jewish neighborhoods.

Everybody knows that a victory for fascism in this country would send blacks to the American version of Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen. And Jews would not be spared. But a lot of Jews think they can escape anti-Semitism by becoming part of the mainstream in white racist America. To cover their insecurity they indulge in flag-waving chauvinism and proudly point to Israel as America's main "free world" ally in the Near East. Jews who think like this—and many do—are living in a fool's paradise. Remember, the Holocaust occurred in advanced, modern Germany, where Jews were more integrated than in any other European country.

Moral Majority racists may hate Jesse Jackson as much as the Zionists do, but they hate Jews too. A fascist movement in this country will target not only blacks but also Jews, who many lower-class white racists believe wield enormous and sinister power. "We must get rid of the Jews who run Wall Street and put in a real white man's government," is part and parcel of the fake-populist appeal of Klan/Nazi demagogues. The future of blacks and Jews in this country is linked together. In strengthening the forces of racist reaction in white America, the Ed Kochs, Albert Shankers and the *Commentary* gang are deadly *enemies* of the Jewish people as well as of all humanity. Only the victory of proletarian socialism can destroy the danger of fascism once and for all and save us from another and even greater holocaust. ■

Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 2)

cist, was called to the infamous fourth floor of the Secret Police (CID) to be questioned on articles explaining our position on the Tamil national question and against the oppression of the Tamil people. Here a police officer abused him in filthy language and severely assaulted him. This cannot be treated as an isolated incident. It is a result of state repression extended to the leftists.

After completely creating the suitable economic and legislative environment for capitalist exploitation, now J.R.'s government has lined up behind Reagan for anti-Soviet activities. The discussions J.R. had with the chairman of the U.S. Congress defence committee, Joseph Addabbo, and with the U.S. Congress delegation during the past few days reflects the keenness of the government to move closer and closer to the anti-Soviet camp. It is reported that J.R. asked them to "provide a large ship capable of strengthening the Sri Lanka Navy and to provide modern combat training to the Sri Lanka Navy personnel." The delegation had informed J.R. that, "we will recommend to the U.S. government to immediately release US$350,000 for Lanka's defence activities" and that they will consider the "special request." These are the same things that American imperialists do elsewhere in the world.

It is clearly seen that the opportunity for American military activities as in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Grenada to be repeated in this country is not too distant. This pro-imperialist programme of the UNP led by J.R. should be defeated. Tamil people's rights and their security should be guaranteed. Suppression of the left movement should be defeated. The plans to offer even an inch of land from this country to American imperialists for their war drive against the Soviet Union should be smashed. Only through workers' actions can all plans of the capitalist class and of their government be defeated.

Spartacist League/Lanka
16 January 1984

Letter...

(continued from page 2)

socialist federation. There are also lesser variants—we would have somewhat more confidence in the impartiality of the Soviet Army, but that would entail starting World War III. We can certainly solidarize with the several thousand Tamils who marched to the Soviet embassy in London during the massacre last year demanding "Russia help Tamils!" Fortunately, unlike many comparable situations, there was a practical and probably not too deleterious possibility, encapsulated in our demand: "Patriation of Tamils in Sinhala areas to the North under protection of the Indian army!"

India has not managed to become an imperialist power. Every act of aggression by a stronger state against a weaker one hardly constitutes imperialism as we Leninists understand it, unless imperialism is to lose its scientific meaning and become an empty moral epithet. Would you call the several decades of India-Pakistan conflict "inter-imperialist," or rather the rotten legacy of the withdrawal of British imperialism leaving a bitterly divided subcontinent? Of course, short of socialist revolution, with the strong pitted against the weak one gets abuse and oppression, conquest and annexation. Indira Gandhi is as much an oppressor of India's national/religious minorities as Jayewardene is of Lanka's. But the Indian government is not in an easy position to annex Lanka (though it is not clear that they shouldn't be united in the long run, albeit on a very different social foundation).

Lankan Tamils are directly related to a numerous and powerful Indian people, the tens of millions of Tamils in India, thereby rendering virtually impossible that the Indian army would become the national oppressor of this Indian people in Lanka. There is a reasonable expectation that the Indians would come in, do their assigned job and leave. Your comparison of the Indian army to French and American imperialist "peacekeepers" or UN forces in Beirut misses the mark. These forces were hostile to the Palestinians; they disarmed and removed the protectors of the refugee camps; and there was a war in progress in which the PLO could have stayed the threat of massacre by tenaciously fighting the Israelis inside Beirut. A more apt analogy would be the hypothetical use of Libyan troops (if they had the military capability) protecting the withdrawal of Palestinian refugees.

The real force of imperialism in the situation emanates from Washington: it is U.S. imperialism's appetite for a naval base at Trincomalee, the finest deep water harbor in the Indian Ocean, which fuels the anti-Tamil massacres. (It is reported that Trinco was a subject of discussions between Jayewardene and U.S. "defense" secretary Weinberger and former deputy CIA director Walters who visited Sri Lanka last October.) What is posed is whether Lanka will be a staging area for U.S. hegemony over the Indian Ocean in its drive for encirclement and war against Vietnam and the Soviet Union; or will Lanka, through the bridge of the Tamil toilers, be a staging area for proletarian revolution in the Indian subcontinent? No doubt Gandhi dislikes the former but fears the latter even more. For that reason she offers to send the Indian army to Lanka not to defend the Tamils but to "reinforce" J.R.'s army. But the demand for Indian army protection, like the program of which it is a part, is addressed not to Indira Gandhi but to the deeply felt needs and social power of the Tamil working people of the entire region. ■

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U.S. War Piracy...

(continued from page 1)

recently threatened to shoot down any plane coming near one of its ships off Lebanon. But the most brazen of all is the *Kitty Hawk* incident, part of a mammoth joint U.S.-South Korean exercise. The day before, planes from the U.S. carrier provided air cover for a "simulated amphibious landing of 50,000 United States and South Korean marines" near Pohang (*New York Times*, 22 March). How would Reagan like it if the Soviets staged a similar exercise on Cuba's Isle of Pines, and then tried to sink an American sub to boot?

For the *Kitty Hawk* was clearly trying to kill the Russian sub. Initial Navy disinformation accused the Soviet commander of intentionally colliding with the mammoth supercarrier 16 times its size. But ABC-TV reporter John McQuethy dug up the dramatic story. He reported that the Soviet submarine had been having "apparent mechanical problems for more than a day, repeatedly surfacing and submerging." The U.S. commander had "purposely broken off tracking the several submarines in the area, and the *Kitty Hawk* was making a diversionary run." It sliced into the Soviet sub as the latter was coming to the surface and, "By coincidence the *Kitty Hawk* approached the submarine from the rear. Because of a submarine's own propeller turbulence, its sonar is blind to the rear and the Soviets probably never knew what hit them." McQuethy added: "Pentagon sources say if the collision had occurred just a minute later, the Soviet 'Victor' submarine would have been demolished by the 80,000-ton aircraft carrier" (ABC Network News, 22 March).

While trying to pass off the string of U.S. war provocations last week as evidence of "expansion of Soviet naval power," the "free but responsible" capitalist press has deep-sixed information about the current mobilization of American forces against the Russians. Three major U.S. anti-Soviet naval exercises are currently under way. In the Sea of Japan there is Operation "Team Spirit 84" involving more than *200,000* U.S. and South Korean troops; last year it included maneuvers in tactical nuclear warfare. Simultaneously, "Team Work 84" is being held off Norway involving some 150 NATO ships. This is described in the 5 March *Navy Times* as "a massive allied exercise that includes an amphibious assault on North Norway." And scheduled to begin in the Caribbean on April 20 is "Ocean Venture 84"—involving 30,000 American sailors, marines, airmen and soldiers—which will include a "practice reinforcement" of the U.S. base in Guantánamo, Cuba. This is all in addition to the Sixth Fleet positioned off Beirut and almost three dozen American warships poised in the Indian Ocean and at the entrance to the Persian Gulf.

Particularly after their fiasco in Lebanon, where the U.S. had to pull out with its tail between its legs, Reagan & Co. are trying to put a global squeeze on the Soviets. The current focus is Central America, where the Pentagon is mounting a whole series of "exercises" as a means of introducing American forces while circumventing the War Powers Act. Over the weekend, 250 paratroopers of the 82nd Airborne were dropped into Honduras on a "no-notice" operation named "Kilo Punch." Earlier the carrier *America* had been dispatched to the Central American coast as part of "Ocean Venture," now supplemented by the nuclear cruiser *Virginia* and two other warships. And the planned exercise "Granadero I," originally scheduled for June, was moved up to April 1. In addition there are reportedly another 1,900 U.S. "trainers," support troops and a military intelligence battalion stationed in Honduras as Washington builds the infrastructure for a full-scale invasion.

The current excuse for the U.S. military buildup in Central America is to support "free elections" in El Salvador. These are "Yankee intervention elections" in more ways than one. As a vote they are a joke—even the Salvadoran government's election board now admits that more than a quarter of the ballots in the '82 vote were fraudulent. This time almost a third of the towns are in the hands of leftist rebels of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and elsewhere total confusion reigned. There may have to be a runoff between the Christian Democratic butcher Napoleón Duarte and the head of the death squads, "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson. And in either case there may be an army coup. But when the results are eventually decided in consultation between the U.S. Embassy and the Salvadoran general staff it will be proclaimed a "freely elected government," worthy of backing by a "free world" expeditionary force as were various South Vietnamese puppet dictators.

Smarting from its humiliating defeat by the Vietnamese peasants and workers in the mid-1970s, U.S. imperialism has been straining to reestablish its hegemony ever since. Democrat Carter launched a new anti-Soviet Cold War which Republican Reagan has been trying to heat up from the beginning of his administration. While the rest of the left has been trailing after the Democrats in an anti-Reagan popular front and pretending that Central America has nothing to do with the anti-Soviet war drive, the Spartacist League has uniquely proclaimed, "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!" In the last nine months the vital importance of defending the Soviet Union has dramatically escalated as the U.S. goes from one anti-Soviet war provocation to the next, beginning with Korean Air Lines Flight 007. After overflying the Soviets' most sensitive Far Eastern military installations on its spy mission, the KAL passenger jet, presumed by the Russians to be a military plane, was shot down and plummeted into the Sea of Japan. Now, only a few hundred miles away, the USS *Kitty Hawk* perpetrates a new crime against a Soviet sub on the high seas.

Today the Soviet Union faces the most ominous danger since Hitler launched Operation Barbarossa in 1941. Nuclear-armed American imperialism is under the command of an anti-Communist fanatic every bit as crazed as the Nazi Führer. In Reagan's crusade to "roll back" the Soviet "evil empire," first-strike plans are closely linked to a policy of provocation—from Central America to the Mediterranean to the Far East. The global nuclear confrontation looming on the horizon pits the combined imperialist powers against the Soviet bloc workers states. And in this conflict the exploited and oppressed masses of the world have a side: Defend the homeland of the October Revolution and all the anti-capitalist revolutions against imperialist reconquest! The world working class must take power from the war-crazy capitalists before it is too late—and time is running out! ■

British Spy Center...

(continued from page 5)

exclaimed, "they've got unions too! Goddamn British unions with strikes for longer tea breaks, work-to-rules every other Thursday and shop stewards who speak Russian!" So the U.S. demanded improved security vetting [checks] with polygraphs and a union ban. And the diehard anti-Communist union-hater Thatcher was only too happy to comply.

True to form, the Labour Party/trade-union misleaders have sought to turn the defence of trade-union rights at Cheltenham into a question of (bourgeois) "national interest." Their rallying cry is not "Defend the unions" but "Who is endangering national security?" CPSA (civil servants association) head Alistair Graham pleaded that his members would be distressed if they really damaged the spy network at Cheltenham and vowed he would have given Thatcher a no-strike pledge if she'd only asked. In Parliament [right-wing Labour leader] Denis Healey complained that the decision was a "kick in the teeth for all those union leaders who had been prepared to try to develop a constructive relationship with the Government." From the "left," Tony Benn chimed in with a reported comment about how he helped set up "positive vetting" (nice polite English security checks without horrible American lie detectors) when in office. Throughout the dispute the bureaucrats, Labour and union alike, worked overtime to channel working-class anger into social-chauvinist concern for the effective functioning of the imperialist anti-Soviet war machine.

As fighters for the interests of all workers and oppressed, we oppose the very existence of counterrevolutionary spy agencies like GCHQ and its NSA big brother. But we recognise that the imperialists' bloody state spying and snooping can only be ended through mobilising the working class to rip power from the hands of the capitalists through socialist revolution. Even then, rather than shut down GCHQ the victorious proletariat might well need to turn it around against the inevitable bourgeois reaction at home and abroad. (We'd have to rename it though: perhaps the Donald Maclean Communications HQ?)

Der Spiegel

Iron Lady Thatcher and Nuclear Cowboy Reagan: Union-busters and anti-Soviet warmongers.

And we certainly do not equate the white-collar clerical workers in GCHQ with their war-mad imperialist paymasters. Nor do we equate the GCHQ spy clerks with cops and prison guards, the racist armed thugs and professional strikebreakers of the ruling class whose so-called "unions" should be expelled from the labour movement. The relationship of the former to their job is the relationship of paper to pencil or keyboard to computer terminal; for the latter it is the relationship of a billy club and a gun to someone's skull and vital organs. In general, white-collar workers tend to make pretty low-grade unionists. Given the nature of the place and current circumstances, a lot of these 8,000 may not exactly be the types you'd want to recruit to a communist organisation (from all reports they voted Tory last election). But the fact that, like the American PATCO air controllers, GCHQ's workers are a normally conservative and fairly marginal sector of the labour movement points only to the depth of the Tories' attacks and intentions.

The central issue at stake here is whether these workers can exercise their fundamental right to belong to a union. Thatcher, firm upholder of "free world" (pro-capitalist) trade unions for Poland, says they can't. And behind this attack stands a much broader assault on the basic rights, the jobs and the working conditions of broad sectors of the labour movement and the oppressed. Defence of these rights and liberties requires hard class struggle to take on and defeat the capitalist attacks, and that requires the ousting of the pro-imperialist bureaucrats and the forging of a new revolutionary leadership of the labour movement. Stop the union bashers! Defend democratic rights! Defend the workers unions, defend the workers states! ■

CORRECTION

The article "Not Protectionism But Union Organization: Cleveland Steel Referendum," *WV* No. 348, 17 February 1984, incorrectly referred to Frank Valenta as head of District 31 of United Steelworkers of America. In fact Mr. Valenta is director of USWA Cleveland Lorain District 28.

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Miami...

(continued from page 12)

with hair-trigger racism to shoot blacks on instinct. Ask the mother of Patrick Mason, the five-year-old black child shot down in his own bedroom in California. Jail Alvarez and the rest of the killer cops!

The Johnson case was particularly explosive because he was shot by a Cuban cop, exacerbating the ongoing conflict between Miami's black residents and the Cubans, many of them right-wing *gusanos* and criminals kicked out of Castro's Cuba in 1980. The conflict stems from the desperate competition for jobs between the two ethnic groups. But behind that conflict is the racist reality that while the Cubans are welcomed with open arms—so that the government can foster anti-Communism and push the anti-Soviet war drive—native blacks are left to rot in ghetto hellholes and black Haitians who make it to the mainland are tortured and caged in concentration camps like the state's Krome Avenue detention center. The Reagan administration has decided to grant citizenship status to about 125,000 Cubans who came to the U.S. in 1980 from the Cuban port of Mariel, but not for the desperately poor Haitians.

Black Miami is a thoroughly polarized powder keg waiting to explode again and again. And black Miami's outrage, felt acutely by the scores who witnessed the shooting of Johnson, was fueled by the fact that this was just one of four murders of city blacks by the cops in late 1982-early 1983; another black person died in police custody of "natural causes." This cop rampage was virtual martial law against black Miami. It was a declaration to the black population: that the daily anti-black police violence and misery is going to continue and if blacks dare to even voice opposition to it, they are going to get the Grenada treatment. The capitalist system is a "no exit" scenario for black America. But there is a way to break the endless cycle of misery, outbursts and repression, and redirect black anger into a social fight for power. As we stated in "Cop Terror in Miami Ghetto" (*WV* No. 321, 14 January 1983):

> "The black ghettos in Miami are isolated and have been taking it from all sides. The mass, independent labor/black mobilization in Washington on November 27 shows the road to victory against racist attacks. To stop cop terror, to smash the Klan/Nazis, to build militant self-defense requires a break with the Democrats and building a workers party, based on the unions and fighting for the ghetto poor. That is the Trotskyist road of black-white class struggle to overturn the capitalist system and win justice against the racist killers who maintain it." ■

Southern Africa...

(continued from page 12)

ist market, their borders artificially drawn across tribal groupings by the old colonial powers—*cannot* achieve genuine national independence, much less liberation from imperialism. Despite constant declarations of undying opposition to apartheid, the black "front line" states are economic colonies of South African capitalism, the industrial powerhouse of the region. Mozambique is little more than a glorified bantustan supplying South Africa with port facilities and, most important, contract labor for its gold mines. Angola's rich diamond mines are owned by South Africa's De Beers. (Its other main export, oil, is owned by the American multinational Gulf.)

The struggle for genuine national independence for all the peoples of southern Africa is inseparably linked to the struggle for proletarian socialist revolution in South Africa. It is the black industrial proletariat of South Africa—from the gold mines of the Rand, to the docks of Durban, to the auto plants of the East Cape—which has the social power not only to overthrow white racist rule but to liberate all of black Africa from the murderous military despots, tribalist chieftains and treacherous nationalist demagogues who suck the blood of their people.

At the same time, the struggles for national liberation on the periphery of South Africa destabilize the apartheid state and inspire its black masses to resist. Thus, the Soweto uprising in the summer of 1976 erupted just months after the South African army was driven out of Angola by Cuban troops. Here we see the reciprocal dynamic of permanent revolution in southern Africa. What is needed to realize the program of permanent revolution is a Trotskyist vanguard party linking South Africa's black proletariat to the struggles for national liberation and democratic demands throughout the region. Such a communist vanguard can be forged only through political combat with petty-bourgeois nationalism.

MPLA Nationalists Become Border Guards for Apartheid

When the petty-bourgeois nationalist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) finally won independence from Portugal in 1975 after a bloody decades-long struggle, South Africa launched a massive invasion, backed by the U.S., attempting to install its puppets in power. U.S. imperialism, fresh from its humiliating defeat in Vietnam, was unable to intervene directly, and the apartheid terrorists were driven out of Angola through the introduction of thousands of dedicated Cuban troops. Now numbering between 25,000 and 30,000, the Cuban troops, armed with Soviet tanks and SAM missiles, have protected Angola's hard-won independence against the Pretoria/Washington axis.

And this protection has been desperately needed. Since 1975 South Africa has invaded Angola *12 times*, the latest and biggest attack coming last December-January. South Africa's war machine has killed several thousand Angolan villagers, uprooted millions of people, economically devastated entire regions and destroyed resources estimated at $7 billion. South Africa carved out a 30-mile-wide zone in southern Angola, from which it supplied air cover and logistics to its puppet forces of Jonas Savimbi's UNITA, wreaking terror and economic sabotage throughout the southern third of the country.

The public pretext for Pretoria's massive use of state terror in Angola was the suppression of the SWAPO (South-West Africa People's Organization) military bases. Pretoria and Washington also insisted that independence for Namibia be conditional on the "parallel" withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Until a few months ago the MPLA regime vocally rejected this "linkage" and constantly reaffirmed its support to SWAPO. Even as he was negotiating to betray them, Angola's minister of external relations, Paulo Jorge, declared, "it is the absolute duty of the Frontline states, just as it is the duty of all African countries to support the ANC, to continue to help SWAPO" (*AfricAsia*, February 1984). The MPLA nationalists are "helping" SWAPO all right—helping the South African army kill them.

Shortly after the deal with Pretoria, Angolan president Jose Eduardo dos Santos flew to Havana to discuss the question of Cuban troops. According to the Cuban-Angolan statement, which was greeted by U.S. Secretary of State Shultz, Cuban troops are to be withdrawn upon South Africa's mere *promise* to carry out various UN resolutions on Namibian independence. In other words, South Africa will still occupy Namibia, its army will still be poised on the Angola border *after* the Cuban forces are withdrawn.

Sechaba

Free ANC leader Nelson Mandela, imprisoned for 20 years by racist South African police state!

The direct and immediate victims of the Angola/South Africa deal are the SWAPO guerrillas and the peoples of Namibia. But the wily politicians of the MPLA may be too treacherous for their own good. Once the Cuban forces are gone, what is to prevent South Africa's racist rulers from tearing up their agreements, invading Angola once again and this time going all the way and installing Jonas Savimbi in Luanda's presidential palace. Honor? In any event, the MPLA nationalists are selling their people to apartheid imperialism.

Defend the African National Congress!

The past decade has seen a rising line of black struggle within white-ruled South Africa—the 1973 Durban mass strike, the Soweto uprising in 1976, the explosive growth of black trade unions. The African National Congress (ANC), which had been decimated and reduced to a shell of an organization in the 1960s, has experienced a remarkable resurgence despite savage repression. For the survival of the apartheid rulers, the destruction of the ANC is even more important than the suppression of the SWAPO guerrillas. Hence the nonaggression pact with Mozambique.

Even before this pact the Machel regime did not permit ANC military bases on its territory, only political offices. "We have made it clear to South Africa that we do not have ANC military bases and will not allow the ANC to use Mozambique as a springboard for attacks on South African territory," Machel's foreign minister stated late last year (*Washington Post*, 2 January). However, ANC militants were able to slip across the long, ill-guarded border and carry out attacks on South African police and military installations. While these raids have a very limited military effect, the political impact is great. When an ANC car-bomb attack demolished the air force headquarters in downtown Pretoria last May, all of black South Africa rejoiced at this humiliating blow against their apartheid masters.

So the apartheid rulers are determined, as the ANC put it, "to compel the independent countries of our region to act as Pretoria's agents in emasculating the ANC." Immediately after the attack on the air force headquarters in Pretoria, South African jets bombed ANC offices in Maputo, located in the same neighborhood as Machel's presidential palace. At the same time, South African-organized terrorists have been carrying out a campaign of economic sabotage, which along with drought caused the deaths of 40,000 Mozambican villagers from starvation. While starving Mozambique's people, Botha & Co. are offering the Frelimo officialdom a generous supply of Krugerrands. One of them, perhaps with an eye on opening a Swiss bank account, exulted during the negotiations for the nonaggression pact, "South Africa will give us everything we need" (*Wall Street Journal*, 7 March). Don't bet on it.

When asked by a Western journalist how a "hardline Marxist" like himself could make such a deal with the most despised imperialist country on earth, Machel replied blandly: "South Africa is a racist country with apartheid. But they, too, want peace." And, of course, South Africa's white slave masters do want peace. They want to pacify the lens of millions of black toilers under their brutal racist rule. The Machels and dos Santos have become the border guards of the vast and horrible slave plantation of South Africa/Namibia.

We hail the heroism of the ANC militants and we stand with them against the apartheid state and its black border guards like Machel and dos Santos. But their struggle against the apartheid system is subverted by the ANC's strategy, also promoted by the Stalinist Communist Party of South Africa, of seeking to pressure "liberal" elements of the white ruling class such as gold and diamond magnate Harry Oppenheimer, and the "democratic" imperialist countries, such as Reagan's America, into forcing the South African government to abandon apartheid. The apartheid system cannot be "reformed." It must be smashed. The black working class mobilizing behind it all the oppressed masses of South Africa will be the gravedigger of apartheid. On that grave, and under the leadership of a revolutionary vanguard communist party, will arise a black-centered workers and peasants government, the industrial core of a Socialist United States of Africa. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Racist Killer Cop Gets Off

Police Rampage in Black Miami

When racist killer cop Louis Alvarez gunned down an unarmed 21-year-old black youth, Nevell Johnson, Jr. on 27 December 1982, black Miami exploded in outrage over this cold-blooded murder. But when an all-white jury renewed Miami's "finest" armed thugs' license for racist murder by acquitting Alvarez on March 16, the city fathers were ready: 1,000 of these thugs in blue were mobilized in a pre-emptive strike against Miami's black population, resulting in mass racist dragnets and detentions. Some 400 black residents were hauled off and thrown in the slammer, at least 20 hospitalized and untold numbers injured.

They were the biggest mass arrests since the 1980 Miami ghetto upheaval when 1,000 people were locked up in the wake of the murder of black businessman Arthur McDuffie by four cops. This latest police riot, which hit Overtown, Liberty City and spread throughout the city's black areas, had little to do with actual ghetto explosions, however. The *Washington Post* (19 March) noted that Miami was "the city that didn't burn." This cop rampage was a massive display of police terror intended to send a racist message to black Miami: stay in your place even if the cops murder your children with impunity. Free victims of racist jailings!

UPI

AP

Cops terrorize Miami ghetto. Black residents bound in cable ties and herded into police vans.

Now one more trigger-happy racist cop is on the street. During his 18 months on the Miami force, eight citizen complaints had been filed against Alvarez. He claimed he shot Johnson because he "noticed a bulge in the small of his [Johnson's] back" and because Johnson "moved as if he were reaching for a gun" (*New York Times*, 17 March). Being black in racist, capitalist America means you can be killed for having a bulge underneath your shirt. As black Miamians watched the trial, they learned that Alvarez had violated police procedure with regard to use of his gun: his revolver was "polished and modified ...so it would fire with only a light tug on the trigger...." and he "cocked his gun to reduce the trigger pressure needed to fire" (*Washington Post*, 13 March). In other words, Alvarez' gun had a hair trigger; further, Alvarez, without permission, had ventured eleven blocks outside his normal patrol area that night—most likely looking for the kill. In the anti-black, anti-labor climate of Reagan's America, crazed police terrorists like Alvarez are being trained

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For Permanent Revolution in Southern Africa!

Black Front Line States Bow to South Africa

In the steamy no man's land along the crocodile-filled Komati River in southern Africa, a solemn diplomatic ceremony took place in a wood-paneled railroad car originally built for Britain's King George VI. Mozambique's "Marxist" president Samora Machel embraced South Africa's Pieter Botha and flourishing solid gold pens they signed a nonaggression pact pledging not to support any insurgents seeking to overthrow the other's government. In the background former Frelimo guerrillas, who had fought Portuguese colonialism, mingled amiably with white South African soldiers. To prove its new friendship with the apartheid butchers, Mozambican police have since raided the homes of African National Congress militants, seized their weapons and arrested at least four.

AP

Mozambique's president Samora Machel (left) becomes border guard for South Africa's Pieter Botha.

Across the continent a *joint* military force of 300 Angolan and 300 South African troops is now patrolling the Namibian border to enforce the recent cease-fire. Reportedly this Angolan/South African force has on three occasions encountered and bloodied groups of SWAPO guerrillas fighting to liberate black Namibia from South African rule. The so-called black "front line" states have become South Africa's front line against the forces battling apartheid imperialism.

American Cold War liberal journalist Flora Lewis observed: "The nonaggression pact with Mozambique and the cease-fire with Angola, though still tenuous, look like a triumph for South Africa" (*New York Times*, 22 March). They are no less a triumph for U.S. imperialism. In fact, the State Department's top African troubleshooter Chester Crocker brokered both deals. A decade ago U.S. imperialism suffered a major setback in southern Africa when Soviet-backed nationalist forces in Mozambique and Angola won their independence from Portuguese colonialism. Ever since, and especially after Reagan took the reins, Washington has encouraged and backed South Africa's murderous efforts to overthrow these black nationalist regimes or force them to submit to the "free world."

Mimicking his big brothers in Washington, Botha describes his campaign of massive state terror against the surrounding black states as the "promotion of stability and the strengthening of democratic forces against communist subversion" (Johannesburg *Star*, 27 November 1982). Ravaged militarily and starved into submission, the desperately impoverished bourgeois-nationalist regimes in Mozambique and Angola have been broken by South African imperialism. Once Soviet clients, they are now entering the "free world." Their entry fee is to be paid in blood, the blood of the courageous militants of the African National Congress of South Africa and the guerrillas of SWAPO who have been fighting apartheid imperialism for 18 years.

"Machel has betrayed black Africa in its quest for freedom," exclaimed a black office worker in Johannesburg (*New York Times*, 20 March). No one can question that. But what is involved here is not simply the treachery of one man, despicable as that is. The pan-Africanist notion of a classless unity against the apartheid system has always been a myth. The wretchedly backward bourgeois states of black Africa—their economies arrested by the world capital-

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 352 — 13 April 1984

For a General Strike Against Mitterrand's Austerity!

Steel Workers Rip Up France

Late last month, the government of France's "socialist" president François Mitterrand announeed plans for "restructuring" the steel industry whieh will produce some 25,000 layoffs in the next two years. In the steel and coal producing region of Lorraine, where most of the layoffs are concentrated, factory sirens sounded in protest and workers took to the streets. In the town of Longwy, the tax collector's office was sacked, doors and windows smashed at the courthouse, and protesters battled the riot police. In Paris, the Communist Party was squirming as many members asked how long the CP would continue to remain in the popular-front government—a coalition of Communists, Socialists and bourgeois technocrats—which is tearing up French industry in the interests of maintaining Freneh capitalism.

For over a year there has been a kaleidoscopie succession of protests against Mitterrand's brutal austerity plans. Many petty-bourgeois scetors, from travel agents to truckers, have been manipulated by ultra-rightist forees. Worker resistance, such as the bitter strike by immigrant workers at the Talbot auto plant near Paris, has been isolated and ground down due to the treachery of the union bureaucracy. But now the steel workers have taken the lead and their angry protests are reverberating through Franee. On Mareh 31, steel militants in Metz sacked the Socialist Party headquarters, then burned seized documents on the square in front of the building; in the south at Marseilles, angry workers smashed bus stops. Steel workers began ripping up the rails on the Paris-Luxembourg line, leading to the derailment of a shipment of iron ore.

UPI

Angry Lorraine steel workers cut rail lines between Luxembourg and Paris.

On April 4 a regional general strike was held in the Lorraine. Tens of thousands marehed, transport was shut down, priests ordered chureh bells to ring throughout the region. That night steel workers again undertook "*coup de poing*" (punch) actions aimed particularly at symbols of state power and the hourgeoisie. In Longwy, militants assaulted the eommissariat (now transformed into a police barraeks) with a deluge of bolts, ball bearings, Molotov coektails and bottles of acid. A goon squad of the Communist-led CGT union federation protected eity hall from an attaek, but a chateau belonging to the Usinor steel company was burned to the ground. The workers' anger is also having political repercussions: already two Socialist deputies have resigned from the SP parliamentary delegation and a CP mayor resigned from the party in protest against its participation in the Mitterrand regime (several other CP mayors in the region have demanded an end to the coalition).

But to mobilize the big battalions of French labor to defeat Mitterrand's "austerity" requires a political fight against the reformist misleaders. The Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), section of the international Spartacist tendency, last week sent a team to the Lorraine. The pro-SP Paris newspaper *Le Matin* (4 April) quoted our comrades' call (at a workers' rally) for a national steel strike and referred to their slogan for "a new May '68 that goes all the way!" This week a steel workers' march on Paris protesting the government's austerity/"restructuring" plans has been scheduled for April 13. Class-struggle unionists at Renault's Cléon factory near Rouen have issued a call for auto workers to join the mohilization and turn it into the kick-off for a general strike. The LTF is publishing a speeial supplement to its newspaper, *Le Bolchévik*, for the April 13 march, from which the following article is translated and adapted.

PARIS, April 12—The Mitterrand government has declared war on tiie working class. Openly. For three years, this class-collahorationist government has served as the administrators of French eapitalism, unleashing inereasingly hrutal attaeks against the working class. Coal, shipyards, steel (and soon,

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Reagan/CIA's Infamous Act of War

Defend Nicaragua— Sink the Minelayers!

APRIL 11—No wonder they eall him Adolf Reagan down in Havana. Just what do you suppose would happen if they (the KGB? the Cuhans? the Sandinistas?) mined New York harbor and the Potomac? Why, the United States would declare war in nothing flat—it would be a worldwide red alert. Everyone knows it: the U.S. mining of Nicaragua's ports is a deliberate act of war...and a cynical act of hypocrisy. Even from the point of view of the American ruling class, as today's *New York Times* editorial put it, this was "Illegal, Deceptive and Dumb." Very dumb. Already they have damaged a Soviet tanker (and the Russians don't take that sort of thing lightly). The French have offered to help sweep the mines. And Reagan

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Reinstate Victim of Witchhunt!

CWA Bureaucrats Squirm as Ranks Back Kathy Ikegami

SAN FRANCISCO—Bay Area phone workers have dealt another stinging rebuke to the attempt by their union bureaucrats to purge Militant Action Caucus member Kathy Ikegami. At the March 20 meeting of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9410, over 70 members came out and voted two-to-one to reject the bureaucrats' frame-up of Ikegami which also set up this militant unionist for firing by suspending her from the union for six months as well as fining her $300.

Ikegami has been targeted by the CWA tops, from national president Glenn Watts—who has vituperated against MAC's class-struggle policies from the podium of the CWA national convention—down to the local union flunkies who are doing the dirty work of trying to toss her out of her union. She is being hounded because MAC exposed the CWA leadership's collusion with Ma Bell's job-slashing offensive and for her support for the socialist political program of the Spartacist League. Since MAC's exposure of the phone company's plans, vehemently denied by the CWA brass, over 18,000 jobs have been lost in California alone, 50,000 nationally. But the CWA's witchhunting bureaucrats have spent two years, thousands of union dollars and literally hundreds of hours to try to purge Ikegami while doing nothing to fight the layoffs, firings and grueling forced overtime.

Kathy Ikegami (right) marches through Oakland during last summer's bitter national phone strike.

Newly appointed local president Marie Malliett is determined to carry through the purge of Ikegami begun by her predecessor, Jim Imerzel, now kicked upstairs to a staff job. Earlier, Malliett and Co. walked out of a March 9 special meeting called at membership initiative to hear Ikegami's appeal against her suspension and fine by a kangaroo court hand-picked by Imerzel. Faced with over 125 angry phone workers and more on the way in, Malliett declared the meeting adjourned for "lack of a quorum." Malliett's attempt to break up the meeting failed as the union members elected their own chairman and proceeded to unanimously support Ikegami's appeal.

At the March 20 meeting, militant phone workers again came ready to stop the purge. The minutes of the Executive Board and previous meeting were defiantly voted down. The Executive Board minutes contained the bureaucrats' motion suspending Ikegami, a blatant violation of the union rules which mandate her right to appeal before being suspended. And the minutes of the March 9 meeting simply lied, claiming no meeting had taken place!

Next, the members forced the agenda to bring to the floor the motion upholding Ikegami's March 9 appeal. Malliett once again resorted to the quorum rule, claiming no action could be taken. This quorum rule, requiring nearly 200 local members to be present to conduct official business, is invoked solely when the bureaucrats are determined to thwart the will of the membership. In the last ten years, quorums have only been attained at the once-every-three-year strike vote meetings, yet business is regularly conducted at all other meetings. In fact, the March 9 and 20 meetings were among the largest general membership meetings held in years. *Despite Malliett's insistence that the vote would have no effect, the members voted again to uphold Ikegami's appeal and reject her suspension and fine.*

Then, in an act of boundless cynicism, Malliett announced that the "official business" of nominations for delegates to the upcoming National Convention were to be taken even though she had just ruled a formal quorum lacking! Angry militants seized the opportunity and nominated Ikegami for convention delegate. Outnumbered and outvoted, the bureaucrats accepted Ikegami's nomination despite their contention that she is suspended. According to Ikegami, the 9410 misleaders are now seeking to remove her from the ballot behind the backs of the membership.

MAC's counteroffensive against the CWA tops has shaken the local bureaucrats' already tenuous hold over the membership. A year ago MAC got over 1,000 signatures on a petition to recall the witchhunters and their Klan-loving buddy, then-secretary Joe McKenna—a petition the office-bound bureaucrats proceeded to ignore. The repeated demonstrations of membership opposition to the incumbent officeholders whetted the careerist appetites of a small group of small-time out-bureaucrats and assorted fake leftists in the local. Shortly after the recall petition drive, these elements hatched a grouping called Members United for Workers Rights (MUWR), seeking to occupy a reformist middle ground between the increasingly detested pro-company bureaucrats and the class-struggle program of the MAC.

In the fight against the witchhunt of Ikegami, MUWR has played a treacherous role clearly revealing its real character. Following the March 9 meeting, for example, MUWR put out a leaflet *embracing* the bureaucrats' "no quorum, no business" position: "Why wasn't Marie [Malliett] willing to stay and listen to the people present, *even though no action could be taken on the appeal?*" (emphasis added). Advice on how to appear more "democratic" while screwing the membership is exactly what this lash-up is all about. In a March 9 leaflet titled "Free Speech and Free Elections," MUWR quoted extensively from the notoriously anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act, citing precisely those sections that are used by countless aspiring bureaucrats and reformists to sue the unions. To ask Reagan's "Labor Department" to enforce democracy in the unions is not only stupid, but profoundly treacherous. It is the subordination of the labor movement to the capitalist state which is the principal obstacle to working-class struggle.

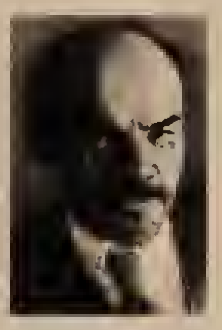
MUWR's faith in the capitalist state to enforce "free speech" in the unions is of a piece with *its refusal to call for strike action last summer* when the national contract expired, when it was clear that only determined and militant struggle could beat back Ma Bell's job-slashing plans. MUWR's most recent offering, a leaflet advertising one Jeff Woo for the vice president's slot in Local 9415, is the baldest kind of lowest common denominator "do-goodism," completely devoid of MUWR's early attempts to lift bits and pieces of the MAC program. It vaguely calls for turning "control back to the membership," "regularly scheduled visits to *all* work locations by Local Union Officials and Stewards," "surveys" of members to find out "their knowledge concerning trade unionists rights" and similar hunk.

It is up to the Militant Action Caucus to fight for class-struggle policies in the CWA. That means a struggle to oust the pro-imperialist bureaucrats, which the CWA—with its infamous ties to the CIA through its "labor" front, the "American Institute for Free Labor Development"—is richly populated with. Leaders who won't stand up to the anti-Soviet war drive of both the Democrats and the Republicans won't stand up to their anti-labor laws, their scabs and their union-busting. MAC has led the fight in the CWA for picket lines that mean don't cross; fought against racist terror, in supporting the successful Spartacist League-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Klan in Washington, D.C. in November 1982; and put forward a program to sweep away the bloodsucking phone company monopoly and all the exploiters, for a workers party to fight for a workers government. Phone workers: Defend Kathy Ikegami—Win strikes! ■

TROTSKY

Trade Unions and the Capitalist State

Leon Trotsky foresaw that in both the "democratic" and fascist imperialist countries as well as in the former colonial countries the struggle against the subordination of the trade unions to the bourgeois state was key to proletarian revolution. Fragments for a major article on this question were found after he was assassinated in 1940 by a Stalinist agent.



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The primary slogan for this struggle is: *complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state.* This means a struggle to turn the trade unions into the organs of the broad exploited masses and not the organs of a labor aristocracy.

The second slogan is: *trade union democracy.* This second slogan flows directly from the first and presupposes for its realization the complete freedom of the trade unions from the imperialist or colonial state.

In other words, the trade unions in the present epoch cannot simply be the organs of democracy as they were in the epoch of free capitalism and they cannot any longer remain politically neutral, that is, limit themselves to serving the daily needs of the working class. They cannot any longer be anarchistic, i.e., ignore the decisive influence of the state on the life of people and classes. They can no longer be reformist, because the objective conditions leave no room for any serious and lasting reforms. The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat.

—Leon Trotsky, *Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay* (1940)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 352 **13 April 1984**

Bring Bloody Thatcher to Her Knees!

Spread the British Coal Strike!

LONDON, April 9—The miners must not stand alone! That must be the rallying cry of every worker in Britain today. Four weeks of bitter struggle, ruthless police terror resulting in the murder of Yorkshire striker David Jones and insidious sabotage by scabherders within their own unions have not flagged the miners' fighting determination. The miners' flying pickets have descended on steel mills, docks and power stations in an effort to spread their strike. For three days, 600 strikers fought pitched battles with battalions of cops in an unsuccessful attempt to halt the importation of coal to Port Talbot steelworks. But the miners cannot do it alone, and the Labour misleaders are doing everything in their power to stab the NUM [National Union of Miners] in the back.

It is hardly a secret that Labour Party chiefs Kinnock and Healey are manoeuvering behind the scenes for a national ballot. Right-wing union leaders like Bill Sirs of the Steel Workers and Frank Chapple of the power workers openly ordered their members to cross picket lines. And while seamen, dockers, lorry [truck] drivers and railway workers have been officially instructed to black [refuse to handle] coal, the "left" union leaders have not made it stick and have sat on their hands while their members get victimised.

On April 2 in the Wirral, some 250 rail workers walked out, shutting down the Merseyside suburban rail network after a train driver was disciplined for refusing to move a coal train from a siding. This single act of class solidarity pointed the way forward far more clearly than all the hot-air rhetoric coming from the railroad union leaders. Tens, even hundreds of thousands of other trade unionists have demonstrated their willingness to join this fight by their solidarity actions. Class-conscious militants must smash the bureaucratic sabotage and organise for joint strike action with the miners now! Spread the strike! Shut down the power stations! Bring out rail and steel workers! Bring the Iron Lady to her knees!

The Fleet Street capitalist press redbaits [NUM president] Arthur Scargill for waging "war on democracy" and coal boss Ian MacGregor obscenely attacks strike militants as "Nazis" while his thugs in blue turn the coalfields into police states and drag hundreds off to jail. The kind of treatment meted out for years to Catholics in Northern Ireland and blacks and Asians in Britain's inner-city ghettos is now being used against striking miners. Thatcher wants to humiliate the miners in order to break the back of the entire union movement. Yet the NCB's [National Coal Board's] weeks old anti-strike injunction continues to sit on ice. As the authoritative Tory mouthpiece, the *Financial Times* (30 March), puts it, the government "has accepted the view that to press the order would unify a union which it is in its interest to split." Who are designated for this splitting operation? The same Cold War "new realists" who led the anti-Communist vilification of Arthur Scargill at Blackpool last September, who are the most open and vocal in their hatred for the Soviet Union.

Sturrock/Network

Flying pickets from Yorkshire try to shut down mines in Nottinghamshire. Power workers, dockers, railwaymen must refuse to handle coal.

Sid Vincent of the Lancashire NUM, who along with scabherders Chapple and Sirs sponsored the CIA-backed, pro-NATO, anti-Communist Labour Committee for Transatlantic Understanding, echoes the Tory-inspired campaign for a national ballot while keeping his men at work behind picket lines. What's needed is not a ballot but a national strike council, composed of elected strike delegates, to organise the picketing and spread the strike. The productivity bonus scheme which has fuelled regional fracturing within the NUM must be dumped in favour of a demand for equal pay for equal work, pegged at the highest rate. Disciplined workers defence guards must be formed to deal with cop/scab violence.

Treachery at the Top

From the beginning of the strike the NUM has rejected intervention from the TUC [Trades Union Congress]. And, given Murray's General Council majority, who would seriously believe that the TUC's "assistance" would be aimed at anything but selling the miners out? But Scargill's own version of "solidarity" centred on the so-called Triple Alliance has proved hardly more effective than its predecessor in 1919. Aptly termed the "Cripple Alliance" by one militant, this bureaucratic lash-up began to crumble almost the day it was formed when Bill Sirs and the Steel Workers exec stabbed the NUM in the back. And the "left" leaders of the seamen, transport and rail unions no more want an all-out confrontation with Thatcher than Murray & Co. Welsh miners report that lorry drivers are being victimised for respecting picket lines. John Bell, secretary of the NUR [National Union of Railwaymen] branch in the critical Notts area, told *Spartacist Britain* that two to five rail workers were being sent home every day for blacking coal, and said he had received reports that cops were riding shotgun on the trains. Yet the national union leaderships aren't even talking about strike action to defend their own members and back the miners. The treachery of the trade-union leaders must be combatted. The Wirral rail workers showed the way: the road to victory is solid national strike action alongside the miners.

For International Labour Solidarity!

Militants must sharply differentiate between the necessity to stop scab coal being imported to break the strike and the protectionist policy of import controls pushed by "lefts" like Scargill and Tony Benn. Import controls do not save jobs but they do reinforce the nationalism and racialism which the ruling class uses to fuel anti-union reaction at home. Just as productivity deals divide workers in this country, protectionism undercuts the capacity to appeal to workers abroad for solidarity. Posed squarely in this strike is the need to call on American and Australian dockers to black the export of coal to Britain.

Scandalously, coal is still also arriving from Poland. NUM officials have called on the Jaruzelski regime to stop the shipment. As Kent area NUM secretary Jack Collins put it, the actions of the Polish government are every bit as disgraceful as those of the scab Notts miners. With their refusal to kowtow to the anti-Communist furor over Solidarność, the NUM leaders have some real authority to appeal to the government of the Polish deformed workers state, on the basis that Thatcher is the sworn enemy of both. It speaks volumes to the anti-working-class nationalism of the Polish Stalinist regime that it is scabbing on the miners' struggle today as it did in 1972 and 1974.

The Left and the Miners Strike

The Communist Party (CP), despite its significant base in the unions, is indistinguishable from its fellow TUC "lefts." *Morning Star* touted an April 5 conference of 800 shop stewards in Glasgow as a big step in building support for the miners. But the conference organisers didn't even present their earlier proposal for a token half-day general strike in Scotland. Instead, CPer Mick McGahey and other official

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Racist, Anti-Semitic Terror: Rebirth of the KKK, 1915

Georgia Racists Lynch Leo Frank Again

Some 50 years after the end of the Civil War, Leo Frank, a Northerner and prominent Jewish resident of Atlanta, was lynched. As the race-terrorists screaming "Kill the Jew!" massed by the thousands outside the courtroom, the Frank case unleashed a wave of anti-Semitism and sparked the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan. That was the Old South, vintage 1915.

Last December, 70 years after Frank's frame-up conviction in the murder of 13-year-old Mary Phagan, an appeal "requesting the granting of a full pardon exonerating Leo M. Frank of guilt of the offense of murder" was rejected by the Georgia State Board of Pardons and Paroles. This is the "New South," circa 1983-84.

As it was back then, the case of Leo Frank remains a focal point for the Ku Klux Klan to this day. Last September 3 in the Atlanta suburb of Marietta where Frank was lynched (today the headquarters for church-bomber racist terrorist J.B. Stoner's "National States Rights Party"), 200 robed, hooded and *armed* Klansmen and uniformed Nazis paraded in opposition to the Frank pardon request. While the race-hate rally had originally been called against efforts to posthumously pardon Frank, it turned into an orgy of anti-Communism as a Soviet flag was burned in "commemoration" of Georgia arch-reactionary Congressman Larry McDonald who died aboard the Korean Air Lines spy plane KAL 007. The domestic shock troops of Reagan reaction leapt at the chance to make this criminal anti-Soviet provocation their cause célèbre.

That even a symbolic gesture like a "posthumous pardon" was too much for the State of Georgia is an indication of how intertwined the state apparatus is with the Klan and the upholding of the racist status quo. The liberals have been pushing the case in order to remove the "damning blight on the Georgia of our fathers and grandfathers" from the face of the "New South," as the *Atlanta Constitution* wrote (20 December 1983). But in fact there is a hideous resurgence of racist violence in the present Cold War climate from the fascist massacre of "reds," labor organizers and civil rights workers in Greensboro in 1979 to the KKK lynching of a black youth in Mobile, Alabama last year.

"From Savage Murder to Klan's Torch"

The case of Leo Frank has been widely known in American Jewish communities for years, particularly after its popularization by Southern Jewish journalist Harry Golden in his 1965 book, *A Little Girl Is Dead*. As the *Atlanta Constitution* put it, "The issue of Frank's innocence has been virtually settled for years." But the case remained largely dormant until March of 1982 when *The Tennessean*, a Gannett newspaper published in Nashville, dug up critical evidence in the case which had been withheld for decades. Headlining "An Innocent Man Was Lynched," *The Tennessean* published a ten-page special news supplement featuring the testimony of an eyewitness, Alonzo Mann, now 83 and ailing, who said, "I want the public to understand that Leo Frank did not kill Mary Phagan."

Frank, after graduating Brooklyn's Pratt Institute, had come south to Atlanta where he was supervisor and part-owner of a pencil factory, and had been elected president of the Atlanta chapter of the B'nai B'rith. Saturday, 26 April 1913 was "Confederate Memorial Day" and Frank was working on the books when 13-year-old Mary Phagan came by the factory to collect her paycheck—$1.20 which represented ten hours of work fitting metal tips to pencils. Mary Phagan was never seen alive again; her bludgeoned, strangled body was dumped in the basement of the factory. Two years earlier the police had failed to solve any of the 18 murders of black women. But Mary Phagan was white, the cops were getting a lot of heat and they needed a scapegoat.

Courtesy, Georgia Department of Archives and History

Lynching of Jewish businessman Leo Frank in 1915 sparked rebirth of KKK. To this day this atrocious act remains a focal point for Klan nightriders.

The case touched off a wave of anti-Semitism across the South. At Frank's trial a mob of 4,000-5,000 shrieking "Kill the Jew!" was barely held at bay by the National Guard. Both Leo Frank and his lawyer were advised not even to show up in court for the jury's verdict for fear they would by lynched on the spot. Frank was declared guilty and appeals to the State and U.S. Supreme Court were denied. When in June of 1915 then-governor Slaton commuted Frank's sentence to life imprisonment, this so enraged the racists that Slaton was forced to flee Georgia as mobs stormed his estate. On 12 August 1915, racist demagogue Tom Watson screamed in his *Jeffersonian* (circulation 87,000): "*The next Leo Frank case in Georgia will never reach the courthouse*. THE NEXT JEW WHO DOES WHAT FRANK DID, IS GOING TO GET EXACTLY THE SAME THING WE GIVE TO NEGRO RAPISTS" (C. Vann Woodward, *Tom Watson—Agrarian Rebel*).

After the death sentence was commuted, a crazed inmate had plunged a butcher knife into Frank's jugular. Amazingly he survived and continued his struggle to vindicate himself. But on August 17, a mob of screaming vigilantes stormed the prison farm at Milledgeville, Georgia where Frank was being held, dragged him out and lynched him. While always portrayed as "rednecks," a term of derision for poor white Southerners, in fact the racist mob was led by Marietta's most prominent citizens, calling themselves the "Knights of Mary Phagan." They completed their heinous work with cool, surgical precision and left the body swaying in the wind.

Word spread quickly as a horde gathered to tear pieces of cloth from the sleeves of Frank's nightshirt and cut strands from the noose around his neck for souvenirs. Pictures were taken for tourist postcards which were available for purchase in Marietta. Sheriffs did not bury Frank until a mob in Atlanta passed his open coffin to revile him. Even in death Frank was hounded like an animal. Armed racists roamed the streets of Atlanta for days as Jewish store owners closed their businesses and hid behind boarded-up doors and windows. In the months following the lynching, half the 3,000 Jews in Georgia left the state. It was to counter this pogrom-like hysteria that the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League (ADL) was formed.

As *The Tennessean* reported in the article, "From Savage Murder to Klan's Torch," it was three months later, on 25 November 1915 when "William Simmons and 15 members of the Knights of Mary Phagan form the new Invisible Empire of the Ku Klux Klan and burn a cross atop Stone Mountain in Georgia." This was reportedly the first Klan cross-burning in history. The KKK repeats this obscene "tribute" to racist terror yearly, and last September after their anti-Soviet rally for Larry McDonald, they trooped from Marietta to burn a cross at the base of Stone Mountain.

The main targets of the Southern racist terrorists were the literally thousands of black people lynched in defense of "white womanhood" and Jim Crow. In the month preceding Frank's murder, four blacks were lynched in Georgia alone; the period 1889 to 1928 saw more lynchings in Georgia than any other state in the union. And yet the very choice of Leo Frank as the scapegoat over a number of black "suspects" itself reflected this pervasive racism. Mary Phagan's minister and a member of the "Knights of Mary Phagan" had remarked that "An old Negro would be poor atonement" for her death. He added, "When the police arrested a Jew, and a Yankee at that, here was a victim worthy to pay for the crime."

"Convicted by Lies, Heaped on Lies"

In 1913 Alonzo Mann was the office boy for Leo Frank at the National Pencil Company. In a lengthy affidavit Mann described how black janitor Jim Conley had approached the teen-age boy on his way into work that morning for "a dime to buy beer." He told how that afternoon, "I enountered Conley with the body of Mary Phagan." Conley threatened Mann, "If you ever mention this I'll kill you." Years later Mann did reveal his secret to family members, to army buddies and reporters, but was always advised to let the matter lie. Until 1982 when *Tennessean* reporters Jerry Thompson and Bob Sherborne heard his story and began digging into the case. It was Mann's testimony which led the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, the American Jewish Committee and the Atlanta Jewish Federation to mount their campaign for a "pardon."

The Georgia Parole Board acted as the genteel front men for the Klan. They concluded "that the only grounds upon which the board would grant a full pardon exonerating Leo Frank of the murder for which he was convicted would be conclusive evidence proving beyond any doubt that Frank was innocent." These dyed-in-the-wool racists, like their grandfathers 70 years ago, still demand a scapegoat because "somebody's got to swing" for the murder of Mary Phagan! A member of the board complained they were "subjected to some of the same outside influences—though not sinister—that ...influenced the jury in 1913" (*Atlanta*

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American Chemical Society Exposes

Reagan's Yellow Rain Lie

In another cynical and provocative move against the Soviet Union, Reagan announced at his April 4 press conference a proposed treaty to "ban" chemical weapons. (There already is a treaty, which the Soviets signed in 1928 and the U.S. refused to sign until 1975, *after* the Vietnam War was over. And in any case the United States has accumulated the largest stockpile in the world of chemical and biological weapons, an estimated 150,000 tons.) The "treaty" ploy is just a cover, as Reagan is pushing for a massive $1.1 *billion* appropriation to build up America's own deadly arsenal of chemical weapons, including binary nerve gas. One reporter asked Reagan at the press conference how the U.S. would answer charges that it was "talking peace but preparing for war." And the next day TASS, the official Soviet press agency, rightly denounced Reagan's sinister plans, noting "his Administration in fact intended to block any agreement in this sphere by proposing methods of 'control' and 'verification' designed to be unacceptable."

Reagan also repeated the U.S. Big Lie that the Soviets have used chemical weapons in Afghanistan and Southeast Asia. Yet the State Department is now acting like it wished it had never heard of "yellow rain": a February 21 State Department report to the United Nations blandly stated, according to the *New York Times* (22 February), "there was no confirmed use of chemical weapons in Afghanistan last year and that the deadliness of chemical warfare attacks in Laos and Cambodia had diminished substantially."

What's diminished substantially in fact is any remaining shreds of credibility to the war-crazy Reagan administration's "yellow rain" charges, first launched by General Haig three years ago. Thus Harvard biochemist and chemical warfare expert Dr. Matthew Meselson recently returned from a field trip to Thailand with further evidence that "yellow rain" is really *bee excrement*—even sustaining a "direct hit" by defecating bees, yellow splotches which he called "indistinguishable" from the samples and descriptions of "yellow rain" Laotian refugees gave the U.S. government (*New York Times*, 29 March).

"The damned thing is ridiculous," says Saul Hormats, former director of the U.S. Army's chemical weapons program, with 37 years experience in the field, about Reagan's charges. In a devastating attack from the strictly military viewpoint, Hormats ridiculed the bizarre "yellow rain" stories (see excerpts from Hormats' 26 February *Washington Post* article printed below). And the American Chemical Society's journal *Chemical & Engineering News* (9 January) also carried a detailed front-page refutation of the Reaganauts' claims, in an article by Lois Ember titled "Yellow Rain." *C&EN* made the basic point that the government hasn't got any real evidence:

> "Sample pedigrees either are not known or suspect.... Except for the Afghan gas mask, and some autopsy material, all positive samples have been analyzed by one private laboratory and have not been confirmed independently. The Army laboratory analyzing environmental samples has never detected toxins in the numerous specimens from Southeast Asia it has tested—never. In fact, the one environmental sample that contained the highest level of T-2 toxin reported was reanalyzed by this Army laboratory and found to contain no toxin. There are no environmental and biomedical samples from a single alleged attack. And the U.S. has no physical evidence that trichothecenes have been used in a weapons system. Not one piece of military hardware—not a shell, grenade, rocket, canister, or weapon fragment—has tested positive for toxins."

Further, *C&EN* noted, the verbal reports the State Department used come from a pretty tainted source: "the majority of the 150 to 200 reports of yellow rain compiled by the State Department in two compendia come from the Hmong of Laos...from the highly politicized Ban Vinai refugee camp to the southeast [of Thailand].... The leadership of Ban Vinai is composed of former members of the old CIA-backed secret army in Laos. And the more military-oriented stories come from these former U.S. allies, not from Hmong male farmers, and not from Hmong women," says the article, quoting Australian sociologist Grant Evans and also Roger Rumpf and Jacqui Chagnon who actually went to Thailand to interview Hmong refugees and found gigantic discrepancies in their stories—particularly in one "star witness" who was interviewed by dozens of people and told them all different stories.

There *is* some basis for the stories of deadly chemicals dropping out of the sky, however: *Chemical & Engineering News* notes, "the government must explain why Hmong reported deaths from the herbicides sprayed by the U.S. in Laos in the early 1970s, and why the Cambodians accused the U.S. and South Vietnam of spraying a lethal yellow powder on some of its villages in 1964." As we said in "Yellow Rain: Bee Shit!" (*Young Spartacus* No. 110, Summer 1983):

> "What's behind the U.S.' bizarre hoax is deadly serious business: 'yellow rain' was a shameless justification for expanding America's already huge arsenal of poisonous binary nerve gases and other horrible agents of chemical warfare. All the Pentagon's screaming about supposed Soviet 'violations' of international conventions against chemical warfare are cynical, crude lies, designed in part to divert attention from the Pentagon's own *ten-year* bombardment of Vietnam with deadly dioxins, Agent Orange, Agent White, Agent Blue—and napalm, Dow Chem's flaming gasoline jelly that sinks into its victims' skin burning flesh away down to the charred bone. Not to mention all the bombs dropped over Indochina—more than in all of World War II—by the war criminals of U.S. imperialism. "So now we know the truth about 'yellow rain.' But that's not going to stop the U.S. government's mad drive toward nuclear holocaust against the USSR. There's so much blood on the hands of the American ruling class that we doubt a little bee shit is going to bother them. The point is to stop them through socialist revolution before they kill again."

Der Spiegel

U.S. Army on NATO maneuvers in West Germany trains for chemical warfare.

Neue Zürcher Zeitung

Former members of old CIA-run secret army in Laos, now in Thai refugee camp, are the source for "yellow rain" fabrications.

U.S. Military Expert Debunks Yellow Rain

We print below an abridged version of an article by Saul Hormats, former director of the U.S. Army's chemical weapons program, which was published in the 26 February 1984 Washington Post.

Thus far, the debate over yellow rain has focused less on whether the Soviets are using chemical weapons than on how they are doing it. Unfortunately, most of the testimony in the controversy has come from diplomats, politicians, analytical chemists and scientists with academic backgrounds. Almost completely lacking has been an assessment based on a military appreciation of chemical warfare agents, the munitions used to deliver such agents, and the logistics involved.

Such a military assessment raises grave questions about whether the Soviets have, in fact, engaged in the chemical warfare activities with which they have been charged.

In its report to Congress, the administration declared flatly that the Soviets had broken international agreements. It charged Moscow with "repeated violations" of the 1925 Geneva Protocol and of the 1972 Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention. Chemical weapons were reported to have been used against the anti-Soviet guerrillas in Afghanistan, but primarily against Hmong villages in Laos. The chemical warfare agent is said to be a mold, fusarium (popularly called "yellow rain"), found naturally in infected crops and poorly stored grain.

The evidence supporting these allegations consists of a large number of interviews by State Department officials with Hmong refugees, and "solid evidence" in the form of blood samples, twigs and leaves, rock scrapings and a contaminated Soviet gas mask purchased in Kabul, Afghanistan.

But the evidence seems less than solid to one who has worked in the chemical weapons field for 37 years.

To begin with, why should the Soviets or their allies have chosen chemical attack? Hmong villages are very small: 15 to 20 houses cover the equivalent of a city block. There are many conventional munitions (such as the antipersonnel shells used in Vietnam and Beirut) easily capable of destroying all the villagers. White phosphorus shells of the kind used in Beirut would not only destroy the villagers but the village itself. The Soviets must certainly have large quantities of these in their arsenal. Why, then, would they risk world condemnation by using chemical weapons?

Let us assume that the Soviets wanted to escape responsibility for attacking a village. They might then use a weapon that would not leave evidence of its use. This would rule out nerve agents and similar devices that leave unmistakable effects. As a result, they might choose a

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Lankan Weekend Mouthpiece for Bloody Repression

Sri Lanka: Deadly Lies Target Spartacists

The international Spartacist tendency has been targeted in a scurrilous and deadly smear attack by the *Weekend*, published by one of the two major bourgeois English-language papers in Sri Lanka. The article, an apology for the genocidal violence directed against the Tamil minority on the island, no doubt reflects the views of the security police, whose murderous threats against our comrades of the Spartacist League/Lanka are aimed at silencing their courageous defense of Tamil rights (see "Hands Off Lanka Spartacists!" *WV* No. 351, 30 March). The international Spartacist tendency is branded as part of "the International Terrorists Network," while the *Weekend* alibis the real terrorists, the rightist government of J.R. Jayewardene and his American imperialist sponsors. We reprint on the facing page, with minor changes to the English, a reply by our Lankan comrades to the *Weekend* lies.

The terror against the Tamils in Lanka continues. To justify draconian measures of repression and a massive influx of troops to the North, rumors have been circulated of thousands of Tamil guerrillas armed with AK-47s preparing to invade from India. In recent weeks the Air Force rampaged in the North, murdering some 30 Tamils—among the victims were said to be children and pregnant women (London *Times*, 31 March). At least nine more were killed by Sinhalese troops in a new wave of state-sponsored violence which began on April 10. As we go to press, a UPI dispatch reports that Tamil separatists seized control of sections of Jaffna and burned down government buildings. Jaffna is again under martial law, a military curfew has been imposed, and phone links to the city have reportedly been cut. The systematic organized state terror against the Tamil people poses more than ever the question of Tamil self-determination, as J.R.'s communalist massacres and the flight of terrorized Tamils forcibly separates the island's peoples. Stop killing Lankan Tamils! For the right of Tamil self-determination in the North and East!

On April 2 a strike of 600,000 Tamil plantation workers, demanding equal pay with other government workers, crippled the government-owned tea and rubber estates, main source of Lanka's foreign earnings (London *Guardian*, 4 April). The massive strike pits this key proletarian sector against the reactionary J.R. regime, demonstrating the power that could topple the rule of capitalism and Sinhala chauvinism—of both the J.R. and Mrs. B (Bandaranaike) variety—and bring emancipation to the oppressed Lankan Tamils and Sinhala workers alike. Victory to the plantation workers strike!

The *Weekend* asserts that the international protests we have built to denounce the massacres of Tamils were fake, using hired picketers. They figure no one outside the island really cares if thousands of Tamils are slaughtered, that we would be silent unless we were being paid off. In this they reveal only their own corrupt and servile values. We observe that the Reagan administration gave J.R. $71 million in economic and military aid last June—shortly before the massacres of Tamils began last summer in the vicinity of Trincomalee—and has begun sending helicopter gunships for the Lankan armed forces to use against the Tamils. We also note the odd misspelling of our name in the *Weekend* article as "Spartícist," a misspelling which crops up often in documents of U.S. intelligence agencies and planted press stories falsely portraying our Marxist tendency as "terrorist."

We wonder if this is altogether unrelated to the visits to Sri Lanka in late 1983 of U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger and former Deputy CIA Director Vernon Walters to meet with J.R. and discuss the possibility of U.S. naval forces using Trincomalee harbor, pivotal to military control of the Indian Ocean, and key to the Reagan administration's rabid drive toward nuclear war with the Soviet Union (*CounterSpy*, March-May). The London-based *Tamil Times* (January) reports that a recent agreement allowing the U.S. to set up a "Voice of America" relay station near Colombo includes a secret clause to permit use of the station as a communication center linking U.S. naval forces and military bases in the region, and the stationing of U.S. troops in Lanka.

We have seen the *Weekend* slanders before: in a pamphlet published by the Lankan Ministry of State last September, we are attacked for protests "simultaneously supporting separatism in Sri Lanka and condemning 'American capitalism'." A Spartacist protest last August in Los Angeles is singled out, and this is no accident: in L.A. we received numerous threats of violence and our demonstration was physically attacked by rightist Sinhalese thugs. Libelous violence-baiting propaganda has as its function to justify real-life murderous violence, against Tamils, against strikers, against Marxists. As the last vestiges of parliamentary democracy are stripped away under J.R.'s bonapartist rule, the epithet "terrorist" has become tantamount to a death warrant.

J.R. and his press agents would like to pretend that Trotskyism has not existed for over 50 years as an established political current on the island. Yet our international movement has a long and proud history of commitment to the Ceylonese revolutionary struggle. From 1971 the iSt had fraternal relations with the tendency of Edmund Samarakkody, Meryl Fernando and Tulsiri Andradi, which while gravely flawed had represented the best of the old Trotskyist tradition. As internationalists, for many years we have championed the rights of Ceylonese unionists, insurgent Sinhala youth, Tamil nationalists and Marxist militants. The *Weekend*'s vicious libels, intended to justify murderous state repression against our tendency internationally, will not go unchallenged. Down with *Weekend*'s deadly libel! Hands off Lanka Spartacists! Stop anti-Tamil terror! Forward to a socialist federation of Eelam and Lanka!

THE SHADOW OF TERROR STALKS BENEATH ROUNDTABLE OF PEACE

BY DON MITHUNA

HELPING HAND

Besides sundry sympathisers and "contacts" in the International Terrorists Network there are other foreign organisations which render a helping hand to the propagandists. Most of it is however done for a fee. For instance the Sparticist League of USA is believed to be a very active outfit in this regard.

The Sparticist League which has branches in many parts of the world has claimed that it has organised anti-Lankan demos in various parts of USA, Britain, West Germany, France, Canada, Australia and India.

Their anti-Lankan publicity campaigns are several years old and did hardly coincide with the July '83 incidents. In fact when the Lankan Prime Minister visited USA it was the Sparticists who organised the demos in New York and Washington. Most of the demonstrators are 'hired' for a fee. And the volunteers are dime a dozen corailed in from ghettos of Bronx or among the layabouts on 42nd Street in New York.

But Sparticists are not a bunch of quacks. They have links with international terrorists. Admittedly their main objective is supporting the northern terrorists to ensure 'a struggle for a Socialist federation of South East Asia' which can liberate all 'oppressed' people in the region. According to a document issued by the Sri Lanka Union of USA, the Sparticists are resurrecting the domino theory.

ND THE TIGER DEVELOPS A HEADACHE' IN TAMILNADU

As mouthpiece for reactionary J.R. regime, Weekend (4 March 1984) seeks to incite and justify state terror against Tamils and leftists, singles out the international Spartacist tendency which waged a worldwide protest compaign against anti-Tamil pogroms.

Spartacist League/Lanka's publications in Sinhala and Tamil defend right of Tamils to national self-determination.

[London] Guardian

Tamil victims of racist pogrom, July 1983. Weekend's "terrorist" smear against Spartacists aims to justify the mass murder orchestrated by J.R. Jayewardene regime.

INTERNATIONAL TELEGRAM

CALCUTTA 77/72 6 1320 PAGE 1/50

ARET SHANNON SPARTACIST LEAGUE/ANZ TF(02)2648195 GPO BOX 3473
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OUR ALL INDIA WORKING COMMITTEE STRONGLY SUPPORT YOUR CLARION CALL FOR BOYCOTT ALL CARGO TO SRI LANKA FROM AUSTRALIA AND NEWZEALAND PORTS
WE APPRECIATE YOUR WRITE-UPS AND PUBLICATIONS STOP FOR INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS SOLIDARITY AND FOR ADVANCING PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALIST ACTION OUR MEMBERS ONBOARD VISHVA KAUMUDI SHALL BE IN ACTION WITH YOU SHOULDER TO SHOULDER STOP WITH WARM GREETINGS STOP

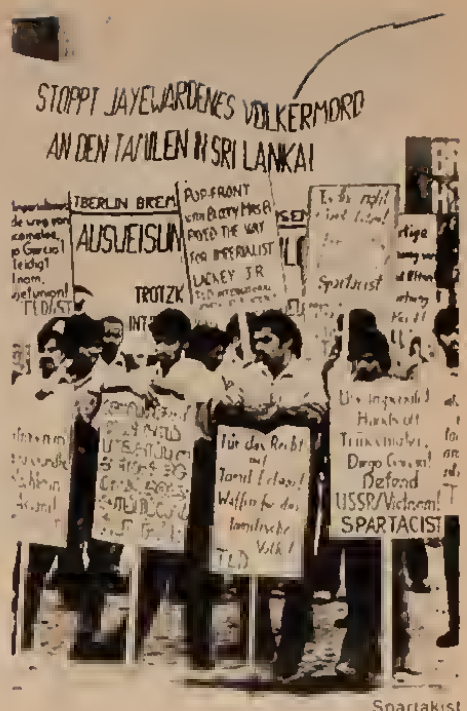
ASANERJEE FSUI(CITU) GENERAL SECRETARY

CHIEF TELEGRAPH OFFICE 7 - 1984 SYDNEY, N.S.W.

INTERNATIONAL TELEGRAM

Telegram of support from Forward Seaman's Union in India in response to our call to Australian dock workers and Indian seamen to boycott all Sri Lankan cargo in protest against anti-Tamil massacres last July.

WV Photo



Spartakist

Clockwise from top left: New York City, 8 June 1981; West Berlin, 7 August 1983; London, 30 July 1983. International Spartacist tendency has protested and exposed J.R.'s bonapartism and attacks on workers and oppressed Tamil minority.

Lankan Trotskyists Blast "Terrorist" Smear

Spartacist League/Lanka
15th March, 1984

The Editor
Weekend
Independent Newspapers Ltd
Gunasena Mawatha
Colombo

Dear Editor,

We refer to the article "The Shadow of Terror Stalks Beneath Roundtable of Peace" by Don Mithuna published in your paper on Sunday, March 4, 1984. We take the reference made to the Spartacist League/USA, under the subtitle "Helping Hand," to be maliciously written with the intention of attacking this organization; the article's contents are deformed and filled with wrong details.

Referring to the Spartacists in this section the writer mainly attempts to create in the mind of the reader the impression that this organization has links with "terrorists" and many who join the Spartacists in their various projects do so for payment, or on hire.

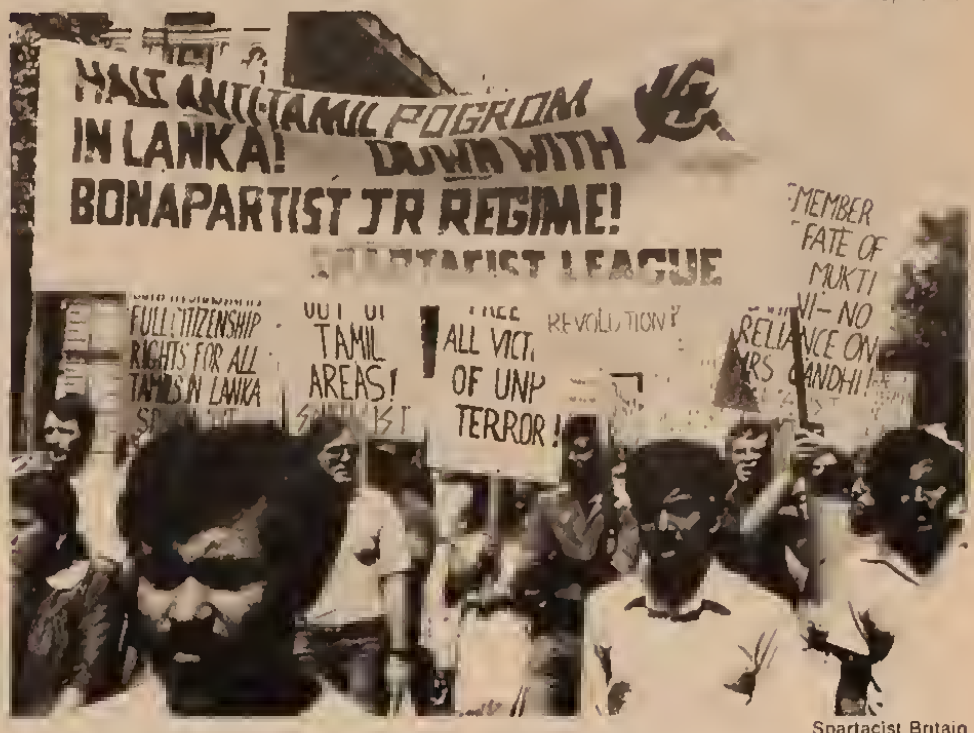
We challenge the writer's facile statement that the international Spartacist tendency is an organization with "terrorist" links. On what basis does he say so? From which source did he gather this information? We believe that in developed society no journalist would be permitted to provide wrong information to his readers, created in the mind of the journalist. It should also be the duty of a responsible newspaper not to mislead its readers by providing false information. Therefore we request that you publish this letter and safeguard the right of the reader.

There were others who had the backbone to directly accuse the international Spartacist tendency of being a terrorist organization. It was the secret police of the leader of the imperialist war machine, the powerful American Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Department of Justice of the State of California that declared in 1981 what the writer in *Weekend* was blustering to say. However, after it was proved that *labour parties* which firmly believe in socialism, or communist parties for that matter, *are not* terrorist parties, they too were compelled to withdraw the charges. We are sending you a photocopy of the letter by the Attorney General to all police stations in California stating that an "error" was made in this regard. On another occasion, when President Carter attended a Trade Union meeting, a Spartacist member was dragged out of the hall by the Secret Service agents. After a lawsuit and campaign against this action the secret police apologised and paid up a sum of $3,500 as compensation. This member contributed the total sum towards the Union fund. A photocopy of a document relating to this incident is also sent herewith. All this, in powerful America. It looks as if the Lankan friends of the imperialists have joined together to suppress and destroy the true revolutionary mass organizations that amplify the cry of the proletariat. Such accusations are still made only by people like Don Mithuna, who are afraid to see the difference between communism and terrorism. Here it is best to quote Leon Trotsky in *Terrorism and Communism* (1920):

> "What we are concerned with is not at all the defence of 'terrorism' as such. Methods of compulsion and terrorisation down to the physical extirpation of its opponents have up to now advantaged, and continue to advantage in an infinitely higher degree the cause of reaction, as represented by the outworn exploiting classes, than they do the cause of historical progress, as represented by the proletariat. The jury of moralists who condemn 'terrorism' of whatever kind have their gaze fixed really on the revolutionary deeds of the persecuted who are seeking to set themselves free....
> "To-day the pious enemy of terrorism is keeping up by the help of organized violence a 'peaceful' system of unemployment, colonial oppression, armed forces and preparation for fresh wars.
> "The present work, therefore, is far away from any thought of defending terrorism in general. It champions the historical justification of the proletarian revolution. The root idea of the book is this: that history down to now has not thought out any other way of carrying mankind forward than that of setting up always the revolutionary violence of the progressive class against the conservative violence of the outworn classes."

WV Photo

5,000 predominantly black workers and youth answer Spartacist call to stop KKK racist terrorists from marching in Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982. These militant blacks are not for hire, as Weekend claims.



Spartacist Britain

The international Spartacist tendency is not nameless, faceless or defenceless. It has a proud labour history. It is a propagandist organization devoted to organizing the international working class into power. Terrorism does not arise from a working class movement. On the other hand, why do Spartacists hail the Red Army in Afghanistan and call for victory to the leftist rebels in El Salvador and the militants in Nicaragua and Cuba? Because they are essential in expanding the labour victories of the October Revolution. The international Spartacist tendency is an organization with newspapers, magazines, periodicals—published in various languages in various parts of the world and sold openly.

In this letter we do not intend to write about Don Mithuna's article. However we should write about the slanderous statement he makes about the participants at Spartacist demonstrations. According to him the Spartacists have organized only anti-Lankan rallies regarding the Tamil people's problems. Moreover he states that demonstrators are hired, and volunteers are found from ghettos. Here Don Mithuna exhibits his racist policies!

The international Spartacist tendency has demonstrated not only on behalf of the Lankan Tamil people, but also on behalf of the Lankan working class and the other oppressed masses. When the UNP government suppressed the July 1980 strikers, the international Spartacist tendency organized international protest rallies. We wish to state here that front page news reports covering these demonstrations were published in *your* daily newspapers *Davasa* and *Sun* on September 16, 1980 along with photographs. If, as Don Mithuna says, thousands of people join these demonstrations for a fee, then how much would this organization have had to pay to that estimated crowd of over 5000 that participated in the November 27 Labour/Black Mobilization in 1982? This demonstration stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. The fact is that in a period when capitalist states day by day diminish the right of the working class to organize, to demonstrate, and withdraw the right of expression, people in hundreds and in thousands form themselves behind a fearless proletarian organization like the international Spartacist tendency which moves forward, to picket and organize labour demonstrations. For example, look at the appended names of various political, labour and social organizations that supported the November 27 Labour/Black Mobilization. Many black people in America participate in these rallies because they are also subject to oppression just as the Lankan Tamil people. "For hire" is a very old capitalist accusation. Long before Don Mithuna, capitalist agents used this to attack working class organizations. Why do Blacks from New York or any other city in America now begin to line up behind Spartacists? It is because gradually they have begun to understand that the American Revolution needs black

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Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

even pissed off Barry Goldwater, who is just about the best friend the CIA had on Capitol Hill.

Reagan's Central American policy is losing on the battlefield, and it's not doing very well on the home front either: CIA-directed "*contra*" terror raids and harbor sabotage against Sandinista Nicaragua are a resounding political failure as well as a military failure. Ever since Carter/Mondale started Cold War II, the rulers of this country have been unable to mobilize the mass of Americans for their anti-Soviet crusade. Yet the Sunday *New York Times* (8 April) reports that "Senior officials in the Reagan Administration say that contingency plans are being drawn for the possible use of United States combat troops in Central America...." This is supposed to be justified under that latter-day Monroe Doctrine, the 1947 Rio Treaty, used for the 1965 Santo Domingo invasion and conveniently forgotten during last fall's Grenada adventure.

Reagan's war-crazy frustration over Central America makes him especially dangerous, like a wounded animal. For him the decline of U.S. imperialism represented by the defeat in Vietnam must be met by escalating military intervention and an increasing thrust toward bonapartism at home. Reagan ended his April 4 press conference by eulogizing General Douglas MacArthur and wishing the Vietnam War had been a *declared* war so domestic opponents could have been locked up for "lending comfort and aid to the enemy." But the U.S. public remains disinclined to sacrifice its sons for dictators who massacre thousands of their own people (as well as U.S. nuns) for the global war against Communism.

The Democrats in Congress and on the election campaign trail are trying to take advantage of this growing sentiment by presenting a more *sophisticated* war policy for U.S. imperialism in Central America. The Democrats are haunted by their defeat in Vietnam and they want a war they can win. Even as Congress coos like doves they vote like hawks for Reagan's huge military appropriations and the open-secret war on Nicaragua. The bloodbath that all wings of the American bourgeoisie are preparing for the worker and peasant fighters south of the border can be repulsed only with a struggle for a military victory for the leftist insurgents, to obliterate the death squads and sweep away the bloodsucking oligarchy, opening the road to workers revolution throughout the region. While the reformists cry, "No more Vietnams in Central America," revolutionaries reply: Vietnam was a victory! Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism! No negotiated sellout of the Central American revolution!

Right now while the lights are flashing in the Pentagon war room, while the Yankee rulers try to "buy a little respect" by parading their aircraft carriers from Grenada to Beirut, and ramming Soviet subs from the Bermuda Triangle to the Sea of Japan, one thing stands out: antiwar protests at home have disappeared. Why? Because the rad-libs are caught up in Democratic Party electoral politics, getting sucked into Gary Hart's appeal to the "Vietnam generation" and Jesse Jackson's talk of "changing priorities." What's needed is some rip-roaring class-struggle "in the belly of the beast." For labor action to stop the imperialist slaughter in Central America: the unions must hot-cargo all shipments of military materiel to Reagan's butchers!

While Congress may fear that Reagan will stumble into a nuclear Armageddon, and the White House wants to pin the blame on the Democrats for "losing" Central America (as well as Lebanon), their differences are ultimately tactical. It's all part of the anti-Soviet war drive uniting liberals and conservatives, "doves" and "hawks." Senate Democrats have just given more-than-sufficient proof of a "bipartisan" foreign policy in voting $60 million in "economic" aid to the Salvadoran dictatorship and another $21 million to the Nicaraguan *contras*. Reagan knows well that their "sense of Congress" resolutions are so much hot air. As Russell Baker put it, "In this way, Congressmen can keep financing a war while making speeches about the dreadful peril of going to war, and self-righteousness meets hypocrisy coming around the barn, to the political advantage of everyone concerned."

Sinking ships is dangerous business. Something blew up the *Maine* back in 1898, and when Teddy Roosevelt tumbled to the fact that there was some kind of insurgency afoot in the Caribbean he quickly whooped it up for the Spanish-American War. (Years later it was discovered that there was some kind of internal explosion aboard the *Maine*, but this didn't stop the war.) So the Soviet oil tanker *Lugansk* hit a mine planted by a team of CIA saboteurs operating out of a mother ship 12 miles off the Nicaraguan coast; as a result five crewmen were critically injured and the ship badly damaged. Do the Bonzos in the White House want a war against the Soviets who will be justifiably and honorably fighting to "Remember the *Lugansk*!" As communists—revolutionary, proletarian and internationalist—we say: Defend Nicaragua! Kill the CIA/*contra* invaders! Sink the minelayers! ■

Lankan Trotskyists...

(continued from page 7)

leadership! True labour organizations do not have money to throw about because they are not a part in the management of the economy. However for people in this country it will not be necessary at all to explain which organizations hire people for a ten rupee note, or a packet of lunch or a bottle of arrack, a buriyani or free musical shows. People in this country know quite well which class attacked the peasants, the workers, the students using money and thuggery, who destroyed their picket lines, crushed their strikes and even murdered those people who gathered to use their rights.

How comforting it would be if peace to bleeding Lebanon, wounded by religious, sectarian, racialist, communalist conflicts, or peace to the whole of Europe, armed to the teeth with American imperialists' Pershing and cruise missiles and yet trembling in fear of war, could be brought after stabilizing these countries by ending terrorism. How nice if these things could be achieved at Don Mithuna's roundtable conference. But the working class understands that it cannot happen so. They understand that liberation for oppressed masses in various parts of the world rests upon the true socialist states that will be constituted in those various countries. Only thereby will the suppression of the Tamils from Sinhala communalists be halted, and the fear within the Sinhala people over the 40 million Tamils in India and the hatred towards the Tamils in the North for attempting to divide the country be eased. How can one stop the countries in this region joining with imperialists to crush the first workers state on Earth—the USSR? That is only by making the socialist revolution possible in Lanka, India and in the whole of South Asia. To this the international Spartacist tendency and all its other sections are devoted; and it is no secret for Don Mithuna. Intentionally he hides this from the masses. The international Spartacist tendency is an organization with a perspective for a world Socialist Federation.

Finally, one thing should be said. Don Mithuna has dutifully served the purpose as an agent for the entire capitalist class to viciously attack, slander and destroy working class movements.

Patrick Fernando
Spartacist League/Lanka

Copies to:
All left organizations
Human rights organizations
All newspaper publishers in Sri Lanka and abroad

Britain...

(continued from page 3)

speakers droned on about moral and financial support for the strike. But one NUR militant from London Transport, a supporter of the Spartacist League, intervened to demand, "shut down rail and power now"—and was greeted with applause.

Against the right's open scabbing and the do-nothing talk of the "lefts," our supporters in the unions have fought to mobilise strike action. A week after the strike began two NUR branches in London Transport adopted motions put by Spartacist supporters demanding the blacking of all coal and a national rail strike (including London Transport) in the event of any victimisation. At BL's [British Leylands] Rover Solihull factory, the shop stewards' committee endorsed the resolution initiated by a Spartacist supporter calling not only for financial and picket support, but for shutting down open-cast mines.

We of the Spartacist League/Britain and our supporters in the trade unions have thrown our full resources into fighting to win the strike. More than 15,000 copies of our special strike supplement, as well as thousands more leaflets have been distributed up and down the country, from Scotland to Yorkshire, South Wales and Kent. Our banner on the March 29 "Democracy Day" demonstration in London stood out with its call to "Smash Tory Assault—Miners Must Not Stand Alone!" We have organised public meetings to get out the truth about the strike. In Dunscroft, South Yorks, striking miners turned out March 29 to see the film *Harlan County, U.S.A.* and hear speakers including Gene Herson, a seaman from the U.S. and organiser of a class-struggle opposition in the National Maritime Union.

The following night a London SL public meeting featured as guest speakers Kent NUM president Malcolm Pitt, and a militant from the NUR. A Spartacist spokesman laid out the central issues of this strike: "From a simply trade-union standpoint it should be obvious that if the miners are out on strike, the railwaymen don't handle scab coal, and the steel workers don't handle coal, and the lorry drivers don't handle coal, and the power workers don't handle coal. The problem is that if these simple tactics of trade-union solidarity are carried out then this country doesn't run. And the reason why these kinds of elementary solidarity actions which are being addressed in words, have not been implemented, is because the trade-union leadership and the leadership of the Labour Party are quite well aware that if they precipitate a general strike around the question of the miners, then they pose the question of power—and they do not want to get rid of capitalism.

"And the fundamental issue that I want to address myself to is the question of the attitude towards the Russian Revolution and the Soviet Union. It's quite obvious if one looks at this particular strike, that those elements in the workers movement who hate the Soviet Union the most are the ones that most violently talk about urging workers to cross the picket line. A classic example of this is Frank Chapple—but there are more than he. And that is why Blackpool was so important.... When Scargill made that point [about Solidarność] and not one single delegate at the TUC congress got up to defend him when he was being redbaited, then Margaret Thatcher knew she had a good chance of isolating this union. And that's why she provoked this."

Today the Labour Party leadership is openly trying to sell out the miners, while the "left" like Tony Benn, so keen to maintain unity behind Kinnock, refuses even to oppose a strikebreaking ballot. The British working class is today in the throes of its most decisive struggle for many decades against the raw naked power of the capitalist state. This battle must be won! The workers of this country desperately need a fighting revolutionary vanguard party forged through splitting the Labour Party, winning the working-class base away from the pro-capitalist leaders around the program of revolutionary class struggle. This is what the Spartacist League seeks to build, and why we say today: Victory to the miners! Spread the strike! Shut down rail, steel, and the power stations! Smash Tory attacks! Bring down Thatcher! ■

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French Steel Workers...

(continued from page 1)

automobile)—entire layers of the productive apparatus—are condemned, and entire regions, like Lorraine, along with them. Mitterrand is trampling on even those pale reforms promised by the Union of the Left to hoist himself above and independent of his own electoral majority. He is presenting himself as a candidate for the bonapartist strongman à la de Gaulle. Thus his debate with the bourgeois opposition only concerns the best methods for smashing the workers. This government is attacking its own base. But key sectors of the workers are fighting back.

Lorraine is a particularly flagrant case, since in a certain sense Mitterrand owes his presidential armchair to the battles of the steel workers in 1979, which were the beginning of the end for the right-wing bourgeois Giscard regime. It's not surprising that Mitterrand is increasingly hated in this region, as witnessed by the appearance of banners like "Mitterrand: bought by capital," or by the burning down of the Socialist Party headquarters at Metz (which was quite clearly carried out by the workers). These "minority" actions are greeted with approval by thousands of workers.

Fresh from his visit to the United States, Mitterrand seems starry-eyed over Reagan's "free enterprise": bloody smashing of strikes, hunger and misery for millions of unemployed. But in *all* the capitalist countries, the bourgeoisie attacks the workers—slashing of wages, massive layoffs, closing of factories and the chauvinist witchhunt against immigrant workers—in order to save their profits and accelerate their preparations for war against the Soviet Union. In Britain, it's the miners strike against Thatcher's austerity; in Germany massive layoffs provoked the occupation of the shipyards; in Italy, the "socialist" government of Craxi is trying to eliminate cost-of-living indexes and is encountering a massive revolt based on the factory councils.

Today, Mitterrand has made the liquidation of the steel industry in Lorraine his personal business. Even earlier he sent his CRS riot police against factory occupations, giving the green light to a campaign of police terror against our immigrant class brothers. Sticking with Mitterrand is suicide!

In 1981 the Ligue Trotskyste said, "Giscard, never; No to Mitterrand!" Elected with the implicit support of the Gaullist nationalists, on the basis of a flamboyant anti-Soviet campaign, Mitterrand never promised anything other than the restructuring of French capitalism. His policy of "revival" fell to pieces like a house of cards, leaving a mountain of international debts. Thus, to demand that Mitterrand "keep his promises" is grotesque; he never promised anything to the steel workers except a phony "reconversion."

This government has created an economic mess and has brought down everybody's wrath on its head: the peasants, small shopkeepers, truckers—and important sectors of the working class. In face of the mobilizations by the enraged petty bourgeoisie, which have been led by reactionaries of all stripes, the solution is not to stick with Mitterrand. If the working class shows its power in struggle it will be possible to split the middle classes and rally broad layers to the side of the working class. On 4 April at Longwy, the entire population was behind the steel workers, down to the last shopkeeper. Now is the time to unify those industrial sectors which are under the gun—coal, shipyards, steel, automobile—and to muster them around the only measure which can make this brutally anti-working-class government bend—a general strike against Mitterrand's austerity policies.

"Normal" trade-union struggle is not sufficient in the face of such far-reaching government attacks. To try to fight workplace by workplace like the bureaucrats tell us to do is a real recipe for defeat. All the more so since in many cases strikes would not do much to threaten bosses who are in any case seeking to reduce production. A general strike should be combined with the militant tactic of factory occupations. The dismantling of the steel industry in France and throughout West Europe has been ordered by the capitalist Common Market. The entire European bourgeoisie will support Mitterrand against the workers' resistance. Therefore it will be indispensable for dockers and the railway workers to boycott all attempts to import coal, ore, steel, etc. This is how the British miners have sought to extend their strike.

April 13 must become a jumping-off point, not for a protest action that merely blows off steam, but a general strike to *smash* Mitterrand's austerity, a real general strike which stops the factories, ports, airports and transport throughout France. This general strike which directly challenges the popular-front government cannot rely on the reformist misleaders and must overcome the bureaucratic divisions in the union movement, reaching beyond organized labor to the unorganized worker: For strike committees and committees of action—embryos of working-class political power. Such a strike will pose inevitably the question of power and the necessity to finish with the economic chaos of capitalism by installing a real workers government. And this perspective not only goes beyond regional and sectoral limits, but also beyond national borders.

AP

Socialist Party headquarters in Longwy sacked and documents torched by enraged steel workers.

Karl Marx Was Right

Nearly 150 years ago, the *Communist Manifesto* explained: "The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them." The results: cyclical crises which periodically destroy the productive forces. "Modernize or perish," they tell us. Every year for the last ten years the rate of productive investment in France has gone down by 2 percent. It is the bourgeoisie, and it alone, which is responsible for the dilapidation of its own productive apparatus. This is the result of the system of production for profit.

In earlier times, doctors "cured" people with leeches, by repeated bleedings. Their patients often died. Our "socialist" witch doctors of sick capitalism will not obtain better results. Their austerity program bleeds the working class, pillaging or eliminating social welfare programs. However, this massive transfer of resources will not restart capitalist investment, which is still blocked by the fall in the rate of profit.

Soon we will have 3 million unemployed at a rate of 86,000 jobs eliminated a year; zero growth. And all they give us is blah-blah about reconversion. Last year at Longwy, of the 280 new jobs created, *seven* went to ex-steel workers. Years of experience and high level skills are threatened with extinction.

The disastrous situation of the steel industry today is the result of years of capitalist anarchy. There is massive overproduction and overcapacity of steel on the world market. To maintain the steel mills of France would mean ferocious protectionism and/or one hell of an armaments program producing a vast number of tanks. To get out of the impasse we need a real planned economy. Millions of workers know today that nationalizations by the bourgeois state change nothing. Nationalized enterprises are still run according to the profit criteria, and they speed up and lay off tens of thousands of workers.

As long as capitalism lasts, it is impossible to talk about the steel industry producing for the needs of society. All the "counterplans" offered by the reformists are utopian (as utopian as Mitterrand's plan to transform France into one gigantic "Silicon Valley"); they run up against the insurmountable barrier of the rate of profit.

"Produce French" is a deadly trap for the workers. We lose on all sides: protectionist measures provoke a reply in kind and what is gained on the domestic market is lost in exports. This is to choose "solidarity" with the employers association, our class enemies, against our class brothers in other countries, who face the exact same problems as we do. It is to turn one's back on the only real solution—rational, socialist planning on the European level. Reactionary and utopian, economic nationalism kindles the fires of chauvinism, cutting French workers off from those who have been in the vanguard of struggle for the last two years: the immigrant workers, in particular those in auto. Defending them against deportations and racist terror is a defense of the spearhead of the struggle against Mitterrand's austerity.

For a New Revolutionary Leadership

Ever since 1979 the steel workers of Lorraine have demonstrated an unequaled combativity. Where is the leadership worthy of their struggles? For the three years of Mitterrand's government, the Communist Party and the CP-led CGT labor federation have smothered working-class discontent, thus rendering an incalculable service to the "Republic," that is to big capital. Today, they may well find themselves kicked out the door, and precisely for having done these favors for the bourgeoisie! Mitterrand is attacking the working-class base of the CP (what good are parliamentary posts if their bastions in heavy industry are liquidated), because the reformist bureaucrats have taken so many kicks in the teeth and have gone so far as to break strikes themselves, like at Talbot this year, to cling to their ministerial hack seats.

Dumping the whole responsibility for the crisis of the steel industry on German capitalism, the CP has objectively blocked with the Gaullists on the basis of "anti-Krautism." The reformists have set the steel workers of Usinor-Dunkerque, of Longwy, of Fos against each other. Even worse, their disgusting chauvinism prevented a common struggle with the Belgian and German workers (who have been fighting for a 35-hour workweek).

What we need is a leadership which takes decisions based on the fact that this government is a sworn enemy of the workers and which, armed with a class-struggle program, can lead to victory. We must fight like hell to take back the unions on the basis of a revolutionary program, and create through this struggle strike committees and factory committees, which will regroup broader layers of workers. The key is a new revolutionary leadership—a Leninist party, a Trotskyist vanguard party. We Trotskyists base ourselves on the lessons of the past—the bankruptcy of the Blum Popular Front which ordered the shooting down of anti-fascist demonstrators at Clichy in 1937. We warned the workers against the popular front of Mitterrand. CP leader Marchais prostrated himself before Mitterrand, while the "far left" transformed itself into cheerleaders for the popular front.

Today there is no recognized revolutionary leadership capable of giving resolute leadership in this class war. Yet as Mitterrand dismantles French industry, throwing tens of thousands of workers on the slag heap, the proletariat is pushed toward a general strike against the capitalist austerity program in order to ensure its very survival. To paraphrase Leon Trotsky on the 1926 British general strike, the working class cannot permit the bankruptcy of French capitalism to mean the bankruptcy of the French people. And the more far-reaching and militant the struggle, to the degree the stranglehold of the traditional, reformist misleaders of the proletariat is broken, the revolutionary energies of the workers can be unleashed for the decisive battles ahead.

The question of economic recovery is posed as the necessity for the conquest of power by the proletariat. The organs of dual power—strike committees, factory committees, mass pickets which will become workers self-defense detachments and ultimately workers militias—will be the bases for a real workers government.

Mitterrand's savage attacks upon the French working class cannot be separated from his aggressive support to Western imperialism's war drive against the Soviet Union. This French social democrat has served as Reagan's sergeant-major in NATO Europe. More rabidly than any other West European regime, Mitterrand sought to whip up anti-Communist hysteria over Polish Solidarność, that "free trade union" for the CIA, world bankers and Vatican. The struggle of the French working class against Mitterrand's austerity is inseparable from the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union.

A progressive solution to the economic crisis of Common Market Europe, most acute in Mitterrand's France, cannot be separated from the "other" Europe: the degenerated/deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc. We need a communist revolution against capitalist exploitation and anarchy in West Europe and a proletarian political revolution against Stalinist bureaucratic oppression and economic mismanagement in East Europe. This is the road to a Socialist United States of Europe. Neither a popular front nor overt rightists nor reformist workers parties, but only a workers government can make the adjustments and rationalizations of industry without willfully and grievously injuring the working people. ■

Yellow Rain...

(continued from page 5)

device whose effect could be construed as resulting from naturally occurring food poisoning. Yellow rain would be one choice—but not a very probable one. Whether evading responsibility was the attacker's intent—or whether the intent was overt terror—there are cheaper and more effective techniques at hand.

There are many substances, well-known and available to weapons designers, that fill this bill. For example, an aerosol container the size of the smallest found on a supermarket shelf, slightly strengthened and modified and containing a solution of botulinal toxin type A, would kill everyone in a village if the poison was released in or near it. Deaths would appear to have been caused by botulism food poisoning. The weight of such a munition might be less than half a pound.

Should the Soviets decide to engage in biological warfare, the agent might well be the microorganism coxiella Burnetti, which causes Q-fever and is found in most parts of the world. The agent is easy to produce. Chills, fever, fatigue and weight loss can last for a month or longer and would be attributed to inadequate pasturization of milk or milk products. Domesticated livestock and poultry would also be infected. The munition to do all this might weigh as little as two ounces.

Compared to these agents, yellow rain presents tremendous logistical problems. Yellow rain itself has been reported by the State Department to contain only very small percentages of the supposed toxic ingredient, called T-2. Since one part yellow rain is reported to contain only one ten-thousandth part or less of T-2, and T-2 is only one-fiftieth as toxic as our present lethal chemical agents, it would take some 500,000 times as much fusarium mold to attack a given target than if a standard lethal chemical agent were used. At a minimum, about 3,000 *tons* of yellow rain would be required to attack a village. To place this quantity on the target would require 20,000 to 30,000 shells—some two hours of fire from a full Soviet artillery division—or a minimum of 8,000 tons of bombs dropped from the air.

It is true the Soviets believe in massive air attack and artillery fire, but would they adopt this tactic in a remote mountain village of 15 to 20 families? A six-gun, 122mm howitzer battery of the kind attached to a Soviet infantry regiment, firing one salvo of conventional shells weighing in all about 1,000 pounds, would leave little of the village.

Since none of the State Department reports of yellow rain incidents give any indication of such physical destruction, one might assume that the agent was delivered as a cloud from large transport or cargo planes. However, fusarium is a solid and not a gas or volatile liquid. To be effective, it would have to be dropped from an aircraft as very finely divided particles and then inhaled by the people in the village. But if the necessary 3,000 tons was dropped in this way over a village, very little of the light, fluffy material would reach the target. Most of it would be carried away by the wind.

Evidence of chemical or biological attack is unmistakable to an experienced observer. Indeed, an experienced observer can come close to describing the munition and probably the agent used just from a description of the attack. However, the descriptions provided by State Department interrogators give no patterns whatsoever fitting any known type of chemical or biological attack.

Agents giving very different symptoms and effects are described. The colors of the toxins are not just yellow, but almost the entire spectrum. Delivery is by a variety of means, including plastic bags opened above the target, spray tanks, shells, bombs, grenades and rockets. The clouds of agents are composed of large granules, liquid drops and very fine clouds.

Taking the State Department evidence at face value, several hundred combinations of agents and delivery systems seem to have been used. But it is unlikely that the Soviet Union has such a large number. Judging by U.S. experience, it takes 10 years or longer to search for a new agent, research its toxicity and methods of dissemination, and develop, test and produce it. Given the number of munitions and agents that the Soviets are said to have employed, they must have devoted several thousand years to the development and production of them!

A very important part of a weapons development program is assuring reliability in combat. Judging from the very large number of incidents that have been reported, there should be a very large number of duds and malfunctions that could serve as indisputable proof of Soviet chemical weapons activities. Yet the best evidence put forward for the use of these weapons are moldy twigs, leaves and rock scrapings.

There are grave doubts, to say the least, about the validity of the allegations on which the administration's report and the Senate resolution rests. Certainly, individuals at the Defense Department and CIA also must have expressed their douhts. So it is difficult to understand why the secretary of defense and the director of the CIA persist in their positions given the absence of acceptable evidence suggesting the Soviets have been or are engaged in chemical warfare. The State Department's allegations appear to be based on imaginative responses to naive and gullible interrogators.

Our country would be better served if the Senate reconsidered its resolution condemning the Soviets and turned its attention to another question: Has Congress been misled, and if so, by whom? ■

Leo Frank...

(continued from page 4)

Constitution, 3 January). Thus the Parole Board obscenely lumps together those seeking to exonerate the lynched victim with the racist mob who was his killer!

It has been clear for 70 years that Leo Frank was innocent. Governor Slaton was convinced of Frank's innocence at the time, but feared to free him. We don't know who killed Mary Phagan and at this point it is immaterial. No black or Jew could get a "fair trial" in the murder case of a young white woman in Marietta, Georgia in 1913—indeed, across the South few blacks ever saw the inside of a courtroom at all, as the racist mobs with their whips and lynch ropes rode high. And today the KKK/Nazis shoot down black ladies on the street in Chattanooga to "celebrate" Hitler's birthday, while in Montgomery the Taylor family is arrested, beat up and hauled into court for resisting a KKK nightriding armed attack by white thugs (who turned out to be the cops). In what is at best willful blindness, ADL national director Nathan Perlmutter remarked that the pardon had been defeated "not by Klansmen, but by bureaucratic insensitivity" (*Atlanta Journal*, 23 December 1983). Yet when the pardon was rejected, naturally the fascist filth sheet *Thunderbolt* crowed, "Thank God the power of the Jews in this country is not absolute."

A lot of bourgeois hypocrisy surrounds the efforts to exonerate Leo Frank. For the *Atlanta Constitution* (20 December 1983) a pardon for Frank means "Laying the burden down"! But deadly racist terror is on the rise, and no symbolic gesture is going to wipe the slate clean of the complicity of the capitalist state. From the night patrols which went after Negro freedmen as Black Reconstruction was waning to the lynchings of blacks in the 1920s to the present, the KKK killers have always lived in symbiosis with the bourgeois state. To put an end to the lynchings once and for all time, it is necessary to mobilize militant labor/black action to crush the fascist slime; and to draw the masses of workers and oppressed minorities into political struggle against all the capitalist politicians—from the liberal Northern Democrats who killed busing to the Dixiecrats and "New South" Republicans.

It is the *bipartisan* anti-Soviet war drive which brings out the anti-Communist fascist killers and turns their patrons like Larry McDonald into "responsible" American politicians. Today everyone from Mondale to Jesse Jackson courts Alabama governor "Segregation Forever" Wallace as they echo the slogan of the defeated Confederate plantation owners, that "The South shall rise again." Socialists and all those who fight for black freedom must fight to "Finish the Civil War!" Only a third American Revolution will avenge all the victims of the lynchers. Only a workers state will achieve genuine racial integration which the liberal-led civil rights movement could not, by bringing down the racist capitalist system which gives rise to the murderous race-hate terrorists. ■

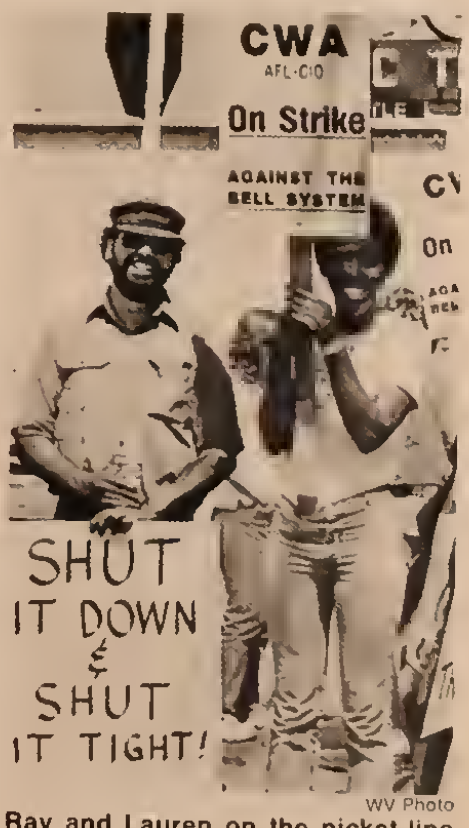
Lauren & Ray...

(continued from page 12)

town Oakland to demand "Freedom and Jobs Back for Lauren and Ray!" Initiated by the PSDC, the demonstration gathered wide-ranging support among labor, black and civil rights organizations and prominent individuals. The case of Lauren and Ray was becoming known throughout black Oakland—a symbol and rallying point against racist attack. The mobilization for October 29 forced the D.A. to drop the "great bodily injury" clause against Ray and Lauren, which shaved three years off their potential sentence. On March 1, some 100 supporters of Ray and Lauren demonstrated at the Hayward Municipal Court to demand a stop to the frame-up. At one court appearance after another, defense backers packed the courtroom to show that Ray and Lauren did not stand alone. On April 2, phone workers held a lunchtime rally at Pacific Tel's downtown San Francisco headquarters to expose Ma Bell's role in the frame-up.

While the phone company early on had tried to distance itself from the prosecution, claiming it was "not the party filing charges" (*Oakland Post*, 26 October 1983), when the pre-trial hearing began, Pacific Tel lawyers were at the D.A.'s side in court and PT&T security officials attended court sessions. Company management descended on Ray and Lauren's former work locations in the aftermath of the strike. Forced transfers, harassment and intensive overtime were directed at breaking up pockets of militancy among the workforce and intimidating phone workers. But these same workers were among the most active supporters of Ray and Lauren's defense. Not only did they come to rallies and court appearances, but they also made real personal and financial sacrifices to aid the defense, as well as helping to raise much-needed funds and spread the word throughout the labor movement.

Over 200 labor leaders endorsed the defense of Ray and Lauren. The Alameda County and San Francisco Central Labor Councils—representing over 100,000 AFL-CIO workers—passed motions demanding the dropping of charges against Ray and Lauren as well as the three other Bay Area phone workers arrested during the strike and facing misdemeanor charges. Many prominent individuals and political figures gave their support, including Congressman Ron Dellums, Muhammad Ali, Stokely Carmichael, Angela Davis, and Dorothy Healey and Manning Marable, vice-chairs of the Democratic Socialists of America. Numerous labor and civil rights attorneys, as well as black, Hispanic and student organizations endorsed the defense. Over two



WV Photo

Ray and Lauren on the picket line last summer.

JAZZ BENEFIT

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- **Support the Spartacist League lawsuit against the sinister, McCarthy-ite FBI Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines!**

NEW YORK CITY

For tickets and information: (212) 732-7860

WV Photo

Marchers at Ray and Lauren protest in Oakland carry pictures of five-year-old Patrick Mason and trade unionist Charles Briscoe, victims of racist killer cops.

dozen local unions endorsed the case, including unions from Canada and Australia, with many making financial contributions. Dozens of union meetings, work sites, neighborhoods and shopping centers were canvassed. Jazz and blues benefits were held to raise funds for the case. These defense efforts received widespread coverage in the bourgeois media and particularly in the black press, including the national circulation magazine, *Jet*.

The Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee were determined that Ray and Lauren would not go to jail. We made their defense a national priority. Issue after issue, *Workers Vanguard* hammered home the importance of this case. Not only were the efforts of SL supporters critical to the defense effort, but the SL's reputation for integrity was critical in many cases for winning support and endorsement of the case. Working relationships with a number of important labor organizations and black militants were gained particularly through our labor/black mobilizations against fascist terror, most notably the 27 November 1982 SL-initiated mobilization of 5,000 unionists and blacks that stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. In the Bay Area, many of those active in the defense of Lauren and Ray came to understand the link between this frame-up and the racist, capitalist system and joined the now year-old Labor Black League for Social Defense. The LBL, initiated by the Spartacist League to fight in the interests of black and working people on an integrated, class-struggle basis, took part in every aspect of Ray and Lauren's defense, including holding several "rent parties" which contributed to the efforts to raise funds to help Ray and Lauren and the three children dependent on them to survive.

Following today's victory, Lauren told *WV*, "I would like to thank the Spartacist League, the Partisan Defense Committee, the Phone Strikers Defense Committee. If it hadn't been for these people, in particular the Spartacist League, I don't think I would have come through this in one piece. I'd probably be doing time, because they were instrumental in letting people know how we were being framed."

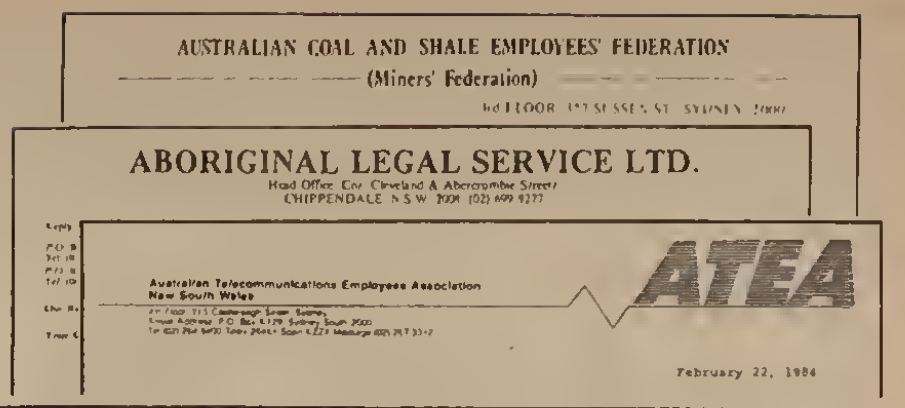
The D.A.'s office, acting in collusion with the phone company, tried to jail Lauren and Ray to intimidate not only phone workers but all trade unionists who seek to defend their strikes on the picket lines. The union-busting corporations and their government have targeted the picket line, because without picket lines you've got no unions. But met with a broad-based, militant and determined defense of Lauren and Ray, this frame-up conspiracy was smashed. And through this victory, a message was sent out to phone company managers and other like-minded scabs: Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!

To discipline the U.S. working class for the anti-Soviet war drive, the capitalists are employing union-busting, racist terror and rampant social reaction. Beating the attempt to frame up Ray and Lauren and put them behind bars is not only an important victory but a concrete demonstration of the necessity of a class-struggle program to defeat capitalist reaction. From stopping the Klan in Washington, D.C. to spiking the frame-up of Lauren and Ray, the key to victory is no confidence in the capitalist state—its cops, courts and politicians—and reliance on the mobilization of the workers and the oppressed. For those of you that want to put an end to this whole system of racist, frame-up injustice and exploitation, join us! As Ray Palmiero told *WV*: "So, while we've won a victory by keeping Lauren and myself out of jail, the final victory will come when the workers take power in their own hands, take state power. I want to thank all those people who defended us in this case, but we still have a lot of work to do—we still have a world to win!"

Victories like this cost money! Send your donation to: Phone Strikers Defense Committee, P.O. Box 24152, Oakland, California 94623.■

WV Photo

Supporters filled courtroom against racist, anti-labor frame-up of Ray and Lauren. This support was key to victory.



Australian Unions in Solidarity With Lauren and Ray

Telephone Workers

February 22, 1984

S.L./A.N.Z.
SYDNEY. NSW. 2001.

Dear Sir.

The following telegram has been sent to Alameda County District Attorney and President, Pacific Telephone and Telecommunications.

"The Australian Telecommunications Employees' Association, (Technician's Union), stands in solidarity with the campaign to defend Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero against the racist union-busting actions of Pacific Telephone Company. We demand all charges be dropped and racist anti-labour frame-up be stopped. Freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray. No victimisation of any of the strikers. Injury to one is injury to all. Down with South Africa style justice."

Yours fraternally.
A. DOUGLAS.
Acting Secretary, ATEA.

Plumbers and Gasfitters

1st March, 1984

Plumbers and Gasfitters Employees Union of Australia declares support for demands of phone strikers defence committee.

Urge immediate reinstatement of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero without loss of any entitlements and that amnesty be granted to all victimised phone strikers.

International image of United States is not good in relation to South African type anti-labour and black frame-up cases.

The Plumbers and Gasfitters Employees Union of Australia expresses international solidarity with workers on picket line subjected to employers and their agency attacks.

Demand all charges against Lauren Mozee, Ray Palmiero and all phone strikers be dropped immediately.

George Crawford
General Secretary
Plumbers and Gasfitters
Employees Union
of Australia

Building Workers

23 February 1984

To: J.J. Meehan, Alameda
County District Attorney
Oakland, CA

& P.T. & T. Saenger, President
San Francisco, CA

Building Workers Industrial Union of Australia, Victorian Branch declares support for demands of phone strikers defence committee.

Urge immediate reinstatement, Lauren Mozee & Ray Palmiero.

Call for amnesty for all victimised strikers and dropping of all charges.

A.N. Zecno
State Secretary
BWIU

Aboriginal Legal Service

CHIPPENDALE, N.S.W.

The Aboriginal Legal Service of New South Wales Australia records its solidarity with Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero.

We have seen 200 years of racist violence and oppression. We know too well what it is to be victimised in the struggle for freedom and justice. We stand together with our American brothers and sisters in their defence against the Alameda County D.A. and the Pacific Telephone Company.

We note that in persecuting black union members your system indicts itself. We add our voice to the call for all charges to be dropped and for an end to the racist frameup.

LYALL MUNRO JNR.,
CHAIRMAN, ABORIGINAL
LEGAL SERVICE

Sent telegrams to:
John J. Meehan,
Alameda County District Attorney

Ted Saenger,
President Pacific Telephone and
Telecommunications

Telegram copies to:
Phone Strikers Defence Committee,
SL/ANZ

Miners' Federation

27th February, 1984

The Secretary,
SL/ANZ,
SYDNEY. NSW 2001

Dear Sir,

Please find enclosed a copy of the telegram sent by this organisation. A similar telegram was forwarded to the President of PT & T.

Yours truly,
BARRY SWAN,
GENERAL SECRETARY

24 February 84

John J. Meehan
Alameda County District Attorney
Oakland, CA

The Miners Federation Australia stands in solidarity with the campaign to defend Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero against the racist union busting actions of Pacific Telephone Company. We demand all charges be dropped and racist antilabour frameup be stopped. Freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray. No victimisation. Injury to one is injury to all.

B. Swan,
General Secretary,
Miners Federation

WORKERS VANGUARD

Lauren and Ray Won't Go to Jail!

Ray Palmiero and Lauren Mozee with her two children.

no credit

Labor/Black Defense Defeats Racist Frame-Up of Phone Strikers

OAKLAND, April 6—Lauren and Ray will not go to jail! The eight-month long vindictive conspiracy by the Alameda County District Attorney and Pacific Telephone to railroad Lauren Mozee and her companion and fellow unionist Ray Palmiero into jail has been stopped cold. Today, a presiding judge threw out the felony charges against Lauren; two weeks ago the felonies against Ray were dropped for "insufficient evidence." Confronted by the successful campaign initiated by the Phone Strikers Defense Committee (PSDC), the government's racist frame-up was blown to pieces.

Here was a case that beat the big boys. At a time when the bosses take the picket line as an occasion for open season on striking workers, and increasing racist attack from the highest circles treat black lives as though they weren't worth a damn, the Lauren and Ray case took on the phone company and the D.A.'s office and won! The Lauren and Ray defense generated broad public exposure. It mobilized massive local labor-centered support as well as national and international support from as far away as Australia. This is a hard-won victory not only for Lauren and Ray and their many supporters and co-workers, but for every unionist who walks a picket line, for every black person resisting a racist attack, for every militant seeking to mobilize the working class and minorities for class struggle.

The frame-up of Lauren and Ray began during last summer's national strike against the phone company. While on picket duty in the Klan-infested suburb of San Leandro, Lauren was called a "black nigger bitch" and struck in the face by racist scab manager Michelle Rose Hansen. Lauren defended herself, Ray came to her assistance and, as a result, both were fired from their jobs, denied unemployment compensation and threatened with seven and a half years each in jail on stiff felony assault and battery charges.

The D.A.'s office and Pacific Tel singled out Ray and Lauren for persecution for reasons of calculated political racism. An interracial couple, Ray and Lauren are both members of the Militant Action Caucus, the class-struggle opposition group in the Communications Workers of America, and were well known as union militants advocating mass picketing to shut the phone company down during the strike. In addition, Lauren was a former 10-year member of the Black Panther Party. The Alameda County D.A.'s office was at the center of the government's murderous war on the Panthers: both U.S. Deputy Attorney General Lowell Jensen and Reagan's Attorney General nominee Ed Meese were powers in the Alameda County D.A.'s office and up to their eyeballs in the FBI's COINTELPRO murders and frame-ups of Panther militants. A years-old mug shot of Lauren was flashed on Bay Area TV in an attempt to depict Lauren as a dangerous criminal and to intimidate other phone strikers. The D.A.'s office from the outset stated that they intended to see Lauren and Ray in state prison. Lauren told WV: "This all stems back to when I was in the Panthers. They decided, well, they couldn't get me then, so they'd try to get me now."

But the D.A./phone company vendetta against Ray and Lauren was defeated by a labor-centered defense campaign which exposed the frame-up. Despite eight months of prosecutorial scheming, even Judge David Hunter noted to the dismay of the D.A.'s office that the case had "publicity value" because it arose out of "a strike against the phone company that might affect the D.A.'s office." The judge ruled: "I just don't think that it rises to a felony." Hunter reduced the felony charges against Lauren to misdemeanors, to which she pled "no contest" and was sentenced to eight weekends "community service." This is a clear admission that the D.A. had no case, that this was a grotesque frame-up from the start!

Following today's hearing, a lawyer representing Ray and three other Bay Area phone workers still facing misdemeanor charges from the strike congratulated Lauren's defense attorney on a "tremendous victory." Drop all the charges now!

They intended to put Lauren and Ray in the state pen for years and years. And if Lauren and Ray's supporters had relied on the courts they would have gone to jail. But these supporters knew that in this deeply racist, capitalist society, being innocent is never enough for minorities and other working people. Further, they knew they couldn't rely on the passive CWA bureaucracy to fight this case. Instead, a mass defense campaign sought to insure them the best possible legal defense while mobilizing broad support among labor and minorities to protest and expose this racist, anti-labor frame-up.

The power and appeal of this case was shown on 29 October 1983, when over 400 Bay Area unionists, blacks, Latinos and socialists demonstrated in down-

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WV Photo

Oakland, 29 October 1983—Bay Area labor/black rally chants: "Freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray!"

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 353

27 April 1984

Democrats: "Liberal" Party of Imperialist War

Crush Reagan's Terrorists in Central America!

Defend Nicaragua—Kill the Invaders!

Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists!

Nachtwey/Black Star

Kill the invaders! CIA's contra terrorists near evacuated Nicaraguan town of San Juan del Norte.

The Reagan war machine is poised for a full-scale invasion of Central America. To prepare public opinion war minister Weinberger's continuing claim that the administration has no plans for sending in combat troops is being contradicted by other Pentagon officials who admit that such plans are being drawn up. And here we're not talking about a few thousand "peacekeeping" troops à la Lebanon, or the few thousand it took to rape the tiny black West Indian island of Grenada. Pentagon experts estimate it would take 100,000-150,000 American troops just to partition the isthmus, much less overthrow the battle-hardened Nicaraguan Sandinistas and crush the courageous Salvadoran leftist guerrillas.

"U.S. Latin Force in Place If Needed, Officials Report" is the front-page headline for a major *New York Times* study (April 23) of this massive U.S. buildup. In the last year alone U.S. military "advisers" (remember Vietnam) have increased *tenfold* and more of their "advice" is given in battlefield crossfire. The once sleepy banana republic of Honduras has been turned into Fortress Honduras as the U.S. has constructed six air force bases and permanently stationed close to 2,000 troops there. In the Caribbean the U.S. has just launched "Ocean Venture" composed of the aircraft carrier America group of 350 warships and 30,000 troops.

Reagan's policy of seeking to suppress the revolutionary upheaval in Central America through local butchers is visibly not working. The CIA's *contra* terrorists in Nicaragua are making no headway against the Sandinistas. In El Salvador the murderous military dictatorship has been driven out of a third of the country by the leftist insurgents and its tenuous control over the remainder is

continued on page 4

Greensboro Verdict: Green Light for Racist Murder

All-White Jury Lets Off KKK/Nazi Killers Again

On 3 November 1979 in Greensboro, North Carolina five leftists, civil rights activists and union organizers were gunned down in broad daylight by a heavily armed Ku Klux Klan/Nazi gang. Millions of Americans saw and heard the videotape of the 88-second methodical fusillade; a cold-blooded, premeditated massacre, staged for TV, to bring the fascists' message home: it's open season on leftists who dare to organize against the Klan. Last week, on April 15 in Winston-Salem, an all-white federal jury acquitted nine members of the KKK/Nazi death squad of charges of violating the civil rights (!) of those killed and wounded—all supporters of the Communist Workers Party (CWP). The verdict came wrapped in the American flag, as the Klan murderers claimed they were just doing their patriotic duty in the war against communism. And with these hideous acquittals, the U.S. bourgeois state sends *its* message: a green light for racist murder. In 1984 in Reagan's America, the racist capitalist system openly declares it is not a crime to kill communists, or blacks.

The "legal defense" of the KKK/Nazi killers which was accepted by the jury was chilling. The fascists' lawyers argued literally it was okay to gun down communists, saying Nazi murderer Roland Wood was "a patriotic citizen, just like the Germans were.... That's why they went to Greensboro, to stop Communists!" That this open invitation to racist murder will be accepted was made ominously clear when *two days* after his acquittal Klan leader Virgil Griffin swore, "Every member of the Communist Party

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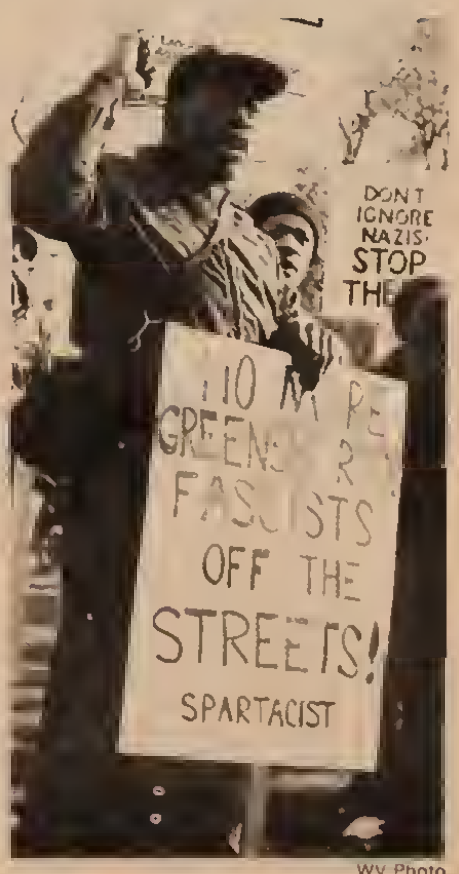

WV Photo

Greensboro...

(continued from page 1)

should be tried for treason and put in front of a firing squad and shot, or else sent to Russia to see how they like it there" (*Charlotte Observer*, 17 April). KKK rallies are now planned in Georgia and North Carolina to "celebrate" their victory, while a public Klan threat to kill Jesse Jackson has been issued. These KKK/Nazi killers are not just isolated nuts, but organized death squads sanctioned by the bourgeoisie. They are periodically unleashed, as at Greensboro, to do the deadly dirty work for the country's capitalist rulers. Now more than ever, black people, the working class, socialists and all decent people in this country must see the urgent need for powerful mass action to stop these racist killers in their tracks. As our placards proclaimed at the Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. in November 1982, "No More Greenshoros! Fascists Off the Streets!"

Four years ago, in the November 1980 state murder trial, another all-white jury likewise exonerated the fascists in the Greensboro Massacre. As we wrote at the time:

> "With the cross hairs of the Klan's M-16s trained on the communists, standing behind the white-sheeted killers trained at the Bay of Pigs and in Vietnam are the black-robed judges and the powerful apparatus of the U.S. government."
>
> —"Greensboro Was Racist Murder!" *WV* No. 269, 28 November 1980

The government was complicit in the Greensboro Massacre from start to finish. Early on, the Klan and Nazis had been infiltrated and orchestrated by local police informer Edward Dawson, and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) agent Bernard Butkovich. Indeed, no less than *41* KKK chapters were *organized* by the FBI in North Carolina alone, according to former North Carolina state senator Morgan. Thus, it came as no surprise when Justice Department prosecutor Daniel Bell quickly and magnanimously reconciled himself to the verdict: "It's obvious that we disagree with the verdict and were deeply disappointed with it. However, under our system of justice, the jury has the final say and we have to accept that" (*Greensboro News and Record*, 16 April). The "final say" the government is so willing to accept is precisely the message they want to drive home: as the bourgeoisie gears up its anti-Soviet war drive, the fascists get a license to kill blacks, labor militants and communists here at home.

The Greensboro Massacre was cynically painted by the capitalist press as "a shootout" between "two violent fringe groups." Obscenely equating the victims with the killers, supposed defenders of civil liberties like the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League and the *New York Times* apologized for racist murder. The killing in Greensboro occurred at the high point of Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade to refurbish and rearm post-Vietnam U.S. imperialism. Subsequently Reagan reaction has accelerated the plunge toward war with the Soviet Union. So domestic opponents are labeled "unpatriotic," Marxists and socialist militants become "terrorists" and are subject to "preemptive strikes." And that is just what the fascists did in Greensboro on 3 November 1979. No wonder the KKK made Ronald Reagan their Klandidate in the 1980 elections and just endorsed him again for '84. The Klan and the Nazis are Reagan's dogs of war.

The liberals are complaining that the verdict may have been the result of a wrong "legal strategy" on the part of the feds, since the indictments required the prosecution to prove "racial motives" for the Klan/Nazi "disruption." A *New York Times* (22 April) editorial commented, "the trial may have turned on a provision of the Federal civil rights law ...[which] requires prosecutors to prove the men were present at the rally because of racial hatred rather than patriotism, as they claimed." No—the Greensboro Massacre was a government/fascist conspiracy—from the "former" FBI agent who *literally* rode shotgun for the Nazi/KKK caravan to the Greensboro cop who brought up the rear. Under what "law" of the bourgeois state would the government be expected to indict itself?

The Greensboro Massacre, 3 November 1979—In broad daylight Klansmen/Nazis open fire on union organizers, civil rights activists and leftists, killing five.

Davis/Greensboro Daily News

Roy Hall, lawyer for the backwoods Nazi leader Wood, positively bragged about the fascist murder:

> "You're going to hear an awful lot about the fact that Roland Wayne Wood was head of the local Nazi party. But these are not the war crime Nazis. At the end of the war Roland Wayne Wood was only two months old. He is a patriotic citizen, just like the Germans were. The largest ethnic minority in the country are Germans. Many of you on the jury have German blood. This court sits on a tract of land owned by a German family.... Across the street there is a bust of a German man.... The German people are always with us. Think of Werner von Braun and all the contributions the Germans have made to science and technology. Werner von Braun was a Nazi, but no one asked him his politics before they made him a high-ranking official at NASA. He started the space program! The Germans gambled everything and lost all in opposition to communism! Aren't they a lot more attractive now than they were 40 years ago at the end of the war? These defendants are patriotic citizens just like the German citizens. That's why they went to Greensboro, to stop Communists!"
>
> —*Workers Viewpoint*, 2-15 February

In a nutshell, he argued, they were just American patriots on a Saturday outing. This was not a risky approach in a state where Nazi candidate for attorney general Harold Covington got 56,000 votes, or 43 percent of the Republican primary total in 1980.

The latest trial opened in January. The federal judge ordered that the jury selection process would be secret, a ruling unprecedented even in North Carolina. Thus a second all-white, middle-aged jury was empaneled. It included a Vietnam War veteran, wounded in battle, and one woman who at the time of the Greensboro killings was the best friend of the sister of the chief of the Greensboro police force. A gag order prohibiting public statements on the trial was slapped on all trial participants, including the anti-Klan survivors. Prominent CWP black leader Nelson Johnson was stifled.

There can be no justice when the prosecutors are the perpetrators. BATF agent Butkovich testified only briefly. He had participated in the planning meeting on 1 November 1979 where the use of pipe bombs was explored and a poster of CWP leaders was studied. He had trained Nazis in the use of semi-automatic weapons and suggested specific ways they could be transported. On November 3, however, he was mysteriously absent on another assignment. The FBI absolved the Greensboro police of any wrongdoing. Yet Edward Dawson, their informer, led the Klan and Nazi caravan to the rally, and the shooting began as he yelled out, "You asked for the Klan, now you've got them!"

The intersection of the fascists with the bourgeois state was crystal clear at Greensboro. Bernard Butkovich is a latter-day Gary Rowe, the FBI informer who burned churches, beat freedom riders bloody and was probably trigger man in the death of civil rights activist Viola Liuzzo. Under the FBI's COINTELPRO, the Black Panthers were physically annihilated. And now the Greensboro killers are let free, while the judge threw out the civil suit brought by the Liuzzo children and forced them to pay the court costs, on the grounds that racist assassin FBI "informer" Gary Rowe was only doing his job! The relatives of the CWP martyrs are now pursuing a $48 million civil court suit as their last recourse under American "justice." They deserve every penny they can get and the cop/Klan conspiracy must be exposed. But it will not be in the courtrooms of Winston-Salem or any capitalist court that real justice will be done.

Liberal illusions in the capitalist state are roadblocks to revolution. What the bourgeoisie fears above all is the powerful combination of black and red, forged on the communist program, mobilizing the social power of the integrated proletariat. The CWP, zigging and zagging between adventurism and popular frontism, went from its Greensboro "Death to the Klan" rally to supporting black Democrat Jesse Jackson. Today they are so deeply liquidated into the Jackson campaign that they have not bothered to hold a single protest demonstration against the racist court verdict.

On 10 November 1979 when the Ku Klux Klan obscenely threatened to "celebrate" the Greensboro Massacre by starting a bloody provocation in downtown Detroit, the Spartacist League-initiated labor/black mobilization drew 500 mainly black participants, especially from the Detroit-area auto plants, who proclaimed, "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!" The Detroit rally, organized *against* the threats of black Democrat Coleman Young, was the first mass integrated, labor-centered protest against fascist terror in the U.S. in decades. As black Spartacist spokesman Don Alexander put forward our program at Detroit's Kennedy Square that day:

> "The Spartacist League has worked to build this rally because we *know*, like the brothers from Rouge and Chrysler said, it takes the power of labor to smash the KKK killers once and for all....
>
> "The Klan shoots down black and labor organizers in the South, and we respond here in Detroit the way any Marxists would—like they did in the '30s, when they got 50,000 people to Madison Square Garden to deal with the fascists. It seems pretty simple. But who else does it?...
>
> "I am with the Spartacist League. We are America's last, best chance. There isn't much choice. It's either fight along with us, along the lines that made the Russian Revolution, or sink with the capitalists.
>
> "That is the inescapable conclusion from the blood of Greensboro to the sweat of the auto plants. The road for blacks, the road for workers is the socialist revolution." ■

Death to Slavery!

TROTSKY

LENIN

Karl Marx recognized that the American Civil War was a great revolutionary bourgeois-democratic struggle the outcome of which would shape the destiny of this country for decades to come. He energetically rallied the European working classes to support the victory of the North. We reprint below excerpts from an address drafted by Marx for the First International on the occasion of Abraham Lincoln's re-election in 1864.

We congratulate the American people upon your reelection by a large majority. If resistance to the Slave Power was the reserved watchword of your first election, the triumphant war cry of your reelection is, Death to Slavery....

The working classes of Europe understood at once, even before the fanatic partisanship of the upper classes for the Confederate gentry had given its dismal warning, that the slaveholders' rebellion was to sound the tocsin for a general holy crusade of property against labor, and that for the men of labor, with their hopes for the future, even their past conquests were at stake in that tremendous conflict on the other side of the Atlantic....

While the workingmen, the true political powers of the North, allowed slavery to defile their own republic, while before the Negro, mastered and sold without his concurrence, they boasted it the highest prerogative of the white-skinned laborer to sell himself and choose his own master, they were unable to attain the true freedom of labor, or to support their European brethren in their struggle for emancipation, but this barrier to progress has been swept off by the red sea of Civil War.

—Karl Marx, "Address of the International Working Men's Association to President Lincoln" (1864)

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No. 353 **27 April 1984**

Crazy Qaddafi vs. "Iron Lady" Thatcher

Libyan Embassy Siege

APRIL 23—Nobody can accuse Libya's Colonel Qaddafi of paying lip service to bourgeois democracy: as soon as a few dozen anti-Qaddafi Libyan students started picketing the Libyan embassy in London on April 17, they were answered by a hail of submachine gun bullets from the so-called "People's Bureau," which was taken over by a "student" committee in February as part of Qaddafi's latest campaign against dissidents abroad. Eleven demonstrators were wounded and a British policewoman was killed. It was a taste of life in the Libyan "Jamahiriyah" (Congregation).

But this is London, home of British imperialism, and more importantly, it was in St. James Square, where the upper crust walk, not to mention tourists. As the London *Times* (18 April) snottily lectured, "Britain cannot permit foreign wars to be fought on its soil." Such violence is reserved by the British ruling class for places like, say, Northern Ireland, where the British army can do what it likes with the local "non-persons." Fake-"left" Labour leader Neil Kinnock, fresh from paying his condolences to the policewoman's family, chimed in behind the *Times*: "our country is not to be regarded as a battleground for anybody's factions."

With this spontaneous popular front of classes cheering him on, British Home Secretary Leon Brittan convened *his* terrorist group at "Cobra," the Whitehall nerve center in such crises. London police were quickly reinforced by a helicopter and blue-bereted members of D-11, Scotland Yard's firearms marksmen, and "technicians" from MI-5, while the 22nd Special Air Services (SAS) were reportedly placed on standby. What stopped the enraged British government from launching a massive assault was not so much diplomatic convention as the Libyan warning about "the consequences," as Libyan troops surrounded the British embassy in Tripoli. A situation of mutual terror developed, and the British capitalist press weighed the value of revenge versus the loss of 300 million pounds of British trade and the possible danger to British subjects. You can't say the British capitalists are not hard-headed materialists.

Whoever fired those shots committed a criminal act. And under these circumstances, we can hardly be fond of the killing of a young woman, even if she was a member of the racist and nastily vicious London police force. But we do not want to let British imperialism hone its own terrorist skills by storming the Libyan embassy, let alone invading Libya. Moreover, as revolutionary communists who struggle for state power and fully intend to have our own embassies, we uphold the principle of "extraterritoriality." As we wrote at the time of the seizure of the U.S. embassy in Iran:

> "Diplomatic immunity and territorial sovereignty of embassies are seldom violated even by nations at war, though every diplomatic office conducts its share of spying and intelligence gathering. These diplomatic rules of the game are necessary to maintain international relations between nation-states, until the nation-state itself has disappeared in a socialist world."
>
> —"Iran Embassy Crisis," *WV* No. 244, 23 November 1979

If the Libyans were honorable, they would turn over the perpetrator rather than shielding him with embassy extraterritoriality. But of course there is no honor among thieves.

Meanwhile the U.S. government, fresh from dropping mines into Nicaragua's harbors, hypocritically denounced the Libyan action as a violation of "international norms" and a continuation of "state-supported terrorism." The *New York Times* (19 April), reflecting Reagan's appetites, warned that Qaddafi "is asking for punishment." If ever there were a case of the pot calling the kettle black, this is it. The U.S. routinely tramples on Soviet diplomatic immunity, e.g., the humiliating prisoner-of-war treatment of Soviet embassy personnel on Grenada during the recent U.S. pirate invasion, wherein the Soviet staff was held for hours and searched with their hands behind their heads. And in fact it was "former" CIA agents Wilson and Terpil who helped arm Qaddafi, apparently as part of a CIA attempt to use Qaddafi as an anti-communist prop in the Arab world.

Now Qaddafi is targeted by the Reaganites as a Soviet surrogate, and hence even imaginary crimes are blamed on him: the phantom Libyan "hit squad" which supposedly was sent to get Reagan in late 1981 but never materialized; or the bombing raid in Sudan which was supposedly done by a Libyan plane but which even the *Times* (21 March) of London admits was probably done by the Sudanese government in order to kill an oppositionist under house arrest! In the mad, mad world of Reaganite anti-communism, the crazy plots of the Moslem fanatic Qaddafi could become the trigger for World War III like the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand in 1914.

Outside of Libya, only the British Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) of Gerry Healy tries to paint the Qaddafi regime as some kind of people's "revolution." A 21 April editorial in the Healyite *Newsline* demands the lifting of the police siege because "It is an act of intimidation and aggression against the oppressed Libyan people and their revolution." At the same time *Newsline* takes legal care to "declare our total opposition to the shooting incident," while carefully remaining silent about the trail of bodies spread across Europe by the messengers of Qaddafi. Did they all deserve to die (including the two students recently hanged at Tripoli University, triggering the London demonstration)? The chairman of the Libyan People's Committee on "education," Abdulhafid Zallitali, has explained that an "anti-revolutionary" "could be [defined as] communist, extreme Moslem fundamentalist or others" (*Washington Post*, 23 April)—quite a broad spectrum! The Healyites have long been apologists of murderous Muslim anti-communism, from Qaddafi to Khomeini. And their latest crowing that the Tory government is now backing down looks like nutty wishful thinking—precipitous diplomatic breaks are usually intended only to remove the diplomatic barrier to unrestrained violence.

Despite Qaddafi's "socialist" and "anti-imperialist" rhetoric Libya is a backward capitalist state run by a megalomaniac according to the feudalist, anti-woman, anti-democratic laws of the Koran. But on any scale of terrorism it is a puny factor compared with the capabilities of decaying British imperialism, or especially with the nuclear madmen in Washington. When the British working class sweeps away Thatcher's army of cops now terrorizing the coal fields, then the terrorism of Qaddafi will become a very minor historical footnote. ■

Challis/Daily Mail

British policewoman killed, eleven Libyan students wounded when Qaddafi fanatic submachine-gunned protesters from Libyan embassy in London.

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Central America...

(continued from page 1)

slipping fast. The basic alternatives for U.S. imperialism to crush the revolutionary masses in Central America are increasingly clear: the massive introduction of U.S. combat troops or pressuring and cajoling the Central American radical nationalists into selling out (a "political solution").

A U.S. occupation of Central America will be no walkover like Grenada. The Pentagon brass were so overjoyed by their "big win" in Grenada that they awarded 8,612 medals to military personnel involved in the invasion even though there were never more than 7,000 U.S. troops on the island! If the U.S. invades Nicaragua, most of those medals will be awarded posthumously. And the popular reaction within the United States to such a Central American adventure will be like nothing this country has seen since the last years of the Vietnam War.

The Democratic Road to Counterrevolution

While the Pentagon is preparing for the large-scale introduction of U.S. combat forces, Congress is voting funds for the CIA-organized *contra* terrorist war on Nicaragua and for the Salvadoran death squads. And here there is no basic policy difference between the Democrats and Reaganites, only a difference in rhetoric. Having bankrolled the *contra* terror campaign that has included brutally murdering Nicaraguan peasants, bombing the civilian airport in Managua and threatening the Pacific port of Corinto with fiery holocaust, Congress has now piously adopted a hot air "non-binding" resolution against the mining of Nicaragua's harbors...after having approved $21 million for the *contras* a few days before. The Democratic-controlled House of Representatives has already offered $32 million in supplemental aid to the Salvadoran regime. Besides, the invasion of Grenada was paid for with $75 million of "unauthorized" funds, so when it comes down to it Reagan will find the money he needs.

While the Democrats and Republicans wrangle over Central America in the press and in the election campaign, there is deep bipartisan agreement on the core of foreign policy—the anti-Soviet war drive. It is because the Democrats believe that Reagan's particular Central American policies weaken the global anti-Soviet war drive and the overall role of the U.S. as world policeman that the imperialist "doves" oppose him on narrow tactical grounds. The Democrats' "negotiated solution" is another *military* solution aimed at defeating the Central American insurgencies in blood, while putting the drive for World War III against the Russians on a more politically and militarily agile footing. It is not accidental that Gary Hart, for instance, criticizes the Reagan regime for not having enough "readiness" forces. Ready for what?

The differences between the Democrats and the Reagan gang are over means rather than goals. Interviewed on NBC's "Meet the Press" (22 April), Democratic presidential candidate Gary Hart was asked: "Would you be prepared to see Central America go Communist rather than commit American forces?" Hart replied: "If I felt those were the only alternatives, I might be willing to provide a military assistance, but I don't think they are." Or as liberal Democratic Congressman David Obey put it:

> "The issue isn't whether we're going to fight for our interests in Central America. The issue is, are we going to fight smart or fight stupid?"
>
> —*Newsweek*, 23 April

Just what do the liberals mean by fighting smart? First, the Democrats understand, as Reagan does not, that most Americans are not willing to die or have their husbands and sons die in order to defend "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson's death squads and put Tacho Somoza's torturers back in power in Nicaragua. And this is especially true for blacks, who, moreover, make up a disproportionate number of U.S. combat troops. To broaden the popular base for U.S. imperialist intervention in Central America, it has to be given a "democratic" façade. That's why all of the Democratic presidential candidates talk about making funds for the Salvadoran military conditional on a better "human rights" report card.

An especially important role is that of Jesse Jackson since blacks are deeply hostile to Reagan and generally distrustful of the Pentagon war machine. Alexander Cockburn put it well in a recent issue of the *Nation* (17 March):

> "Form and custom demand that at least one Democrat speak to the disenfranchised, the have-nots, the underclass, the wretched of the earth—in other words, the electoral cannon fodder which has to be marshaled briefly at the polling booths in November to propel the consensus candidate into office. This was to be the role of Jesse Jackson, given media sanction to animate the masses with his Baptist eloquence, register them wherever possible and then take a back seat to a 'serious' candidate."

Cockburn believes that Jackson has now gone beyond this role, but his description is correct.

It is no accident that every major war U.S. imperialism has been involved in this century occurred under a liberal Democratic president: World War I under Woodrow Wilson, World War II under Roosevelt, the Korean War under Truman and the Vietnam War under Kennedy/Johnson. Because of their ties to organized labor, the blacks and other minorities, the Democrats can mobilize the American population for war in a way that the Republicans, widely viewed as the party of "big business," cannot. And for this they have the active cooperation of the rad-lib and reformist leaders of the El Salvador protest movement. Just as during the Vietnam War every two years the "peace" movement would take a break in their demonstrations to work for Democratic "dove" candidates, today CISPES et al. are devoting their efforts to building the Jesse Jackson campaign. We noted recently in *Young Spartacus* (No. 117, April 1984) that just as the U.S. threat to the Salvadoran insurgents and Sandinista Nicaragua is greater than ever before, there are *no* protest demonstrations at all. But wait! An emergency protest against the U.S. mining of Nicaraguan harbors has now been scheduled...for *June 9*! No doubt they figure with the primaries over they won't step on any Democrats' electoral toes.

Secondly, the liberal Democrats have ties to European social democracy and decades of experience dealing with trade-union bureaucrats and black reformist leaders. More politically sophisticated than the Reaganites, the Democrats know how to suppress a revolution without always sending in the marines. While Reagan has already written off Nicaragua as a "Communist state," Democratic policymakers understand that the radical nationalist Sandinista regime can be split, that at least a section of it can be bought off. After all, CIA *contra* Edén Pastora (Comandante Zero) was once a hero of the civil war against Somoza. There are certainly other potential Pastoras within the Sandinista regime. But Reagan is not giving the Sandinistas the option of selling out; he wants to kill them all. At the same time, the CIA's mining of Nicaraguan harbors, the escalating war of *contra* terror is rallying the masses against the hated Yankee imperialists. Still the petty-bourgeois Sandinistas continue to tolerate, even subsidize, the capitalist "fifth column"—the *contras* from within. The only way to defend the Nicaraguan revolution is to *complete* the revolution by expropriating the bourgeoisie as a class and by *extending* the revolutionary struggle throughout Central America, deposing the surrounding right-wing, U.S.-backed regimes.

In El Salvador the liberal Democrats aim to split the "moderate" wing of the nationalist forces. After all, the head of the Revolutionary Democratic Front, Guillermo Ungo, is a small-change bourgeois politician who served in the "human rights" junta installed in 1979 by the Carter/Mondale administration. This "human rights" junta began the orgy of bloodletting which continues to this day. Today Ungo calls for a

continued on page 15

Nora Astorga, Revolutionary Heroine

AP

Among the Nicaraguan masses and class-conscious militants internationally, Nora Astorga is a heroine of the grueling civil war that overthrew the hated tyrant Anastasio Somoza and his bloodthirsty National Guard. For the U.S. imperialists, however, for whom Somoza was "our son of a bitch," Astorga has an "unattractive" past and was unacceptable as a nominee to become Nicaraguan ambassador to the U.S. According to a high-ranking administration official, "She isn't the type of person that we want here. We wouldn't send that type of person there" (*El Diario-La Prensa*, 20 April). Indeed not. The U.S. government sends types like John Negroponte, American ambassador to Honduras, who as a political officer in the Saigon embassy accused Henry Kissinger of selling out at the 1973 Paris peace talks, preferring even a greater holocaust of napalm and carpet bombing against the Indochinese masses. And the U.S. government accepts with open arms representatives of such blood-soaked repressive regimes as South Africa, Israel and El Salvador.

The administration move, highly unusual under diplomatic protocol, was reportedly pushed by the CIA over the recommendation of George Shultz's State Department. It is further evidence of the Reaganites' campaign of provocation and terror and an extension of their attempts to isolate Nicaragua. In this case, though, the CIA has a special grudge. Astorga played a key role in knocking off a key CIA "asset" and second in command of the notorious National Guard, General Reynaldo ("the Dog") Pérez Vega.

Widely known as an especially brutal torturer and a womanizer who obtained sexual favors either through his position or by force, Pérez was lured by Astorga into her bedroom. There she was backed up by armed Sandinista comrades who intervened at the right moment to try to kidnap Somoza's bloody henchman. When "the Dog" tried to resist, he was executed. This act of revolutionary justice was widely hailed in Nicaragua and rightly so.

The Spartacist League salutes Nora Astorga as a courageous fighter. Her revolutionary deed, which so horrifies the masters of the Yankee empire, recalls the heroic act of the biblical Judith, who helped the Israelites defeat the invading army of Assyrian King Nebuchadnezzar by luring his chief general with her charms and then lopping off his head. The butcher Pérez Vega richly deserved his fate, and we only regret that so many of the Somozaist torturers were spared by the "generosity" of the Sandinista revolution so that they now lead the *contra* mercenaries sowing terror in the Nicaraguan countryside.

Today, opposed by a counterrevolutionary fifth column from within and U.S. mercenaries from without, the Nicaraguan revolution is under attack. Only the revolutionary mobilization of the Nicaraguan masses linked to that of the isthmus' workers and peasants can ultimately defeat the forces of reaction. Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan revolution! Hail Nora Astorga!

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Hang Margaret Thatcher!

Margaret Thatcher, the nastiest thing to hit England since Winston Churchill, appears to be an outright war criminal. During the Falkland/Malvinas war, that bizarre conflict between two crazed reactionary regimes, Thatcher's British Tories and the Argentine military dictatorship, the one unambiguous atrocity was the gratuitous sinking of the ancient cruiser *General Belgrano* (formerly USS *Phoenix*). The British submarine *Conqueror* located the *Belgrano* about 35 miles outside the 200-mile "war zone" declared by London. Disregarding this fact, the British launched two long-range torpedoes. Within hours the second largest ship in the Argentine navy went down. Over 300 sailors were killed. The British naval officers, who carefully cultivate a reputation for honor and "fair play," made no effort at all to rescue the survivors huddled together in life boats trying to avoid freezing to death.

Now it has come out that Thatcher's war cabinet and the British high command apparently knew in advance the *Belgrano* was returning to port. An April 1 letter in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* cited a *Labour Weekly* account (3 February) as revealing that a radio message from the Argentine high command ordering the *Belgrano* to leave the area was intercepted by the GCHQ Cheltenham intelligence center. It was decoded in two minutes, forwarded to the British Naval Intelligence Center and thence to the war cabinet. In other words, Thatcher & Co. presumably knew hours before the *Belgrano* was sunk that it was heading away from the "war zone." If this story is true, the British sub commander may not have been so informed, but Iron Lady Thatcher surely knew; apparently she had the Argentine ship sunk for the sheer mass-murdering hell of it.

UPI

Coffins of sailors killed in sinking of Argentine cruiser General Belgrano. Victims of war criminal Margaret Thatcher.

Since then the British have revealed almost nothing about the sinking of the *Belgrano*. What, for example, was its speed and direction when attacked? (The Argentine junta was unlikely to admit it ordered the ship to leave the war zone, though the present Buenos Aires regime might verify such an order.) The name of the commander of the submarine *Conqueror*, who would normally be heaped with medals, has not to our knowledge even been made known to the public. This secretiveness strongly suggests guilt at the top. If the British commander knew the *Belgrano* was leaving the area, he, too, is guilty of mass murder and deserves to be hanged.

Evidently one of the reasons that Thatcher has tried union-bashing at GCHQ Cheltenham—along with her normal bloodlust against the labor movement—was that one of its employees leaked this evidence that she is a certified war criminal.

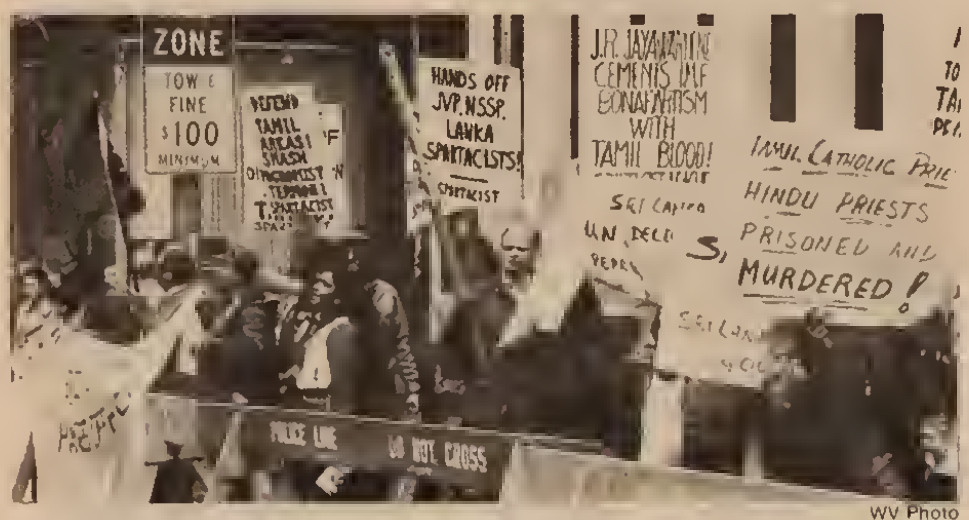
The account in the *Guardian* suggests an inquiry into the sinking of the *Belgrano*. But it would be hard to find a jury of Thatcher's peers—except possibly the torturers and executioners of the former Argentine junta. If Thatcher dispatched those Argentine boys to the bottom of the sea, she richly deserves hanging.

NYC Protest Hits Anti-Tamil Terror in Sri Lanka

Supporters of the Spartacist League joined several Tamil groups demonstrating in New York City on April 16 against the escalation of racialist violence by the pro-American J.R. Jayewardene regime against the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka (Ceylon). As the 50 protesters marched, they were photographed by Sinhalese who drove by repeatedly in cars with diplomatic license plates.

Jayewardene's United National Party government is now promoting rumors of thousands of "terrorist Tamil Tigers" massing in Tamil Nadu, south India, ready to invade across the Palk Strait. Thus the rulers hope to justify their own bloody terror against the Tamils, carried out by Sinhalese communalist mobs in the South and by the cops and the army of occupation in the Jaffna peninsula in the North. News reports from the North are subject to stringent censorship. The Jaffna peninsula is sealed off, patrolled day and night by 5,000 cops and troops. Now the government has announced the establishment of a "surveillance zone" to blockade the Palk Strait, warning that any vessel entering the restricted zone would be fired on. Thus tens of thousands of Tamils, forced by the pogroms to flee to the North, are locked in this barren ghetto. In the last month incidents between the military personnel and the militant youth have increased. The demonstrators in New York demanded: Cops and troops out of Jaffna! Down with emergency regulations! Arms to the Tamil people! For the right of Tamil Eelam!

Recently a special ministry of "national security" was given sweeping "emergency powers" in the North and East. This spells more of the violence for which the occupying Sinhalese army is notorious—raping, looting and massacre. In the latest attacks the government figure of 50 dead is undoubtedly considerably understated. On April 10 the army opened fire on a Catholic church in Jaffna which was sheltering hundreds of Tamil refugees who had fled from the South after the massacres last July. Army, police and air force personnel then carried out indiscriminate attacks including shooting into a crowd at the market town of Chunnakam near Jaffna, killing at least eight people.



WV Photo

April 16—Over 50 protesters, Tamils and supporters of the international Spartacist tendency, rallied in front of the Sri Lankan Mission to the UN.

India has expressed concern over recent events and especially over J.R.'s growing ties with war-crazy Reagan. But Indira Gandhi, bloody oppressor of her own national, religious and political minorities, faced with plenty of problems of her own, won't come to the aid of Lanka's Tamils. While some demonstrators in New York chanted "Mother India Save the Tamils," Spartacist supporters led the chant, "No Faith in Mrs. Gandhi—Remember Assam and the Mukti Bahini!"

As the Sri Lankan government's relations with India have steadily worsened, Jayewardene has made increasingly clear that he is more than willing to trade with Reagan—Lanka as a strategic outpost in the service of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive, in exchange for IMF dollars and U.S. military hardware. What J.R. has that the U.S. wants is cheap labor in the "Free Trade Zone" and especially the rights to Trincomalee harbor, strategic to control of the Indian Ocean. Located in the historically predominantly Tamil eastern area of the island, Trincomalee is the crucial point of intersection between the U.S.'s appetites and Jayewardene's terrorization of the Tamil people.

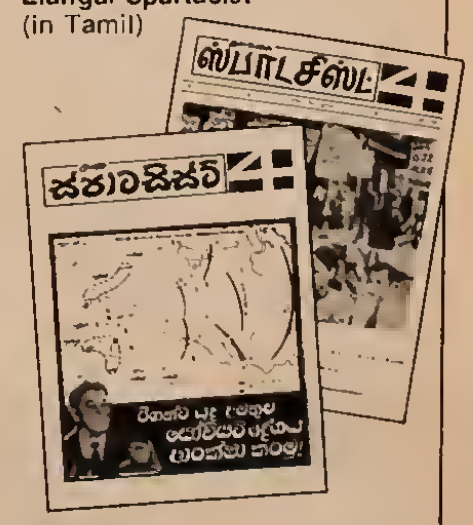
Last November the UNP government announced a *200 percent* increase in the military budget (to $99 million) from the 1981 budget, the purchase of helicopters, artillery, communications and counterinsurgency equipment. Meanwhile, following a chat with U.S. "Defense" Secretary Caspar Weinberger in Colombo late last year, the January 12 visit of a U.S. Congressional delegation including the chairman of the House Appropriations Committee defense subcommittee, and a stopover in Colombo by the Senate Appropriations Committee chairman on January 16, a government spokesman announced an official state visit to the U.S. by Jayewardene, to be highlighted by a state dinner hosted by Reagan himself. Presumably these discussions will conclude the "treaty of friendship and cooperation" already underway. Lanka's offer of "maritime facilities" to the U.S. and perhaps the renovation of Trinco's oil tank complex will be pursued.

In December 1983, a deal was concluded permitting the Voice of America, which already has some of the most powerful radio transmitters in the world, to establish five medium- and short-wave transmitters on the island. These will be world-class transmitters rivaling those of Radio Peking and Radio Free Europe. The U.S. sure has big plans for Lanka!

As part of Jayewardene's drive to make the island safe for U.S. imperialism, left groups in the South have also been subject to censorship and repression. For their intransigent socialist defense of the rights of the Tamil people, the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League/Lanka have themselves been subjected to state repression and intimidation by the authorities and targeted in a dangerous smear attack by a major bourgeois newspaper (see *WV* Nos. 351 and 352). Hands off JVP, NSSP, Lanka Spartacists!

To forge the revolutionary unity of the besieged Tamil people of Lanka, including nearly a million Tamil plantation workers (who are economically key and mainly legally "stateless"), with the exploited Sinhalese workers and peasants requires the forging of a revolutionary proletarian vanguard fighting for real national equality and social justice in a workers state. For the right of Tamil Eelam! Ceylon must be a springboard for socialist revolution throughout the Indian subcontinent! For a Socialist Federation of Eelam and Lanka as part of a Socialist Federation of South Asia! ■

Lanka Spartacist
(in Sinhala)
Elangai Spartacist
(in Tamil)



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From Reformist Sellouts to Overt Repudiation of Trotskyism

Barnes Axes Last Veterans of the Old SWP

Jaek Barnes has now dispatehed the last ghost of his party's elaims to represent the eontinuity of the old Socialist Workers Party (SWP) whieh onee embodied Trotskyism in this country. Earlier this year Barnes and his traveling hatehetman Barry Sheppard polished off the remainder of a large erop of SWP oppositionists by a massive "reregistration" purge of the residual, mainly rank-and-file, supporters of two expelled minority currents, whose main spokesmen had already heen purged earlier.

This mass purge over last Christmas/New Year's leaves Barnes' party free to float off into soft-eore Stalinism and irrelevanee while hundreds of reeent exmembers grope around disunitedly in a mainly social-demoeratie direetion; and some are even seeking to be Trotskyists, as they understand it. The Barnesites, by their own eount, have rid themselves of more than 150 dissidents in the last three years ("List of Splitters," SWP *Party Organizer*, Volume 8, No. 1, January 1984). Among the recently departed are just about everyone left from the old days of the Trotskyist SWP; we ean think only of Art Sharon and George Novaek (Harry Ring doesn't eount) as party veterans who may now remain in Barnes' party.

The important political question of the SWP's "Trotskyism" was settled programmatieally and organizationally two deeades ago. But it wasn't until Deeember 1982 that Barnes dotted the i's and erossed the t's when he explieitly attaeked the theory of "permanent revolution" and helittled the revolutionary stature of Leon Trotsky, in elassieally Stalinist terms. Upon the death last year of Farrell Dohhs, Barnes' prede-essor as head of the SWP, the Barnesites erowed in their Dohhs memorial meetings over the "eontinuity" of the SWP—from Lenin straight to Dobbs and Barnes, therehy exeising Trotsky and SWP founder and leader James P. Cannon from SWP history. Barnes had been moving inereasingly overtly toward dumping the SWP's lip-service to Trotskyism. To finish the job required the ouster of the last vestiges of the eadre of the old party, who resisted the invitation to spit on the watehwords of their revolutionary youth.

While we enjoy an opponent's faetion fight as much as anybody, there's no joy in it for us when an SWPer is expelled for a poem she wrote, another for falling asleep in a Militant forum (anyone who's ever attended one can sympathize with this eomrade's breaeh of "diseipline"). Even by established Barnesite standards, very speeial savagery has heen dished out to the veterans of the old party: e.g., the obseene treatment of James Kuteher, "the legless veteran," whose ten-year fight against government witchhunters in the 1940s and 1950s was haeked by signifieant seetions of the labor movement. Now little old ladies who were SWP members for 50 years are being turned out of SWP "puhlie" forums hy open threats of goon violence.

In 1982 the resident anti-Trotskyist expert of the rad-lib Stalinist *Guardian*, John Trinkl, gloatingly observed that the SWP "has heen quietly dropping overboard some of its Trotskyist haggage" (*Guardian*, 14 July 1982). To free himself up for whatever Barnes thinks is out there waiting for him, he had to get rid not just of the "haggage" hut of anyone who still wanted to tote it, even il they'd long since lost the keys to the suiteases. Barnes has spit out the SWP old-timers hecause they remain sentimental ahout Trotskyism.

This purge has heen squarely on the agenda for Barnes' party since the surfaeing of dreaded faetionalism in the SWP prior to the party's 1981 national convention. Faetional struggle in the SWP is a contradiction in terms, and has been since the mid-1960s: the hureaueratization of the party was the neeessary organizational handmaiden of its qualitative shift off a revolutionary axis.

Paihfinder Press

James P. Cannon, the founding leader of American Trotskyism.

In 1963 the Revolutionary Tendency, forerunner of the Spartaeist League, was purged from the SWP in the midst of a sharp political struggle. The RT was purged solely for "disloyalty"—i.e., for our politieal views—without the slightest evidenee of indiscipline. As the purge stood flatly in eonfliet with the 35-year tradition of Ameriean Trotskyism, the Dohhs regime needed new organizational rules after the faet: Dohhs' 1965 organizational resolution which effeetively prohibited faetional rights in the party. We will return to this point later.

1981 Pre-Convention Discussion: "100 Flowers" Sprout

Under the post-1965 hureaucratic "norms" of the SWP, ahout the only "loophole" left for organized eritics is the pre-eonvention diseussion, a three-month period prior to national conventions, which are mandated for every two years. In the 1981 pre-eonvention diseussion, Barnes found himself with two sizable minorities on his hands: the West Coast-based "Trotskyist Tendency" of Nat Weinstein and Lynn Henderson and what beeame the "Fourth Internationalist Caueus" of Steve Bloom, Frank Lovell and George Breitman. Underlying the appearanee of this virtual "hundred flowers eampaign" in Barnes' party was an intimation of irrelevance. The SWP was shrinking fast as an organizationally seetarian reformist party with no stahle "niehe," having been eclipsed evidently deeisively by Mike Harrington's Democratic Socialists (DSA), whieh has the numhers, the influential pals among the labor union tops and the eonsistent "anti-Stalinist" ideology to be the "left wing of the possihle" partieularly under the conditions of Carter/Reagan's resurgent anti-Soviet war drive.

The two SWP minority groupings emerged mainly in opposition to Barnes' idiotic union policy of "talking socialism" on the job and in opposition to the SWP's shift, in the mid/late 1970s, toward totally slavish adulation of the Castroite (Stalinist) regime in Cuha. The emergenee in Poland of the anti-socialist power hid of Solidarnośė sharply highlighted the eeeentricity of Barnes' efforts to simultaneously pursue a niche as a "respectable," "peaceful-legal" party of nativist American reformism while posturing as a partisan of "Soviet surrogates" like the Cuhan state. Solidarnośė, the Polish "company union" for the CIA, Western bankers and the Vatiean, presented the eonsummate opportunity for social-democrats to heeome more at one with the "free trade unionism" Cold Warriors who have run the American unions sinee the 1950s. When Fidel Castro came out in support of the suppression of Solidarnośė' power hid, it threw the SWP's dilemma into sharp relief.

Over Poland, both the Weinstein and Breitman oppositions argued for more fulsome and more aetive support to Solidarnośė, while Barnes remained queasy about joining with the reactionary "eaptive nations" erowd in the streets the way that Weinstein did in California. On Cuba, the dissidents fervently quoted the orthodox disclaimers in the SWP's earlier doeuments on Castroism; a left critique was made of the Barnesites' transparent hid for a franchise from Sandinista Nicaragua. Sensible critieisms were also made of the SWP's eontinuing prostration before the ayatollah Khomeini's Islamie dietatorship in Iran, a position formerly shared hy virtually every current on the left (exeept us of course) hut eventually shelved in embarrassment by all of them save Barnes' weird party.

Barnes' crazy notions of trade-union work—the "talking socialism" campaign—provided more eommon ground for the would-be trade-union opportunists of the Weinstein grouping and older eadres like Frank Lovell, who had been trade-union direetor on hehalf of Barnes but retained enough upper spinal column from the old days to know that six months on the job does not make anyone a credible workers leader. Lovell also took exeeption to the utterly contemptuous way that old-timers were being treated around SWP headquarters, a harbinger of Barnes' plans for explieit revision of the SWP's formal Trotskyism.

The minorities took full advantage of the pre-convention diseussion "loophole" and the result was a full-fledged "hundred flowers" movement where bloomed more than two dozen internal diseussion bulletins in the three months prior to the August 1981 national eonvention. At the convention the two oppositions, politieally somewhat interpenetrated and hoth generally rightist in programmatie coloration, were suhstantial enough to generate signifieant proportional representation ("PR") in delegate voting, despite the standard SWP procedures aimed at trimming

minority "PR." The minorities, who acted in concert at the convention, were then faced with the problem of getting back in step with SWP "norms." We hazarded the modest opinion that Barnes would close the "loophole" by purging his critics prior to the next convention.

After the 1981 convention, the Lovell/Bloom people dissolved to show their loyalty. The West Coast crew however thought to try to maintain rights as a tendency, such rights being worse than murky in the SWP. Both groups soon found themselves grist for the inexorable Barnesite meatgrinder. Continuing show trials of erring old-timers were followed by the "six day war" National Committee plenum (February-March 1982) featuring dozens of motions aimed at forcing minority supporters to "cease and desist" from any "unauthorized" political discussion or collaboration. The internal bulletin issued to bring this home to the membership had to be priced at $8.00 to fit it all in.

The whole nasty business flowed straight from the 1965 organizational resolution, whose central syllogism can be put quite simply: 1. factions are permitted in the SWP, 2. factionalists are disloyal people, 3. disloyal people are expelled. The resolution sets out the majority's right to "regulate" internal discussion to preclude any kind of private deliberations among oppositional members. Therefore any effort to collaborate politically with cothinkers inside the party makes you a "faction" (or a "secret faction"). And so it came down on Weinstein/Henderson and Lovell/Bloom: organized tendencies may not communicate "behind the back" of the party leadership; dissolved minorities may not communicate at all; minority spokesmen placed on the National Committee by "PR" are bound to maintain majority "discipline" toward the ranks (it's rather like the storied Mafia code of "omerta"); party members are bound by party discipline in the party's own youth organization.

Out of the Closet: Barnes Attacks Trotsky

With his critics muzzled but less pacified than ever, Barnes went over to the frontal political assault in December 1982. At a public meeting in Chicago held in conjunction with the national convention of the SWP's youth group, Barnes explicitly attacked Trotsky as an irrelevant ultraleftist. Barnes also directly challenged the SWP's erstwhile cothinkers abroad, the "United Secretariat" (USec) of Ernest Mandel, by declaring that "80 percent" of the world's ostensible Trotskyists are "hopeless, irreformable sectarians." The SWP did not publish Barnes' "Their Trotsky and Ours" speech until August 1983, when the speech appeared in the SWP's *New International* magazine.

Barnes' declaration in the speech that the SWP would henceforth avoid looking at politics "through permanent revolution eyes" had been preceded by more weasely thrusts in the same direction, from the SWP "leadership school" where selected Barnesites could learn to read Marx and Engels unspoiled by the later theoretical conquests of Lenin and Trotsky, to the coy announcement that two volumes of Dobbs' autobiography would be titled *The Trotskyist Years* and *The Transition Years* (transition to what, we inquired). The most explicit precursor to Barnes' speech was Doug Jenness' articles resuscitating the "democratic dictatorship" formula for stagism, which Lenin the revolutionist transcended in his 1917 "April Theses."

Jenness' articles allowed the USec's Mandel to posture as an orthodox Trotskyist against SWP revisionism. But Mandel is himself no less willing than Barnes to dump "Trotskyism" if it stands in the way of perceived opportunity. In 1976, flirting with the idea of a regroupment with the French Parti Socialiste Unifié, Mandel was unambiguous:

> "What difference do labels make? If in the political arena we encountered political forces which agreed with our strategic and tactical orientation and which were repulsed only by the historical reference and the name we would get rid of it in 24 hours."

The main difference between Barnes the crude and Mandel the smooth is that the latter is a lot smarter; we bet he'll wait until he has received a serious proposition before he goes and changes the ideological bedsheets. Meanwhile, Mandel is prostituting the Trotskyist opposition to Stalinism in order to ingratiate himself with anti-Soviet social-democracy. The Mandelites—glorifying the counterrevolutionary clerical-nationalists of Solidarność in Poland and denouncing the Soviet authorities for their response to the U.S.'s KAL 007 spy plane provocation—serve as the left wing of "free world" anti-Communism in NATO Europe.

By trotting out the tired old Stalinist rationalizations for anti-Trotskyism, Barnes allowed the emergence of some of the SWP critics as born-again centrists, about 20 years late. Barnes' coming out of the closet as an anti-Trotskyist in December 1982 had to be preceded by a good deal of sinister and conspiratorial lining-up activity by the Barnes clique. Approaches have to have been made to individuals, probably to anybody that was anybody in the SWP, belittling Trotsky and hinting at the need for a "new" approach. Those who didn't pick up the cues and failed to smile and sneer in the right places would simply have been placed on a secret enemies list earmarked for later disposition. Making due allowances for the vast difference of scale, it's not very different from what Stalin did: those who were already cynical about the program (which was no longer Lenin's, diluted by Zinoviev) were secretly lined up on the need to find a new "main chance," without it being clear what that would be (it became clear as "socialism in one country").

Once us "Robertsonite" troublemakers had been disposed of 20 years ago, the SWP old guard duly embraced Jack Barnes and his boys (like the sadist Sheppard and the despicable Camejo) as their younger generation. The first step for Barnes was to shift the veterans further and further down the corridors of power; a strutting Barnes pontificated about "orderly transition" (we called it the first of several "age purges"). The final step (so far) was the overt attack on Trotsky, with the resistant older comrades made to walk the plank. In between: the slimy cliquist operation, feeling out the cadres, lining up those that were ready, marking out the others for the ax when the time was ripe.

Joe Hansen's death in 1979 was enormously convenient for Barnes. So long as Hansen was active, and in possession of his *Intercontinental Press* apparatus, the SWP retained some basic reflexes of organizational and polemical competence, including the ability to talk out of the "orthodox" side of its mouth on occasion, mostly for foreign consumption. Hansen's operation provided as well a de facto congregating point for some of the more literary-minded of the members with proclivities toward such orthodoxy and an undoubtedly subjectively important safety valve for older members who were feeling increasingly uncomfortable in Barnes' nasty party. That shelter died with Hansen. And Barnes increased the tempo of his conspiracy to shift the SWP away from formal Trotskyism, becoming overt in a qualitative way around "permanent revolution." And it was time for the night of the long knives for the old party veterans. As Coard and Austin are to Maurice Bishop's movement in Grenada, so are Barnes and Sheppard to the SWP of Dobbs/Hansen. We have to wonder whether the Barnesites' despicable refusal to defend Hansen's reputation against the Healyite slander campaign resuscitated by the sinister Alan Gelfand's organization-busting court suit was due to Barnes' animus at Hansen for keeping Barnes' "theoretical" aspirations of anti-Trotskyism so long in the closet.

The "Loophole" Becomes a Noose

With the denunciation of Trotsky finally under his belt, Barnes was ready for end-game. The minorities were seething, readying for a stand at the national convention supposed according to SWP statute to be held in August 1983. This was it: Barnes would have to open pre-convention discussion, the last remaining "loophole." So Barnes simply canceled the convention.

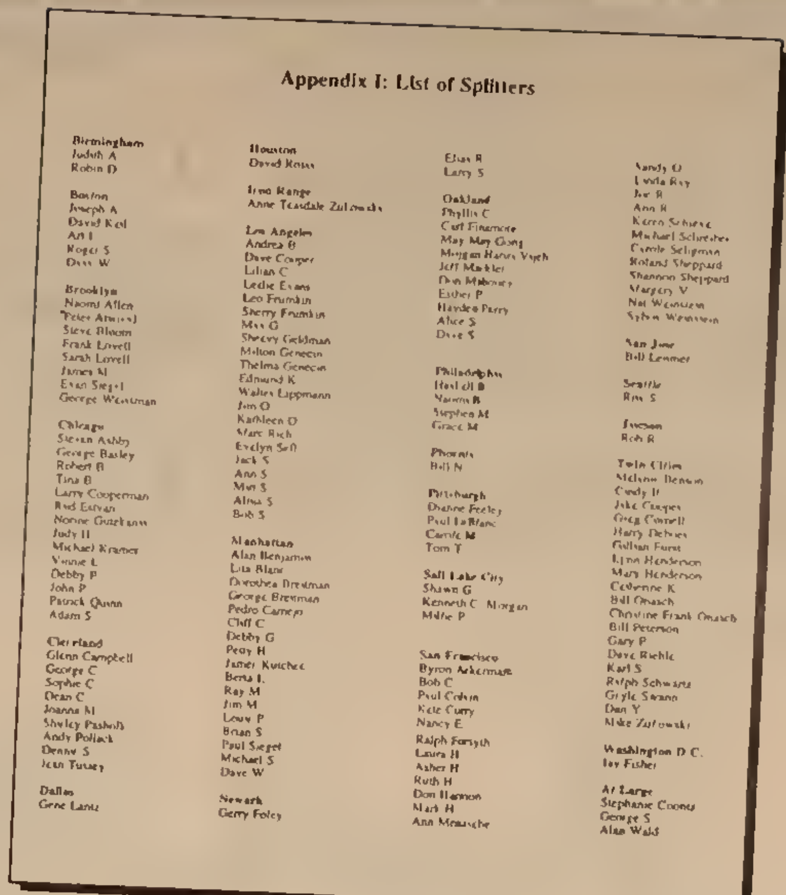
The two opposition groupings formed a joint Opposition Bloc going into the National Committee plenum of May 1983; they submitted various minority resolutions, objected to Barnes' cancellation of the convention and sought hopelessly to defend the appeals of a number of those already expelled. This time there was no $8 bulletin either; instead, the leadership informed the branches that no longer would time be wasted reporting on every last little motion and purge; indeed, an explicit gag rule was imposed to prevent information on the plenum from filtering down. That side of the plenum reports was communicated to the ranks only in August, as Barnes prepared his final moves against the opposition.

In August, as there was no national convention (thus no pre-convention discussion, no discussion bulletins, no delegate elections), an "educational" conference was held instead. A lot of the dissenters were already out and the ones that were left were pretty demoralized. In fact the SWP was an already split party—we reported in our press what happened when the majorityite goons tried as usual to cordon off the Spartacist sales team: a number of older SWP members told their supposed protectors to "leave me alone, I'm just buying a paper." Our literary intervention at the SWP nonconvention included an article on the continuing purge and some long selections from the "Dianne Feeley letter," a protest signed by two expelled Weinstein supporters documenting some organizational aspects of Barnesite internal anti-democracy.

At the post-nonconvention plenum, the four minority National Committee members dissolved their "Bloc"—and were promptly suspended "unconditionally" as a so-called "secret faction." The Barnesites roasted the minorityites for the presumed "secret discussions" that enabled the two groupings to make and dissolve blocs. You must tell the whole party what your differences are, said Barnes & Co.; if not, your differences can be only over how and when to split the SWP. The four suspended minority spokesmen appealed to Mandel's USec meeting in October 1983, which duly condemned the "escalation of the purge of oppositions" and called on the SWP to reinstate these "members of the Fourth International," while leaving open the question of its own future relations with all parties.

Despite the considerable political interpenetration in their critiques of

continued on page 12


Appendix I: List of Splitters

Birmingham
Judith A
Robin D

Boston
Joseph A
David Kel
Art I
Roger S
Dess W

Brooklyn
Naomi Allen
Peter Amnesl
Steve Bloom
Frank Lovell
Sarah Lovell
James M
Evan Siegel
George Weissman

Chicago
Steven Ashby
George Basley
Robert B
Tina B
Larry Cooperman
Rod Estvan
Nonne Gutekunst
Judy H
Michael Kramer
Vinnie L
Debby P
John P
Patrick Quinn
Adam S

Cleveland
Glenn Campbell
George C
Sophie C
Dean C
Joanna M
Shirley Pasholk
Andy Pollack
Denny S
Jean Tussey

Dallas
Gene Lantz

Houston
David Ross

Iron Range
Anne Teasdale Zulowski

Los Angeles
Andrea B
Dave Cooper
Lilian C
Leslie Evans
Leo Frumkin
Sherry Frumkin
Max G
Sherry Geldman
Milton Genecin
Thelma Genecin
Edmund K
Walter Lippmann
Jim O
Kathleen O
Marc Rich
Evelyn Sell
Jack S
Ann S
Mel S
Alma S
Bob S

Manhattan
Alan Benjamin
Lita Blanc
Dorothea Breitman
George Breitman
Pedro Camejo
Cliff C
Debby G
Peggy H
James Kutcher
Berta L
Ray M
Jim M
Louie P
Brian S
Paul Siegel
Michael S
Dave W

Newark
Gerry Foley

Elias R
Larry S

Oakland
Phyllis C
Curt Finamore
May May Gong
Meggan Hanes Vajeh
Jeff Mackler
Don Mahoney
Esther P
Hayden Perry
Alice S
Dave S

Philadelphia
Harold B
Naomi B
Stephen M
Grace M

Phoenix
Bill N

Pittsburgh
Dianne Feeley
Paul LeBlanc
Carole M
Tom T

Salt Lake City
Shawn G
Kenneth C. Morgan
Millie P

San Francisco
Byron Ackerman
Bob C
Paul Colvin
Kate Curry
Nancy E
Ralph Forsyth
Laura H
Asher H
Ruth H
Don Hannon
Mark H
Ann Menasche

Sandy O
Linda Ray
Joe R
Ann R
Karen Schieve
Michael Schreiber
Carole Seligman
Roland Sheppard
Shannon Sheppard
Margery V
Nat Weinstein
Sylvia Weinstein

San Jose
Bill Lemmer

Seattle
Ron S

Tucson
Bob R

Twin Cities
Melanie Benson
Cindy B
Jake Cooper
Greg Cornell
Harry DeBoer
Gillian Furst
Lynn Henderson
Mary Henderson
Catherine K
Bill Onasch
Christine Frank Onasch
Bill Peterson
Gary P
Dave Riehle
Karl S
Ralph Schwartz
Gayle Swann
Dan Y
Mike Zulowski

Washington D.C.
Ivy Fisher

At Large
Stephanie Coontz
George S
Alan Wald

SWP Party Organizer gloats over final solution of the internal struggle.

WV Photo

Jack Barnes: anti-Trotskyist.

New York Historical Society

Bettmann Archive

We Tore Down the Flag of Slavery!

Finish the Civil War!

WV Photo

Peter Woolston and Richard Bradley celebrate the victory. Above right: Black soldiers turned the tide of Civil War for the Union. Above left: First major battle involving black troops, Port Hudson, Louisiana, 23 May 1863.

(continued from page 16)

the banner of slavery, and is still used today to represent movements such as the Ku Klux Klan." Feinstein backed down whining, "I want to make it very clear that my decision is based only on Supervisor Ward's request...I'm not impressed because some group shinnies up a flag pole and tears down a flag." Oh, no? Then try to put it up again! Just the day before, Feinstein's head of the Parks Department, Tom Malloy had declared: "We have no intention of removing that flag."

At the press conference to celebrate the victory, SL spokesman Al Nelson said, "Mayor Feinstein claims she doesn't want to do anything offensive to black people in San Francisco, but that flag of slavery has been up there for two years and would still be up there if we hadn't pulled it down twice and made an issue out of it." On April 19, the black-edited Oakland *Tribune* wrote an editorial in which it gives about as much credit to the Spartacist League as any group of "socialist activists" is likely to receive from a major newspaper this side of proletarian power (see "Showing the Flag," page 10).

There was also some backlash, emanating from pro-Feinstein quarters where on this issue a defeat involved more than wound-licking. Besides the usual racist hate calls and provocations, the letters in the *San Francisco Chronicle* in praise of the "genteel" ways of the "Gone With the Wind" South, the *Chronicle* ran a dangerous smear of the Spartacist League with the accusation that the SL intended to violently disrupt the Democratic Convention this summer. As the Spartacist League wrote in response to the *Chronicle*, the article was "a transparent attempt to discredit the Spartacist League following our widely welcomed success..." (see "*S.F. Chronicle*: Retract Your Dangerous Smear," page 11).

That the flag will fly no more is not only a victory for blacks and all decent people of San Francisco, it is a defeat for the Klan and the rest of the racists. And it is a defeat for Feinstein, whose racist anti-labor arrogance was recently displayed when she told protesting cab drivers, "I've been Mau-Maued by the best" (*Chronicle*, 12 April).

The excuse offered by Feinstein and Malloy for flying the Confederate flag was that it represented California's history. What a lie! First of all, this battle is not merely over "history lessons" (although the mayor badly needs one). The "stars and bars" (first flag of the Slavocracy) was a call to arms in 1861, and so is the Confederate flag today for the paramilitary KKK and Nazi killers. At the SL press conference April 17, a reporter asked, "If people have to know this history to understand it, where should they go to see a flag like that so they know it's wrong?" Spartacist spokesman Al Nelson responded:

> "I'll tell you where they can go. They can go to their television sets and watch the filming of the shootings that took place in Greensboro in 1979. They may have had some zoom shots to pick up on the Confederate flags on the baseball caps of the guys pumping 12-gauge shotgun shells into those kids on the ground. That's one place they can see it. They can also go to any library in the country and read some very good histories on the Civil War and its military engagements."

Finish the Civil War! Forward to a Workers State!

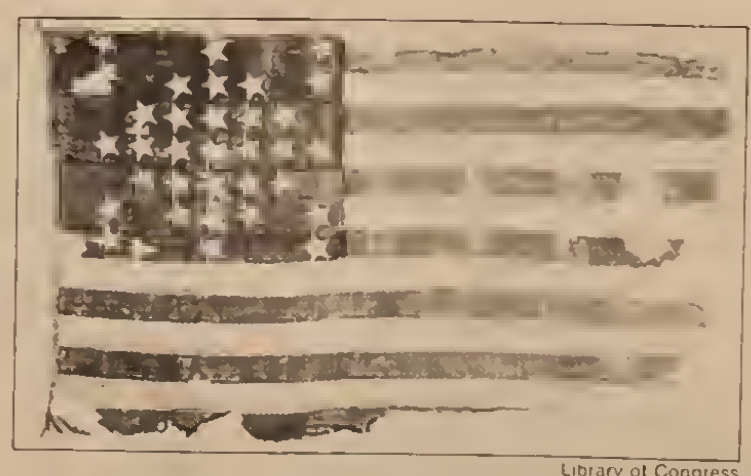
Of course the Civil War has plenty to do with California's history, but that history is not represented by the Confederate flag. California entered the Union as a free state in 1850. When the Civil War broke out, the Union military commander in California issued the order that any vessel flying the Confederate flag off the coast would be captured or if it failed to surrender "will be fired into and sunk."

The Civil War is often misrepresented as simply a war between the "Yankees" and the South. But the Civil War was part of the American revolution—the Second American Revolution, an irrepressible conflict between social systems. At the heart of the struggle was the system of slavery. The burgeoning industrial capitalists of the North could only finish their revolution by crushing the slavocracy and establishing the system of free labor throughout the country. But the Northerners who were driven into war by the provocations of the secessionists tried desperately to save the Union without "freeing even one slave," as Lincoln put it. The great black abolitionist and ex-slave Frederick Douglass remarked that Lincoln's inaugural address "bends the knee to slavery." Douglass argued that the slogan must be "Death to Slavery!"

Karl Marx writing in November 1861 saw the character of the war and was confident that "events themselves drive to the promulgation of the decisive slogan—*the emancipation of the slaves*." Indeed, the course of the war proved to the Unionists that it could not be won unless it was fought as a real civil war. It could not be won without a revolutionary leadership using revolutionary methods to destroy the entire social system of slavery. This finally resulted in the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 and the arming of 200,000 black soldiers who fought heroically under the Union flag.

The political split in the North, therefore, almost lost the Union the war.

Young Spartacus



Library of Congress

Left: Statue in Boston of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, white commander of the Massachusetts black regiment which was nearly wiped out in assault on Fort Wagner, South Carolina in 1863. Shaw was buried with his troops. Above: Tattered, but honored garrison flag of Fort Sumter. SL offers a replica of this flag as a gift to the City of San Francisco to fly where the flag of slavery flew until last week.

Racist Flag No Longer Flies in Civic Center!

The "proclamation" reprinted below was distributed April 15 in San Francisco by Spartacist comrades.

The Confederate flag of slavery and the Ku Klux Klan will not fly in San Francisco! Today militants of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense tore down this seditious banner of white supremacy from its flagpole in Civic Center Plaza. The flying of the Confederate flag by the City of San Francisco is an outrageous provocation and insult to every black person, every decent person in this city and the state of California.

The Confederate flag is the banner of racist terror. It is the flag of the slavecowner's whip and the Ku Klux Klan's years of lynching, burning, shooting and bombing. From the night patrols which went after the Negro freedman as Black Reconstruction was being destroyed, to the lynchings of blacks in the 1920s, to the bombings and brutal murders of the '60s civil rights movements, to the hideous resurgence of racist violence in the present Cold War climate, the Confederate flag is an incitement to racist violence. Five labor and civil rights organizers in Greensboro, North Carolina were massacred by Klan/Nazi killers in 1979. The KKK lynched a black youth in Mobile, Alabama last year. Black families in Contra Costa County are terrorized by nightriding racists and the "Cowboys" in Richmond mete out racist "street justice." And everywhere, the banner of the race terrorists is the Confederate flag.

The "issue" of the Confederate flag was decided by blood and iron in the Civil War. Over 350,000 Union troops died to bring down the accursed Confederate flag. Over 200,000 black soldiers entered the fight and turned the tide against the South. Nearly 20% of these black soldiers gave their lives in desperate battle for their freedom. By tearing down the Confederate flag today, we are commemorating the 119th anniversary of the April 1865 surrender of the Confederacy at Appomattox.

California entered the Union in 1850 as a solid free state, over the objections of the slave states, and thousands of Californians volunteered to fight against the Confederacy. Mass pro-Union demonstrations were held in San Francisco—that's how Union Square got its name. The "California Battalion," as part of the 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry, took part in more than 50 engagements during the Civil War. A plaque in the State Capitol in Sacramento commemorates the "comrades who died in defense of their country during the late rebellion and whose bodies lie in almost every city, village and hamlet churchyard in the land."

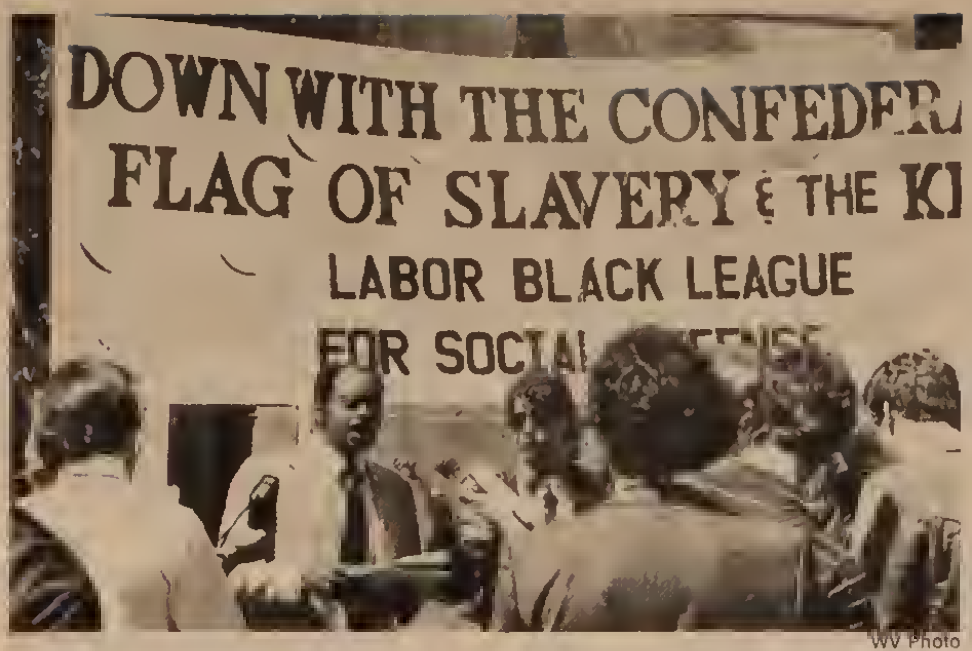
Just last year at the University of Mississippi—"Ole Miss"—heroic black students waged a successful fight to ban official use of the Confederate flag. The students faced down a backlash of Ku Klux Klan death threats, daily harassment and a march of 2,000 white racists who besieged a black dormitory, singing "Dixie" and screaming racist slurs. If these courageous students can stop the official flying of the Confederate flag in the very heart of the old Confederacy, it damn well will not fly here!

To put an end to the lynchings once and for all time, it is necessary to mobilize militant labor/black action to crush the fascist slime and to draw the masses of workers and oppressed minorities into political struggle against all the capitalist politicians—from the liberal Northern Democrats who kilted busing to the Dixiecrats and "New South" Republicans. The Spartacist League initiated such a mobilization in April 1980 that stopped the Nazis from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday in Civic Center. On November 27, 1982, the Spartacist League-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization of some 5,000 mainly black unionists and youth stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. The Klansmen were forced to stuff their robes and Confederate flags into paper bags and slink out of town. The Labor Black League for Social Defense was formed in the wake of that anti-Klan victory and stands for mobilizing the masses of black working people along with their white class brothers and sisters in militant, integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America.

We stand in the revolutionary tradition of the anti-slavery fighters John Brown and Frederick Douglass. To complete the unfinished democratic tasks of the Civil War, we look to the multiracial American working class. In this period of imperialist decay, there is no longer a radical or "progressive" wing of the capitalist ruling class; the whole system stands squarely counterposed to black freedom. Forward to the third American Revolution, a proletarian revolution led by a Trotskyist vanguard party with a strong black leadership component. Finish the Civil War—For black liberation in a workers' America!

Spartacist League
Spartacus Youth League
Labor Black League for
Social Defense

April 15, 1984



WV Photo

After victory, Jeff Higgins, spokesman for Labor Black League, meets the press.

The pro-slavery elements, who were called "Copperheads," tried to agitate for a "negotiated solution." Less known is that the South was also divided on slavery. The poor farmers despised the rich planters, and, as the war dragged on, cried out that it was "a rich man's war and a poor man's fight." They led peace agitation and deserted by the tens of thousands. At least one county of rural Mississippi refused to go along with the slavocracy, formed the "Free State of Jones" and fought the Confederate army.

The issue of slavery, symbolized by the Confederate flag, was settled by blood and iron in the Civil War. Today that flag is the symbol of resurgent racist terror from the Deep South to Contra Costa County. It has become a plebiscite on slavery and racism. And how did Jesse Jackson vote when he sat down to tea with George "Segregation Forever" Wallace in Montgomery, Alabama last year? In the cradle of the slavocracy where the Confederate flag was first unfurled—and still waves today—Jackson sang out, "The South can rise again." Thus Jackson pledges allegiance to the Democratic Party's Dixiecrats.

Jesse Jackson and the Democrats want to conciliate the Dixiecrats and their flag. But we will show the Union flag which flew at Fort Sumter. The shots fired on Sumter on 12 April 1861 climaxed a social struggle that had been brewing for years. The Confederacy had easily taken over every U.S. garrison in the South, but Major Robert Anderson, a Southerner loyal to the Union, refused to surrender Fort Sumter in the Charleston, South Carolina harbor. His troops held out for two days, until the Confederate army was able to lower the Union flag and raise their own flag of slavery over the fort. It must have been with great emotion that victorious Union troops returned to the scene of that first battle to occupy Charleston in 1865. And it was Robert Anderson, now major-general, who raised that same garrison flag over the ruins of Fort Sumter. So, Dianne Feinstein, you want a flag with some history. We of the SL offer as a gift to the city of San Francisco the exact replica of the Union garrison flag that was planted over Fort Sumter.

WV Photo

California's sons fought and died for the G.A.R. (Grand Army of the Republic).

The U.S. Civil War had begun with the desire to save the Union and ended with a promise of black equality. But that promise was betrayed, as Radical Reconstruction in the South was crushed by Klan terror in the deal with the racist capitalist rulers. The democratic institutions of Reconstruction were crushed by institutionalized Jim Crow. Black chattel slaves had been emancipated only to be stripped of political rights and economically subjugated. To finish the Civil War, and make good on the promise of black equality, will require a Third American Revolution, a proletarian revolution led by a Trotskyist party with a strong black leadership component. We in the Spartacist League struggle for black liberation through socialist revolution, for the day when the red flag of the international proletariat flies over the entire world. ■

UPI

KKK racist terror parade with its banner, the Dixie flag.

Alonzo Chappell

Confederate General Robert E. Lee signs the surrender at Appomattox, Virginia.

WV Photo

Ressmeyer

The second day: Mayor Feinstein orders the flag of slavery back up again and calls out the cops and fire department. Ritchie takes it down again. And it stays down!

19 April 1984 THE TRIBUNE

Showing the flag

Protesters who engage in acts of civil disobedience must be prepared to take the consequences of their actions.

Thus, the members of the Spartacist League, a small group of socialist activists, who climbed a flag pole at San Francisco's Civic Center earlier this week and cut down a Confederate banner flying there, must pay the penalty — in this case a misdemeanor citation for malicious mischief.

Such illegal acts are difficult to condone under most circumstances. Yet, there are times when they highlight a contradiction in public policy that needs broader attention.

In this instance, the "malicious mischief" of the Spartacist League members has served to raise a question in the public mind: why was a Confederate flag flying in front of San Francisco City Hall anyway?

The answer: Because it's been flying there, off and on, since 1965. That's when a private donor gave the city a set of flags meant to illustrate "a short hand of American history."

By 1981, the original flags had gone threadbare, leading Mayor Dianne Feinstein to request private help to replace them. The Bechtel Group Inc., answered the call, donating $1,800 for a new set, including the Confederate banner.

Though the mayor's office has received occasional complaints about the flag since then, nothing happened until the Spartacists, declaring this month the 119th anniversary of the surrender of the Confederacy at Appomattox, marked the date by tearing down and burning the Old South's best-known symbol.

The protesters said they weren't aware a jury in Winston-Salem, N.C. had that same day acquitted six Ku Klux Klansmen and three American Nazi Party members of violating the civil rights of five members of the Communist Workers Party by fatally shooting them in a street battle back in 1979.

All they knew, according to Richard Bradley, who shimmied up the pole to remove the flag on Sunday and its hurried replacement on Monday, was that the Stars and Bars (as it is known) "stands for racism and slavery."

Bradley got backing from San Francisco Supervisor Doris Ward, who asked Mayor Feinstein on Tuesday not to replace the banner a third time. In a letter to the mayor, Ward said the flag not only symbolizes slavery but "is still used today to represent movements such as the Ku Klux Klan." Feinstein has complied with Ward's request so far, being careful to note she is responding to Ward and not to the protestors while she "studies" the situation.

We hope that all due consideration will lead the mayor to furl the Confederate symbol permanently. Its message has no place in such a public arena. There are more appropriate banners that could substitute.

Flags carried by the Union Army in the Civil War, perhaps. Or, better yet, flags from the period in California history when it was a Spanish territory.

Including the Confederate banner in a display meant to show off the richness of American history is offensive to many San Francisco citizens. It is an unnecessary provocation.

Bay Area Gets the News: Dixie Flag Down!

South's Banner Falls at City Hall

A man dressed in a Union Army Civil War uniform climbed a 40-foot flagpole in front of San Francisco City Hall yesterday and cut down a Confederate flag waving there as part of a historic display.

About 50 members of the Spartacist League and other leftist political groups applauded Richard Bradley, 34, s... cut the f... were bu... them to

The protesters denounced the flag as a "banner of racist terror."

San Francisco Chronicle

By Chris Ste...
and dropped pieces to the ground where they were burn...

4A · MONDAY APRIL 16 1984 · USA TODAY

CALIFORNIA

USA TODAY

SAN FRANCISCO — 'Stars and bars' set afire: A Confederate flag in front of City Hall was cut down and burned by about 50 demonstrators who

Mayor Dianne Feinstein ordered removal of a Confederate flag flown in a historic display over the San

A Confederate flag that was part of a historic display in front of San ... down ... called ... While ... l, one man climbed up the 40-foot flagpole and cut the flag down. Then he and

Los Angeles Times

THE TRIBUNE, Oakland, California

Confederate flag is ripped down again in S.F.

Bay City News Service

...Confederate flag ...as cut down for ...s yesterday by ...e and the Labor ...ounded the flag. Richard Bradley ...porters said the ...u Klux Klan and

Mayor Feinstein won't replace Confederate flag at S.F. City Hall

By Terry Link
The Tribune

SAN FRANCISCO ... flap was resolved yester... Feinstein acceded to a re... Ward not to replace the b... the Spartacist League.

The flag was one of ... in an historical display which flank both sides of the reflecting pool in front of city hall. On Sunday and again yesterday,

THE TRIBUNE

Dixie flag won't rise again, Feinstein decides

The Confederate flag, which was torn down twice this week by groups who consider it offensive, will not fly again above Civic Center plaza, Mayor Feinstein says.

The mayor made her decision yesterday, after Supervisor Doris Ward

The organizations consider the flag a symbol of racism.

Bradley was arrested Sunday and Monday, after he climbed the flagpole and tore the Confederate banner apart. He was charged with malicious mischief and released on his own re-

partment, said Monday he intended to replace the flag indefinitely.

"The flags as a set were intended to depict American history," Malloy said

tempt to restrict the basic freedoms of American people," Ward said in a prepared statement.

Ward aide Chelsea Baylor said the ... several calls ... who are of-

San Francisco Examiner

Examiner/Kim Komenich

FIREMEN, POLICE WAIT FOR RICHARD BRADLEY TO DESCEND
He tore Confederate flag from display of historic banners

San Francisco Examiner

Black activist rips flag again

Richard Bradley shinnied up a flagpole in front of San Francisco City Hall for the second time in as many days yesterday to tear down a Confederate flag he finds offensive.

When he got to the ground, after ripping the flag to shreds and throwing the pieces to the ground, he was arrested and charged with malicious mischief. He was arrested on the same charge Sunday after he climbed the same flagpole and tore apart another Confederate flag.

Bradley belongs to the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense, two organizations that

Feinstein Orders Rebel Flag Down

Mayor Dianne Feinstein, in response to a complaint by Supervisor Doris Ward, said yesterday she will halt the flying of the Confederate flag over San Francisco's Civic Center Plaza.

San Francisco Chronicle

Spartacist League climbed up the flagpole and tore down the Confederate flag, calling it a symbol of racism.

Feinstein said she is ordering that the flag no longer be flown out of deference to Ward, and "not because some group shimmied up a flag pole."

Ward, who is black, said in a statement that "the display of the Confederate flag is not appropriate in either a historic or a symbolic context.

"The Confederate flag was carried as the banner of slavery, and is still used today to represent movements such as the Ku Klux Klan, which attempt to restrict the basic freedoms of the American people."

Feinstein said these were "legitimate concerns" and that "this need not become an issue for our black community."

"I don't intend to do anything to open a wound or be otherwise offensive," said the mayor. "I will take a look at that historic display and see how history can be represented without the Confederate flag."

A representative of the Spartacist League called the mayor's move "a victory" and said they plan to offer the city a Union Army flag to replace the Confederate

City's Dixie flag torn, down, burned in protest

Two men were arrested yesterday and charged with vandalism for cutting down a Confederate flag in San Francisco's United Nations Plaza and burning it. The men, affiliated with the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense, staged the flag-burning to protest The City's use of what they called a symbol of Southern racism. Witnesses said Richard Bradley, 34, on the flagpole at right, cut down the banner and Pete Woolston, 41, at far left, set the "Stars and Bars" ablaze. The pair was booked and released on their own recognizance. "We

S.F. Chronicle: Retract Your Dangerous Smear!

In the wake of the SL's successful action taking down the Confederate flag in San Francisco, the Chronicle *(20 April) smeared the SL in a hatchet job article about groups who allegedly intend to "play a violent role" at this summer's Democratic Party convention in SF. This dangerous smear has since been picked up by Murdoch's* New York Post *(23 April) where it was further "elaborated" by the gutter disinformer, Niles Lathem with the whole-cloth lie that the SL was involved in violence at the anti-Kissinger demonstration in San Francisco on April 16. The violent role at that demonstration against the war criminal Kissinger was played by the cops who rioted against demonstrators, clubbing them and arresting nearly 200.*

Our response to this dangerous smear came quickly (see below). The Chronicle *tried to cover their ass on April 21. We demand a full retraction now! The hysteria and cop intimidation being whipped up over "fears" of violence at the Democratic convention only serve the Reaganites and their McCarthyite campaign.*

April 20, 1984

Editor
San Francisco Chronicle

To the Editor:

In the article "3 Militant Groups Cause Convention Fears," (*Chronicle*, p. 16, April 20, 1984) you falsely and maliciously list the Spartacist League as among "some of the small, ultraleft groups operating in the Bay Area that police fear may play a violent role in demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in July."

This statement is not only absolutely false and libelous, but viciously sets up the Spartacist League for police violence and state repression. This outrageous article is also a transparent attempt to discredit the Spartacist League following our widely welcomed success in twice tearing down the Confederate flag of slavery and the Ku Klux Klan at the Civic Center earlier this week. Our actions forced the mayor to announce that this racist flag would not fly in San Francisco. The *Chronicle*'s linking of our peaceful protests against the flag of slavery with police fairy tales about fears of potential acts of violence by the Spartacist League at the Democratic Party convention is a vile smear and an attempt to intimidate all those who support our very popular actions. The only possible connection between our ripping down the despicable Confederate flag and the upcoming convention is that some Dixiecrat delegates and Democratic Party KKK grand dragon Tom Metzger will be upset that that pro-slave banner does not fly in San Francisco. Good!

Your article also carries a menacing threat to those who *do* want to exercise their democratic rights to demonstrate at the Democratic Party convention. Additionally, the police "concerns" reported in the article are a bald attempt by them to exonerate themselves for the police riot at the Kissinger protest and to give a clear message of intimidation to would-be protesters at the Democratic convention. For our part, we think the Democratic Party convention will be a monumental bore. We have no interest in seeking to lobby or pressure this party of racism and imperialist war. To do so would only serve and strengthen the unfortunate illusion that this party has something to offer working people.

The printing of these libelous falsehoods dovetails with the attempt of the Reagan administration, now joined at least by the administration of the politically ambitious and union-busting Democratic mayor Dianne Feinstein, to define Marxists and other political opponents as terrorists. Your false branding of us as violent sets us up as "terrorists" to be targetted for infiltration, investigation and harassment or worse under the notorious Smith FBI Guidelines on Domestic Security/Terrorism and to be the victims of police repression and right-wing violence. We are Marxists not terrorists or criminals and as a workers party have the right to organize for our views.

The Spartacist League has a history of successfully defending its good name against attack by those who in the growing cold war climate have attempted to falsely brand us as terrorists and criminals. In June of 1980 a well known supporter of the Spartacist League, Jane Margolis, received an apology and $3,500 from the Secret Service. In 1979, they dragged her off the floor of the Communications Workers of America national convention where she was an elected delegate, to prevent her from criticizing then-President Jimmy Carter.

We sued then-Attorney General George Deukmejian when he included us in the "Terrorism" section of his 1979 Report on Organized Crime. Deukmejian's office was forced to retract this characterization, as the *Chronicle* reported in an article headlined "Spartacists Off Terrorist List" (*Chronicle*, December 26, 1981). Your article resurrected the libel of us as "violent" and you know better.

Following the Spartacist League-initiated Labor Black Mobilization of 5,000 unionists and youth—mainly black—that stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982, the Moonies' *Washington Times* libelled us by charging that we "provoked violence" against the police. We sued and the Moonies were forced to retract this libel that kills.

We demand a full and immediate retraction by the *Chronicle* of its false, libelous and damaging characterizations of our organization.

Al Nelson
For the Spartacist League

San Francisco Chronicle
Fri., April 20, 1984

3 Militant Groups Cause Convention Fears

These are some of the small, ultra-left groups operating in the Bay Area that police fear may play a violent role in demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in July:

■ **THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY:** A Maoist group founded in 1969 by a Bay Area offshoot of Students for a Democratic Society and led by Bob Avakian, 40, a former Berkeley student and son of retired Alameda County Superior Court Judge Spurgeon Avakian.

The party has a history of violent clashes with police and storming city council meetings, especially during "May Day" marches usually staged each year by the party in various American cities. The party has not made a public appearance in San Francisco since 1981, but has requested a permit to march in San Francisco this May Day.

San Francisco Deputy District Attorney Frank Passiglia, who prosecuted the party members, said he recognized party supporters among those arrested in Monday's demonstration. "These guys are outright disturbers who don't care who or what the cause is," he said.

■ **THE PRAIRIE FIRE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE:** An above-ground arm of the old Weather Underground, the notorious, revolutionary terrorist group connected to dozens of bombings through the 1970s.

Sources familiar with the radical left said that several Prairie Fire supporters at the Kissinger demonstration were part of a wave of vocal protesters who urged other demonstrators off the sidewalks to confront police on the streets.

Born in 1974, Prairie Fire published pamphlets and provided support for members of the Weather Underground who were fugitives from the law.

The Underground, an offshoot of SDS, drew national attention during the "Days of Rage" of the Chicago Democratic Convention in 1968. It dissolved in the late 1970s when several hard-core members surrendered and two other members were captured in connection with a Brink's armored truck holdup in New York in 1981.

■ **THE COMMUNIST WORKERS PARTY:** A national Marxist-Leninist group that organizes broadly in the peace, feminist, labor and union movements. The party, whose exact numbers are unknown, is one of eight domestic political or terrorist groups under regular surveillance by the FBI.

During the 1980 Democratic Convention in New York City, party members wielding ax handles, carrying teargas and wearing helmets and shields clashed with police outside Madison Square Garden. A small number of party members also evaded security and briefly disrupted the convention inside.

Four years ago in Greensboro, N.C., five party members were shot and killed during a "Death to the Klan" march. A Winston-Salem jury last Monday acquitted nine Klan and American Nazi Party members being tried on federal civil rights charges.

■ **THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE:** A small band of Trotskyites with the reputation for being among the most doctrinaire groups on the radical left. Its members often appear uninvited at news conferences and seize the spotlight for their own political gain.

Spartacist members climbed a flagpole in front of San Francisco City Hall twice in recent days and tore down the Confederate flag, calling it a "banner of racism."

San Francisco Chronicle
Sat., April 21, 1984

S.F. Groups Blame Cops for Violence

By Katy Butler

Members of two groups involved in last Monday's chaotic demonstration in downtown San Francisco yesterday blamed a "police riot," rather than small groups of volatile demonstrators, for the violence.

Beth Benson, a member of the Livermore Action Group, said, "There has been more focus on a small amount of egg-throwing from the crowd, but there was very little violence from the crowd compared with the police. We feel the violence was instigated by the police."

Police have said that minimal force was used in clearing the streets during the demonstration against former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, and that some demonstrators threw rocks and marbles at officers and police horses.

At a a press conference yesterday, the Revolutionary Communist Party blamed the violence on "members of a violent fringe group known as the San Francisco Tac Squad."

The group, which also took part in the demonstration, said it supported "the festive atmosphere of Monday's demonstration, where a variety of forces used creative activities to make a strong political statement against the U.S. war moves in Central America."

"The ruling class has an agenda for the Democratic convention that they do not want disrupted in any way. Only those organizations that constitute themselves as an appendage of the Democratic Party and-or the state apparatus will be tolerated. All others are to be singled out for attack. . . . The authorities want to make it clear starting now that protest is fine so long as it does not constitute a threat to their agenda in July."

Meanwhile, members of the Spartacist League, which was named as one of the groups police fear may be planning disruptive activities for the Democratic National Convention in July, said yesterday that they have no plans to demonstrate or foment violence.

Al Nelson of the league said he thought the convention would be "a monumental bore." He also said the league had been wrongly described as a violent group.

"We are Marxists, not terrorists or criminals, and we have a right to organize for our views," Nelson said.

In 1981, after a lawsuit by the league, then-State Attorney General George Deukmejian admitted he had been wrong to include the Spartacist League in a list of left-wing terrorist organizations.

"Our inclusion on this list was an error, and a statement to this effect was sent out to various government and police agencies across the country," Nelson said.

He said his group worried police because of "our successful protest actions early this week in twice removing the Confederate flag from Civic Center."

"Linking these peaceful protest actions with police propaganda about alleged violence at the Democratic Party convention is an attempt to smear and disparage the people who pulled that Confederate flag down, and wide sections of Bay Area population who support that action."

"We consider the actions that took place at the Kissinger protest demonstration to have been a police riot."

SWP...

(continued from page 7)

Barnes' SWP, the two minority currents were pulled in conflicting immediate directions. Weinstein's people were mainly ultra-parochialists with petty union-bureaucrat aspirations; for them, Fidelismo, "talking socialism" and increasingly the SWP itself had become a hindrance to small-time reformist appetites closer to home. But a lot of Breitman's people were still oriented to the SWP; though they had run out of revolutionary steam two decades ago, they now found themselves fighting a rearguard action in defense of a pretty attenuated centrist version of Trotskyism.

Breitman's people wanted to stay in the SWP and fight the lost battle; failing that, they wanted to continue orienting to the SWP membership as a presence from the outside. Weinstein's people wanted everybody out sooner rather than later, and onward to the so-called "mass movements" led politically by the Democratic Party. If the two tendencies had trouble maintaining a bloc when Barnes was after the both of them with his meat cleaver, could they stick together in the cold world outside? The situation was complicated by the presence of supporters still inside the SWP and by the organizational highhandedness of the Weinstein gang, who because they happened to have a slight majority insisted that the expellees from both wings should be bound by common democratic-centralist discipline.

An uneasy compromise was reached over the formula of "public faction." The formula solves nothing. What *is* a public faction? How does it describe itself to those outside the SWP? What does it do? The Weinstein bunch put the accent on "public" and the others on "faction" and in October "Socialist Action" (SA) was founded by the expelled supporters of both minority components: it was the beginning of a short and rocky remarriage of the former "Opposition Bloc."

SA's first national political act was to publish a leaflet, the text emanating from the SA center in California, for distribution to the protests held November 12 to pressure the imperialists to "negotiate" in Central America. But when the leaflets appeared, there were two versions, nearly identical except for the fact that one identified SA as "a public faction of the Socialist Workers Party" while the other said not one word about the origins of the infant organization. The subsequent infighting led to the resignation from SA of Frank Lovell, who began publishing a *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism* (*BIDOM*) in December. Lovell took strong exception to Weinstein's having signed Lovell's name (and the names of other Breitman group supporters) to a letter to the SWP membership which the purported signatories hadn't seen. Lovell charged the Weinsteinites with seeking to foreclose possibilities of struggle remaining inside the SWP. Lovell felt the main task was to publish for the SWP ranks the documentation of Barnes' purge and the suppressed political materials of the expellees. In January the Bloom/Breitman supporters followed Lovell out of SA to recoalesce around the *BIDOM* as the "Fourth Internationalist Tendency."

In between these events occurred the final great purge inside the SWP, a selective "reregistration" capped by a mass trial in absentia. It began at the SWP's California state convention held in early December 1983. The minority document, "Deeds, Not Words," garnered the support of 11 percent of the SWP's California membership. This was evidently too much for Barnes to stomach. The leadership used the minority reporter's statement of solidarity with Socialist Action (i.e., with his unjustly expelled ex-comrades) to launch the final solution. The six minority delegates in California were charged with "disloyal actions" because they did not take the floor to "repudiate" their reporter. Then it was demanded that every opposition supporter in the state repudiate their delegates' disloyalty in refusing to repudiate the minority reporter. Between December 10 and January 4, twenty members were expelled in California and three resigned in protest.

> "Thus, within a period of less than two weeks, the scope of the split rapidly escalated from the minority reporter at the state convention, to the entire minority delegation, to the entire minority caucus state-wide, to every single member in California who had at any time identified himself or herself as a supporter of either the Lovell-Bloom or the Weinstein-Henderson wing of the secret faction."

This is the modest description given by the Barnesites themselves in the Political Bureau statement, "End of the Split Operation Against the SWP" in the January 1984 *Party Organizer*.

Barnes had a presumably very merry Christmas and after New Year's the purge went national. Still professing an oh-so-democratic regard for "organizational norms and principles" ("Every member is assumed to be loyal from the day they join..."), Barnes had already marked his intended victims for execution. The Political Committee decided to "draw up a list of minority supporters in every branch; prepare questions to be put to them and organize Political Committee delegations to meet with every individual on the list as rapidly as possible." The Barnesites swiftly ran through their hit list: a knock on the door, a demand that you "repudiate" a "disloyal" statement allegedly made at a California meeting, without hearing the tapes or seeing a transcript, and charges are laid. Then on January 4 or 5, the Political Committee held a mass trial—which none of those charged was permitted to attend—and it was all over.

Socialist Action, like today's Mandelite USec, has set itself on a straight-line course toward mainstream social-democracy. The Weinsteinites aim at being a competent and influential reformist organization, unlike Barnes' incompetent and weird reformist SWP.

Once liberated from the SWP, the Weinstein crowd lost no time showing what they were made of. Smelling a quick chance to earn their spurs as union bureaucrats' waterboys during the bitter Greyhound strike last winter, the Weinsteinites were a made-to-order "Solidarity with Greyhound" mass movement. In the first issue (egregiously, printed without a union bug) of their paper, *Socialist Action*, they brag about organizing big events where union fakers came to promise great solidarity actions up to and including port shutdowns...not right now of course. This was good cover for the bureaucrats' real policy, which was to squash all impulses toward concrete solidarity action. And when in San Francisco, as elsewhere, the slogans of the Spartacist League for mass militant strike action to win the Greyhound strike were picked up by union militants who had come out for some real class struggle, that's when the bureaucrats needed some SA waterboys. And SA came through with flying colors, as the labor fakers' unpaid goons to finger and muscle the real "reds" and prevent militant labor struggle. The Weinsteinites were so gross over Greyhound that California radical gadfly Steve Zeltzer, who salutes SA as a generally "positive development," wrote in his *Workers Review*:

> "During at least two rallies, Socialist Action tried to prevent the Greyhound workers and their allies from physically shutting down the San Francisco Greyhound terminal.... Socialist Action acting as march 'monitors' and the union bureaucracy did succeed in dispersing a militant picket line. They even went as far as to label the chant 'picket lines mean, don't cross' as... 'ultraleft'. O.k., so the chant was originated by the Spartacist League. So what? It's a relevant chant."

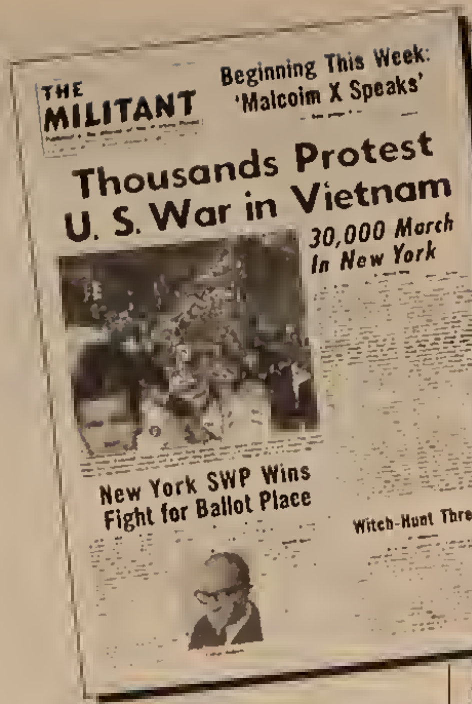
Weinstein wants to be a running dog for the American labor bureaucracy, but he inevitably comes up against the same problem that has smashed up the SWP: that kennel already has a much larger inhabitant, the Harrington organization.

And what about the eclectic attenuated centrists now regrouped out of SA as the FIT? We can't see much of a future for them given their perspective of seeking to resuscitate the SWP. "Save your old dues receipts, the SWP will rise again" is a pretty belated stance applied to a party that decisively rejected the programmatic content of Trotskyism 20 years ago. The sloughing off of the old formulas has about as much real political importance as the German Social Democrats' official repudiation of "Marxism," which occurred only in 1959 (!), 45 years after Lenin and the Bolsheviks recognized the definitive passage of social-democracy into the camp of its "own" ruling classes.

What is important about Barnes' explicit revisionism on the formal plane, and the associated contemptuous discarding of the last elements of numan continuity with the old party, is that it reinforces what most leftist observers already know: the Trotskyist party in this country is not the SWP but the Spartacist League.

Expel in Haste, Repent at Leisure

In 1961-63 a fight against the centrist turn of the SWP was waged by the Revolutionary Tendency, crystallizing out of the discussion on Cuba. Castro's courageous petty-bourgeois nationalists, in the absence of the working class as a contender for state power, over-


THE MILITANT

Beginning This Week: 'Malcolm X Speaks'

Thousands Protest U. S. War in Vietnam

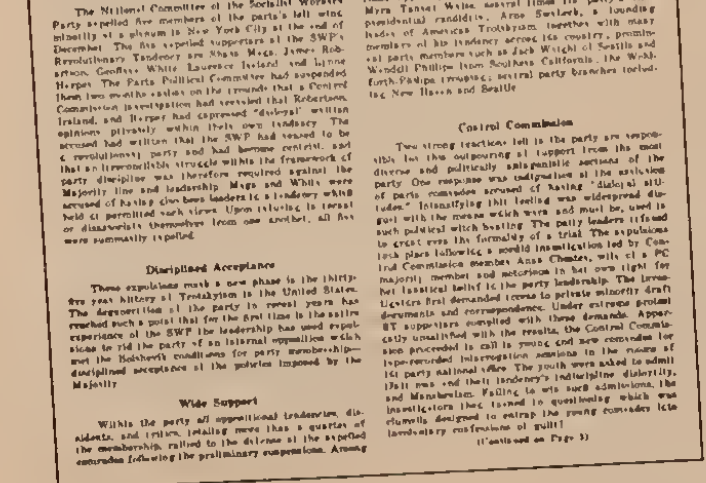
30,000 March In New York

New York SWP Wins Fight for Ballot Place

Witch-Hunt Threat

Militant puts leftist face on SWP's reformist antiwar line with photo featuring slogans for unconditional U.S. withdrawal and for NLF victory. Photo is cropped to avoid showing that placards were signed "Spartacist."

NEW YORK PARADE. Scene along mile-long parade route down Fifth Avenue in New York. When first contingent reached end of route thousands were still waiting to begin march. Official slogan of the parade, which was carried by most marchers, was "Stop the War in Vietnam Now."


SPECIAL 16 PAGE ISSUE

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Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International . . . page 11

SPARTACIST

NUMBER 1 — FEBRUARY-MARCH 1964 — 10 CENTS

WITCH HUNT IN THE SWP

Control Commission

Disciplined Acceptance

Wide Support

Revolutionary Tendency comrades, purged from SWP solely for their ideas, published first issue of Spartacist in early 1964.

threw Batista's made-in-America dictatorship; under the unremitting hellicose pressure of the U.S. imperialists, they uprooted capitalist property and Cuba's semi-colonial ruling class and established a deformed workers state. This in fact confirmed crucial aspects of Trotsky's understanding ("permanent revolution") that in the imperialist epoch the tasks associated previously with bourgeois-democratic revolutions (e.g., national liberation, agrarian reform) can't be achieved within capitalist confines. "Permanent revolution" was shown in practice first by the October Revolution in Russia. The Cuban case however differed from the Russian case in one crucial way: the revolution in Russia was made by the working class under the leadership of a revolutionary proletarian party. Thus the Russian Revolution was open-ended in the possibility of development toward socialism, a course which was frozen by the usurpation of political power by the petty-bourgeois Stalinist bureaucracy, while the Cuban Revolution was deformed from inception and directly gave rise to a deformed workers state.

As custodians of a deformed workers state in the process of consolidation, the Fidelistas' natural ideological development was to amalgamate as part of the Stalinized Communist movement—in fact they had to rehabilitate for that purpose a Cuban pro-Moscow party entirely discredited as reformist by the Cuban Revolution itself.

The SWP however used Cuba as a vehicle to embrace the Pabloist liquidationism it had earlier opposed. With the ever adept Joseph Hansen as theoretician, complete with the orthodox disclaimers appropriate to a centrist party, the SWP over Cuba embraced Pablo's notion (Pablo based it mainly on the creation of deformed workers states in postwar Eastern Europe) that forces other than Trotskyist vanguard parties were objectively forced to outline a roughly revolutionary path which was, basically, good enough. With this as the explicit basis, the SWP in 1963 "reunified" with the Pabloists in Europe around Ernest Mandel, and thus the USec was founded.

The Revolutionary Tendency (RT) which emerged in opposition to this course was led mainly by former Shachtmanite youth leaders who broke to the left and were won over to Trotskyism by an SWP whose cadres didn't exactly believe it any more. The pretty sterile orthodoxy which had seen the SWP safely through the fifties, when it seemed that communists could have no impact on American society, collapsed with the signs of new radicalization.

It's too bad the organizationally "loyal" SWP veterans saw the RT merely as troublesome youth. The RT also suffered an unprincipled 1962 split in the tendency (Tim Wohlforth's only lasting contribution to the history of American Trotskyism). This split didn't help either to give the RT credibility as an opposition pole in the eyes of the older party members.

The RT recognized early on the danger of becoming a (short-lived) permanent faction in the youth organization. We sought to become a tendency rooted in the SWP cadre through exercising in the party's discussions the rights established through 35 years of democratic-centralist organizational practice in the American Trotskyist movement. In a letter dated 18 October 1961 to the West Coast RT comrades, Jim Robertson laid out the necessary perspective:

> "At bottom, the reason I hold a perspective of struggle against split from the SWP is because the party is *far from* one in which all the revolutionary juices have been drained. Factionalism now is linked with and only has use in a split perspective. In the past few years the party has begun to react to opportunities by turning each one into a cycle of opportunism until the given opening is exhausted. Each time a selection takes place, some—notably the Weiss grouping—get worse and move toward liquidationism, but others react and are impelled in a leftward direction. This process has just begun, if one stops to view the SWP historically. There are two roads open. Either each wave of oppositionals will let themselves get washed out of the party, making it ever harder for succeeding left-wingers, *or* each opportunist venture into fresh fields will augment the revolutionary Marxists with additional forces.
> "There is one and only one reason for which the SWP should be able to find grounds for our expulsion: the *advocacy* within the movement and within those circumstances as expressly laid down by the SWP leadership of our Trotskyist *views*."
> —"Letter to Ed." reprinted in SL *Marxist Bulletin* No. 2. September 1965

Our comrades were scrupulous in maintaining the party's discipline. To get the RT out of the way of perceived appetites, the Dobbs regime did indeed expel us solely for our views.

The ex post facto justification of that first-ever political expulsion was Dobbs' 1965 resolution titled "On the Organizational Character of the Socialist Workers Party." This resolution has been the cornerstone of SWP anti-democracy ever since. It is explicit on the expulsion of the RT without any proof of violations of discipline:

> "They seemed to believe the party would have to submit to their wrecking operation until and unless specific acts of disloyalty could be proved against them....
> "With or without proof of specific acts, the party had the right, and its leadership the duty, to stop the self-indicted factional raiders who were out to wreck our movement."

The new SWP expellees are now loudly bemoaning what they call the "new norms" as they address the question of when did "it" happen, when did the SWP go wrong? In this regard we are indebted to Frank Lovell's *BIDOM* No. 4 for bringing forward a 1966 letter by James Cannon to the SWP party center strenuously objecting to the notion that breaches of internal discussion procedure are grounds for expulsion. Lovell et al. surely find this particularly relevant since the four leading spokesmen of the late minorities were suspended "without conditions" for violating the prevailing SWP norms that minority National Committee members, effectively, may speak only to majority NC members (who presumably speak only to god?). Over the three years following the RT expulsion, as the SWP's rightist course consolidated on reformist appetite, local clots and leftist cliques were disposed of. The Dobbs regime got rid of the Seattle and New Haven branches, groups around Murry Weiss and Arne Swabeck and others—all told, about a third of the membership—more in the manner of the Teamster bureaucracy than of a Trotskyist party. Cannon's 1966 letter is in protest of this purge.

All the so-called "new norms" flow straight from the 1965 resolution. Crucial is the paragraph proscribing a tendency or faction from functioning politically except under the direct scrutiny of the majority: "A dissenting minority has the right to organize itself, but the conduct of organized minorities, just as that of every individual member, must be subject to regulation by official party bodies." In the infamous 1981 $8.00 internal bulletin, the 1965 resolution is cited no less than *14* times, and frequently it's this paragraph, which abolishes a tendency's rights of private political discussion and correspondence.

Factional rights are the test of party democracy. Virtually any kind of organization can have an orderly discussion of differences—so long as the differences aren't serious. It is in the presence of tendency struggle that one cannot rely on the objectivity of any side and requires objective criteria. It was in the 1963 RT expulsion that Dobbs introduced the new flexible standard ("disloyalty" not expressed in acts of indiscipline). It was during the RT fight that Dobbs made his pronouncement that: "In the last analysis, the majority *is* the party."

Monad Press

SWP Political Committee meeting, December 1938. Clockwise from top left: Felix Morrow, James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, George Clarke, James Burnham, Nathan Gould, Martin Abern.

Cannon's 1966 letter lends credence to the rumor now circulating that Cannon didn't like the organizational resolution (Dobbs was the evident driving force behind it) but was too old and tired to do anything about it. Everybody voted for it. No doubt they thought they had a gentlemen's agreement that it wouldn't ever be used against the insiders. We're not so vindictive that we enjoy it when the resolution you didn't recognize recognizes you. (To feel otherwise would be the kind of vindictiveness that perhaps prevented a Trotsky/Zinoviev bloc in 1924 when it might have counted.)

The 1963 expulsion untimely ripped out of the SWP a few dozen comrades. In 1966 we founded the Spartacist League and subtitled our article on our first national conference "We Are Here!" in recognition of our situation as an unstable sub-propaganda group seeking out of the slender threads of our Trotskyist continuity to reforge an organization in this country—and internationally—embodying the authentic tradition of the party of Trotsky and Cannon.

Indeed, of all the significant splits from the SWP in past decades, only the Spartacists have persisted for more than 20 years as an effective national organization of ostensible Trotskyism. The Shachtmanites for all their literary intelligence lasted less than this long before entirely organizationally liquidating into the Cold War Socialists of Norman Thomas. The Mareyites (who crystallized in the 1950s SWP as an ultra-hardline current which embraced Stalinism in solidarity with the crushing of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution) gave up calling themselves Trotskyist almost at once. Meanwhile, the Healyites are certainly more out of the workers movement than in it.

But the Spartacists consolidated a stable Trotskyist nucleus, programmatically coherent and governed by democratic-centralism (including internationally, by the way) in the best traditions of the early Communist and Trotskyist movements. It is because we know where we came from, because of our political roots in the fight against the disintegration of the SWP as a revolutionary instrument, that we are here. We stand on the shoulders of the old revolutionary SWP—the American Trotskyist organization founded by Jim Cannon and a cadre of comrades who split out of the early Communist Party in defense of Leninism, the organization through which Trotsky led the Fourth International directly until his assassination by Stalin in 1940. That's *our* SWP; it's not Barnes', and it never was.

Looking for the Good Old Days

For today's expellees, the Breitman wing as much as the Weinstein crowd, the good old days aren't Cannon's organization, but the 1960s of petty-bourgeois radical ferment. All of these comrades longingly recall the SWP's role as movement brokers for the Democratic Party in the anti-Vietnam War protest movement. The SWP emerged from centrist confusion in the mid-1960s in pursuit of a perceived main chance: swelling moods of opposition to the war in Vietnam. The spectacle of the world's most awesome imperialist power losing in Vietnam was to have powerful effects, e.g., a profound

continued on page 14

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SWP...

(continued from page 13)

upsurge of hope for social liberation among the impoverished, oppressed semi-colonial laboring masses of Latin America and worldwide; the deep erosion of the U.S. army's capacity as an effective fighting force of foreign counterrevolution. At home, with the successive Democratic and Republican administrations pursuing headlong escalation in a losing imperialist adventure, increasingly influential sectors of the ruling class and its politicians wanted to bail out, in the best interests of longer-term U.S. anti-Communist aims. This divergence of ruling-class policy, as well as the taxes/inflation, the significant American battle casualties, the shattered morale of the U.S. conscript army, fueled a real "radicalization" in this country. It was concentrated in the petty bourgeoisie and college students (the swiftest social chameleons).

The SWP, like the Communist Party, saw here a main chance to become the main organizer of antiwar protest activism on the political terms of the "progressive" labor leaders and the liberal capitalist politicians. That is, as good mensheviks: in the name of a "broad" multi-class (or "classless") "people's front" of all men of good will for "peace," to bring together the workers and oppressed with presumably enlightened representatives of the ruling class on the "single issue," to oppose the war firmly on the terrain of social-patriotism—i.e., without breaking from the capitalist parties and their pro-imperialist ideologues advocating smarter strategies for defending "our own" country's global appetites. (In most other capitalist countries, this social-democratic role is embodied in "labourite" and Stalinist mass workers parties; in more politically backward America, the capitalist Democratic Party approximates being the political vehicle of class collaboration by the union bureaucracy.)

The SWP did not eclipse the larger CP but did nevertheless compete quite competently as "best builders" of huge, liberal protest demonstrations where millions of people came to hear capitalist politicians talk about "America's best interests." Needless to say the SWP did not see itself as the right wing of the antiwar radicalization, doing the donkey work to keep American kids under the sway of those who opposed the war because it was losing. No, they just wrote out of their "mass movement" the hundreds of thousands of campus and minority youth espousing New Leftish and subjectively anti-imperialist slogans. Groups like the SDS, sprouting like wildfire on college campuses, or the Black Panthers, who were looked to by a generation of inner-city black kids as the militant alternative to reformist betrayal, were written off by the SWP as simply "ultraleft." The big political conflict of the Vietnam era was not the SWP's earnest appeals to SANE to espouse "Stop the War Now" rather than "Negotiations" but whether opposition to the imperialist debacle would be contained within the capitalist political framework.

Stone/SF Examiner

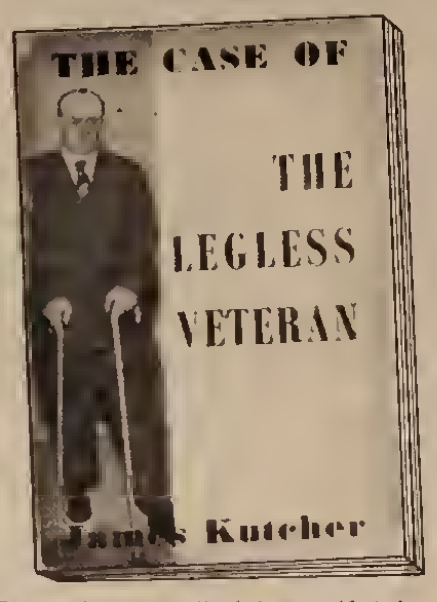
Nat Weinstein demonstrates for Polish Solidarność with virulent anti-Communists.

Of course it was not entirely contained. Countless thousands of would-be anti-imperialist radical kids explicitly championed the victory of the NLF/North Vietnamese forces, making the link from so-called "excesses" in Vietnam to the nature of U.S. capitalist society. Mostly these youth remained under the sway of generally pro-Maoist ideology; some of them we won to Trotskyism by fighting politically in SDS and in the antiwar milieu: for military victory to the Vietnamese social revolution, against the draft and for soldiers' political rights, against the student deferment in opposition to the petty-bourgeois elitism of the milieu, for a perspective of real labor action and political strikes against the war. The comrades we recruited from the anti-war, black and women's movements of the time enabled us to transform our unstable sub-propaganda group: a regular press, our first systematic efforts to sink roots in the labor movement, geographical expansion in the U.S. and extension beyond its borders.

The SWP was utterly discredited in this radical quadrant of the "radicalization," which it minded not at all. When young people with red flags appeared at Vietnam marches chanting "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, NLF Is Gonna Win" the SWP replied by chanting "peaceful, legal" and setting up breakaway marches, with redbaiting and sometimes more directly, for the cops' tender mercies. The SWP's "mass movement" was broad, respectable, carried lots of American flags and disappeared from the streets whenever there was a presidential election.

When the U.S. finally got out of Vietnam, that was the beginning of the end for the SWP. No more mass antiwar demos; a lot of recent recruits with high expectations. The SWP went on promising new "radicalizations" in time for each new conference resolution; meanwhile, capitalist politics was moving right and so was the whole fake-left, responding fundamentally to the moral/military rearmament of imperialism under Carter/Reagan in the renewed anti-Soviet war drive. Barnes played pollyanna but it happened anyway: sharply declining SWP membership rolls, eclipse by the DSA, restiveness among the more experienced and articulate, exaggerated political instabilities up to the present Stalinist shift.

In both the *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism* published in New York City and the *Socialist Action Information Bulletin* based in California, the nostalgia for the good old days of the 1960s is quite explicit. That's why all the minorityites (the majority too for that matter) were so deeply shocked and sick at heart when the Marcyites outmaneuvered the SWP and brought off a large liberal demonstration against Reaganism over Central America ("May 3rd," 1981, the largest such protest since the Vietnam days—the SL was there as the anti-imperialist contingent in solidarity with the Salvadoran left insurgents). And it's striking, by way of contrast, that none of the ex-SWP elements are bothered by the SWP's conscious, hostile absence from the Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Washington, D.C. ("November 27th," 1982), when under the leadership of the Spartacist League 5,000 militant working people, most of them black, prevented the Klan from staging its first march in the nation's capital since 1925.



Barnesites expelled James Kutcher, whose case symbolized SWP fight against McCarthyism.

This mobilization, backed by significant sections of the labor movement, was the first massively successful proletarian anti-fascist action since the Trotskyist-initiated anti-Nazi labor rallies of more than 40 years ago, upon which we model our anti-fascist strategy. Even in hindsight the new ex-SWPers don't aspire to be there as part of the vanguard of independent, militant struggle of the workers and oppressed.

Reformist SWP Misses the Boat

The "peace" movement—directed against the irrationalities and "excesses" of U.S. Vietnam policy and not against U.S. capitalism and its war aims—ended when the U.S. was forced by military defeats at the hands of the courageous Vietnamese to pull out its troops. A decade later, the "Vietnam syndrome"—popular unwillingness to make the sacrifices necessary for serious military involvement against social revolutions abroad—is still very real, but the closest thing it has to organizational expression is Gary Hart.

Over the Vietnam War the SWP consolidated on a fully reformist axis but failed to achieve any stable "niche" on the U.S. left. Its antiwar reformism, its slavish tailism of some of the worst and most right-wing "cultural nationalist" elements of the black movement, its "consistent feminism" hypocrisy as a soft alternative to the "radical feminist" and "socialist-feminist" variants of women's liberation—all this hadn't given the SWP any mass base to offer to sell out, unless you count the augmented ranks of the SWP itself, then swelled to perhaps 2,000 members. Eventually Barnes discovered the working class and the unions, but that was really late in the game. By then, Mike Harrington's split from the tiny, ossified, discredited, war-hawk Social Democrats had regrouped and grown into a credible social-democratic party, tied in with the black Democrats and union bureaucrats. Barnes & Co. didn't know what hit them; evidently they still don't.

If today's new expellees want to know what hit them, they would do well to consider the purge of the Internationalist Tendency (IT) in 1974, when more than a hundred SWPers were declared by Barnes to constitute a rival party, "the Internationalist Tendency party," and given the heave-ho en masse without recourse to formalities like charges or trials. The "new norms" bemoaned by the recent expellees didn't start in 1981. They made their emergence in 1963 with the RT expulsion (and the ouster of quite a sizeable number of other comrades over the next few years); they were formalized in 1965 and used to expel over 100 ITers in one swift stroke in 1974.

The IT was a centrist oppositional current in the SWP whose possible evolution toward authentic Trotskyism was derailed when the IT accepted the political leadership of the "international," which is to say, Ernest Mandel of the USec. Mandel and the European USec were then in the grip of extreme enthusiasm for guerrilla warfare in the "Third World"; Hansen and the SWP were furiously invoking orthodox rhetoric against USec centrist impressionism much the same way that the official pro-Moscow Communist Parties quote Lenin on the centrality of the proletariat to dismiss the more left impulses of Guevarist types. The IT's rather timid criticisms of the SWP's antiwar line had brought it dangerously close to the "spectre of Spartacism," but the spectre was staved off by tailoring the IT's program to Mandel's specifications.

Mandel himself is a very erudite Belgian professor whose appetite toward social-democratic adviser status has been apparent since the mid-1950s. His stint as a pro-guerrilla centrist coincided with the USec's recruitment in the 1960s of a few thousand subjectively revolutionary youth of New Leftist bent, who moved left from the Stalinist student milieu and were recruited to what Mandel said was Trotskyism. (More recently, under the pressure of the resurgent imperialist Cold War drive, Mandel has brought his "children of May '68" squarely back into the social-democratic fold, tailing Mitterrand and singing the praises of Solidarność.)

Barnes' bureaucratic SWP ousted the IT en masse by announcing that they were splitters. Mandel refused to back up his unwanted leftist American stepchildren with a "franchise"; instead he shoved down their throats the cynical lie that the SWP remained a revolutionary party, and the corresponding suicidal perspective of trying to get back in by any means necessary. At the IT's first post-expulsion national meeting, held in October 1974, the first order of business was to expel two soon-to-be-Spartacists for arguing the IT should consider in its "perspectives" discussion the view that "the SWP is finished as a revolutionary force." Instead, the IT pinned its hopes on Mandel, who left them to twist slowly in the wind.

To understand the IT mass expulsion you have to know the "Watersuit," the SWP's ten-years-long, millions-of-dollars lawsuit against the federal government (see especially "Reformism on Trial," *WV* No. 286, 31 July 1981). Starting from the revelations about the FBI's "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO) "disruption" campaign against black militants and the left, boosted by the Watergate exposures, Barnes envisioned irreversible bourgeois-democratic gains up to and including the "right to revolution." The suit was aimed at much more than a useful court disavowal of FBI dirty tricks after the fact; for Barnes, it was a shot at the big time. The SWP aimed at securing a special license to practice reformism unhindered by the spying and murderous disruption the state uses against its left-wing political opponents. Barnes aimed to show the SWP as deserving of a special exemption from the state as a reformist party non-threatening to the bourgeois order.

The SWP got the "Watersuit" into gear with the declaration that its legalism was not "contravened" by anything Trotsky or others might have said. The 15 May 1981 *Militant* put it quite succinctly when it summed up Barry Sheppard's testimony as follows: "SWP advocates peaceful election of workers and farmers government, which will need changes in Constitution to implement program." But the real measure of the "Watersuit" was the IT

AP

WV Photo

Left: SWP-initiated mass labor rally against Nazis, Madison Square Garden, 1939. Right: Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization stops Klan in Washington, D.C., 1982.

expulsion; red-baiting deeds speak louder than words as a guarantee of reformist tameness. A spate of "terrorism"-baiting of the USec, the IT's mentors, was making the rounds of the European press and had been picked up by right-wing witchhunters in this country. And the one thing the "Watersuit" gimmick couldn't take was anything tainted with the suggestion of "terrorism." So the SWP expelled the IT and served it up on a platter to Judge Thomas Griesa, who was mightily reassured and said so explicitly, commenting that the "ouster of the minority" had "basically eliminated" any "suggestion" of SWP terrorism.

The SWP underscored its hatred for the IT in court in 1981 by its vicious frame-up of Hedda Garza, labeling her, despite her transparent innocence, a government fink, based on the incredible reasoning internally that "the government would not lie." Today the SA/FIT supporters say they're partisans of Mandel's "Fourth International." But even with the "hundred flowers" of SWP dissidence in full bloom around the 1981 convention, today's professed internationalists were pretty quiet when Hedda Garza was pilloried for having once been too chummy with some foreign members of the "Fourth International" during the mock-heroic period of USec leftism. And we know of no cry of outrage inside the SWP when Barnes & Co. "named names" of foreign USeccrs in court by sorting out pseudonyms for the government, fingering international comrades to underline the SWP's reformist posture that law-abiding American socialists have nothing to fear from the American government.

Failing to get a nod as America's most favored reformist party, Barnes now looks for patrons further afield. Thus comes the newfound Stalinism: the shift toward adulation without fig leaves of Castro and the more recent shift toward fondness for the Vietnamese leadership (sharply contrasting with the SWP's hostility while the Vietnam War was on, for example in polemics against the French USec during the 1969-74 USec fight). And thus comes the explicit anti-Trotskyist revisionism.

Weinstein's SA is likely headed for the DSA, probably via maneuvers among the numerous third-campist fragments and cliques who see the new ex-SWPers as the best thing to happen to them since Polish Solidarność. Meanwhile SA takes its place as one more splinter in the name of "movement unity," one more bit of lint on the coattails of the labor bureaucrats. Within months of their liberation from the SWP they showed in action the role they aspire to: Weinstein & Co. wanted to be to the Greyhound strike what the DSA's Winpisinger was to PATCO, conscious opponents of the concrete labor solidarity needed to win. They couldn't be further from us politically if they tried (which of course they do).

But the recently aroused SWP veterans congregated in the FIT/*BIDOM* of Lovell, Bloom and Breitman are in the grip of genuine contradiction. It's no accident that those of us who go back personally to the SWP have feelings of affection for some of these comrades and no sympathy whatever for the Weinstein crowd. This is a modest psychological reflection of the political realities. The FITers' impulse to cling to Cannon and Trotsky is not so much a program as an act of nostalgia, but an honorable act nonetheless. We have to have some considerable respect for their decades in the Trotskyist movement and for the evident sincerity of their effort not to betray Trotskyism as they understand it—a pale pink attempt at red orthodoxy. Yet the programmatic content of their documents owes more to the pressures of U.S. imperialism's stepped-up anti-Soviet war drive than to the fighting internationalist spirit of Trotsky's "War and the Fourth International." Nor will they derive much profit from brooding about the destruction of democratic-centralism in the SWP with blinders on at the qualitative point of degeneration: the 1963 RT expulsion and the necessary redefinition of the party's "organizational character" codified in the 1965 resolution.

As for the SWP, the large reformist rump of ex-Trotskyism, it's with special pleasure that we endorse what Rhett Butler said to Scarlett O'Hara: frankly, Jack, Mary-Alice and Barry, we don't give a damn. We have paid a lot of attention to the SWP for 20 years, while it claimed to contest the Trotskyist tradition which is ours. But we're pretty bored with Barnes' party: weird, nasty and still shrinking. ■

Central America...

(continued from page 4)

"provisional government" which would include "all the country's political forces" except D'Aubuisson's party and some sections of the oligarchy. In other words, the bloody Salvadoran army would remain intact. There will be no peace for the oppressed masses of El Salvador unless the leftist insurgents smash the death-squad regime. "Negotiated solution" means a sellout of the rebels' battlefield victories at the bargaining table, setting the stage for a massive bloodbath. Military victory to Salvador leftists!

Kennedy's Alliance for Counterrevolution

Gary Hart speaks for all the Democratic "doves" when he harks back to the John F. Kennedy administration and the "vision" of U.S. imperialism using corruption, economic pressure and CIA dirty tricks when possible in place of direct military intervention. In response to the Cuban Revolution and the Bay of Pigs fiasco, the Kennedy administration organized a reign of military terror throughout Latin America against workers, peasants and radical intellectuals. It was called the Alliance for Progress. Interestingly, Kennedy declared that "Governments of the civil-military type of El Salvador are the most effective in containing communist penetration in Latin America" (quoted in Walter LaFeber, *Inevitable Revolutions*).

Kennedy's successor, Lyndon Johnson, sent 22,000 U.S. troops into the Dominican Republic, proclaiming that "the American nations... will not permit the establishment of another Communist government in the Western Hemisphere" (LaFeber, *Inevitable Revolutions*). Under Democrats Carter/Mondale the "human rights" junta was installed and began a slaughter of Salvadoran workers and peasants which totaled 30,000 dead between October 1979 and March 1982.

Imperialism is not an evil set of interventionist schemes by a "bad" wing of the ruling class. It is a system, the final stage of world capitalism. Integral to that system is the ravaging of backward regions like Latin America, where the masses are kept down by bloody military dictatorships. However, today in Central America the decades-long reign of terror maintained by Yankee imperialism is being shattered by revolution and civil war. Thus the American ruling class is faced with the prospect of direct military intervention. The U.S. armed forces, mainly working-class youth in uniform, are the last reserve to suppress the exploited classes and oppressed peoples around the globe. All the revolutionary forces in the world press against the United States. With a revolutionary vanguard which can channel and direct these pressures, U.S. imperialism can be defeated *from within*. That possibility was particularly clear in the last years of the Vietnam War. But because the massive opposition to the Vietnam War in this country was *not* directed into revolutionary class struggle, U.S. imperialism has recovered somewhat and is now on a desperate and bloody offensive, above all in Central America.

Yet despite the Reagan administration's constant efforts to whip up anti-Communist war fever, the bulk of the American population do not want to go to war in Central America. The stinging defeat inflicted on U.S. imperialism by the heroic peasant army of Vietnam is still too fresh in the memory. Indicative of the mood in the country is the fact that Central American war criminals like Weinberger and Jeane Kirkpatrick are shouted down practically every time they venture onto one of the nation's campuses.

A defeat of U.S. imperialism and its local butchers in Central America would be a powerful blow against Reagan's war drive aimed at the Soviet Union. We hail the heroic Salvadoran guerrilla fighters and the workers and peasants of Nicaragua battling the CIA-organized *contra* terrorists. It is the urgent duty of all class-conscious American workers to mobilize to prevent Yankee imperialism from unleashing the full horror of its war machine against the toiling masses of Central America. Boycott military cargo bound for El Salvador, Honduras and other rightist regimes in the region! For labor strikes against U.S. intervention in Central America! Such a mobilization of the American working class against Washington's rape of Central America can be the beginning of the end for U.S. imperialism. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Racist Confederate Banner Won't Rise Again in San Francisco!

We Tore Down The Flag of Slavery!

SAN FRANCISCO, April 22—Clad in the uniform of a Union soldier in the Civil War, Richard Bradley climbed the 50-foot flagpole in the Civic Center here *twice* last week to cut down the Confederate flag of slavery which had flown over this city for too many years. It flies no more. Bradley, a supporter of the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense, tore down and burned the flag for the first time on April 15. The crowd of blacks, unionists and socialists broke into jubilant cheers as the hated symbol of racism and Ku Klux Klan terror was set ablaze. The Spartacists handed out a "proclamation" (see page 9), and sang "John Brown's Body" and chanted: "The Confederate flag flies no more! Time to finish the Civil War!"

Bradley, Spartacist candidate for SF Board of Supervisors in 1982, was arrested along with Peter Woolston, General Executive Board member of ILWU Local 6, and charged with "vandalism." At the police station, Bradley and Woolston were handcuffed to a bench. But even a couple of black cops, hearing that the alleged "vandalism" was taking down the Confederate flag, said, "Let 'em go." Some white racist cops started humming "Dixie."

As soon as the news of the Confederate flag hit, Bay Area blacks welcomed the victory as their own. In fact, the whole city was glad to be rid of the racist insult. But not union-busting mayor Dianne Feinstein. In a calculated act of political racism, her administration decided to put the Confederate flag back up the next day—one day after the outrageous Greensboro verdict which gave a green light to the KKK and Nazi murderers who gunned down blacks and labor activists in broad daylight (see page 1).

The battle with the mayor wasn't over only symbols and history, but was a question of the fight against racist terror. So, vowing that "this flag will not fly," Bradley and the SL went back and cut this flag to pieces on April 16, just a few hours after Feinstein put it up. Again, Bradley was arrested, this time by 13 white cops who had called for the fire department to try to remove him from the flagpole. The cops tightly handcuffed Bradley's hands behind his back and manhandled him into a police car. This time there were no black cops in the station, and they held him for seven hours. At the press conference on April 17, Bradley said, "I did not commit malicious mischief. I tore down the enemy's flag. That stands for slavery and racism. I'm originally from the South and I know what that flag means."

In the eyes of Feinstein and the cops, Bradley was some kind of criminal for tearing down the emblem of the slave South, but in the Bay Area he was a local hero. Bradley couldn't walk into a bar or restaurant without having a drink or meal bought for him. At his job, Bradley's co-workers are compiling a book of press clippings to present to Feinstein. All across the city TV, radio and press coverage made this a truly popular issue. Telegrams and phone calls poured into the mayor's office in support of the action, quite a few reportedly from local union leaders demanding the charges be dropped along with the flag. The Lambda Chi Alpha fraternity at the Berkeley Cal campus rushed to take down their Confederate flag. Symbols of slavery were no longer safe in San Francisco.

The widespread popularity forced even the haughty "Lady Di" to back down. And that does not happen every day in "her" city. "Dixie Flag Won't Rise Again, Feinstein Decides" was the headline in the *San Francisco Examiner*, 18 April. Dixie flag won't rise, because the SL and the Labor Black League had made it a real mass issue in the city. But Feinstein tried to hide behind black Supervisor Doris M. Ward's request that the Confederate flag stay down because it "was carried as

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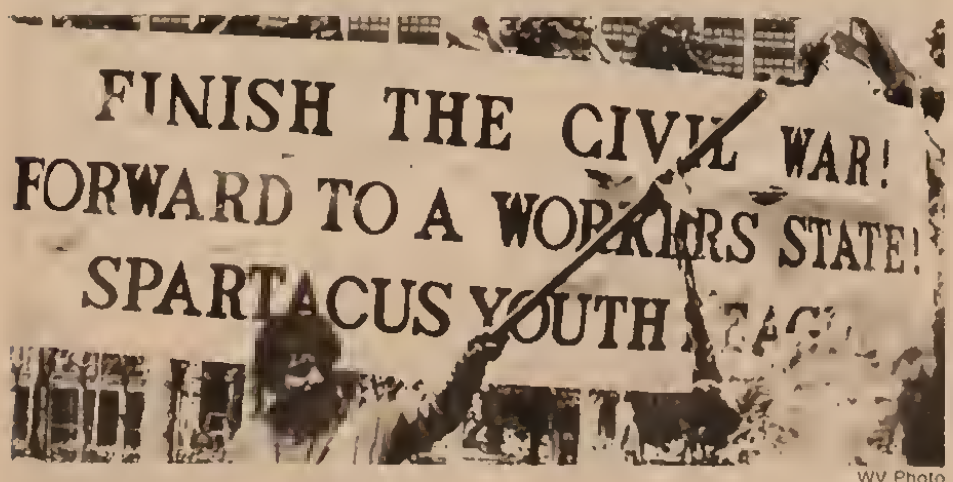
WV Photos

Richard Bradley scales Civic Center flagpole, April 15: Dixie flag will not rise again over San Francisco.



WV Photo

SL/SYL and Labor Black League burn the Confederate flag.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 354

11 May 1984

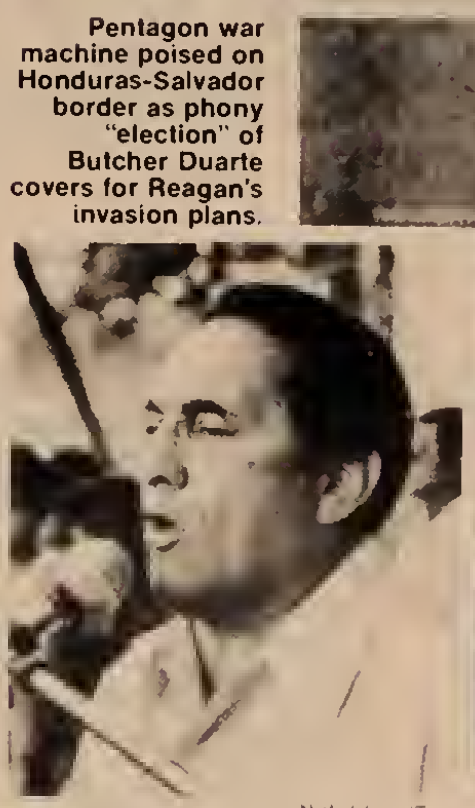
Put Butcher Duarte on the Run!

Invasion Elections in El Salvador

MAY 6—Ronald Reagan is waging his dirty war in El Salvador with bullets, ballots and bullshit. And none of it is working. From the battles in Morazán province to fighting the "Vietnam syndrome" on the home front, the Yankee butchers are losing. The Reaganites are becoming more desperate, and thus more dangerous. U.S. imperialism is trying to prop up its falling dominos as Navy war flotillas converge off the Central American coasts for one "exercise" after another. *Newsweek* asked if the latest, "Ocean Venture '84," involving 32,000 U.S. military personnel, were "Invasion War Games?"

This operation spanning more than two weeks included a mock evacuation (and real reinforcement) of the U.S. base at Guantánamo, Cuba—a naval fortress held in defiance of the Cubans' demand for its return—and a full-scale invasion of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques. Ocean Venture '84, a gigantic war provocation, was a dry run for an invasion of Central America, as well as an attempt to intimidate the Cuban deformed workers state and Sandinista Nicaragua. We say: Smash Reagan's Caribbean war drive! Defense of Cuban/USSR begins in El Salvador! U.S. out of Guantánamo! Independence for Puerto Rico!

To send in the Marines and the 82nd Airborne to "save democracy," it always helps to have a "democratically elected government" to "request" Washington's aid. (It was awkward enough in Grenada where they had to dig up an obscure representative of the British queen.) So yesterday the second round of the "Intervention Elections" were held in El Salvador. The U.S. embassy and the Salvadoran army picked their man, the CIA provided the publicity apparatus, and Christian Democrat José Napoleón Duarte was duly "elected" president of the republic. Duarte should have no trouble serving as front man for a U.S. invasion. For years he has been the "moderate" front man for death squad terror.



Nickelsberg/Time

AP

Pentagon war machine poised on Honduras-Salvador border as phony "election" of Butcher Duarte covers for Reagan's invasion plans.

How did he get to be a "moderate"? By running against a certified pathological killer, the cashiered colonel "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson, who earned his nickname because of his torture techniques. Notorious for carting his death squads around town in armor-

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Soviet Athletes Targeted by Reagan

Cold War Provocations Force Russia Out of Olympics

MAY 8—The government of the United States has incited and sanctioned a campaign of intimidation, harassment, possible kidnapping and right-wing violence against the Soviet Olympic team during the summer games in Los Angeles. After putting up with countless provocations, the Soviet authorities have had enough. They announced today that they're pulling out of the L.A. Olympics because the U.S. government "does not intend to ensure the security of all athletes, respect their rights and human dignity, and create normal conditions for holding the games." According to TASS, the International Olympic Committee agrees that the Soviet position is "just" and "substantiated" (UPI, 8 May). Indeed the LAPD and FBI were turning the Olympics into an armed camp while the bourgeois press whipped up anti-Soviet hysteria.

The Reagan gang's targeting of the Soviet Olympic team is part of a series of flagrant attacks on Soviet diplomatic personnel, civilians and military forces around the globe. To take but a

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Long Photography

Russian world record breaking swimmer, Vladimir Salnikov.

Labor Solidarity Rally in NYC

Black Caribbean Workers vs. Hess Oil Empire

Black workers who have been slaving away for Hess Oil Company on the small Caribbean island of St. Croix in the U.S. Virgin Islands are today fighting a bitter class battle against oil magnate Leon Hess. Nearly 400 workers were locked out at the HOVIC refinery on April 16 after they had voted down the company's racist union-busting contract "offer." Hess wants to return to the days of plantation slavery, cracking down across the board, eliminating the right to grieve layoffs, recalls, promotions or demotions. Attacks on seniority rights include Hess's plan to administer tests to employees. As the union put it in their full-page ad in the *St. Croix Avis*, if this contract is rammed through, when Hess wants to get rid of someone, they merely test him and it's "out the gate!"

In New York City on May 7 an emergency protest was held outside the Amerada Hess international headquarters at Sixth Avenue and 47th Street, to support and publicize the struggle of these locked-out black workers. More than 40 demonstrators marched, chanting "Teamsters, longshore, maritime, steel—Hot cargo Hess! Make him kneel!" and "PATCO, Greyhound, now Hess—Smash union-busting!" The New York demonstrators carried placards with slogans raised by the St. Croix workers including: "No rest for St. Croix workers. You work our brothers for 12 hours. Now you lock your gate and we have to protest" and "Don't forget: The whip that beat the black dog beat the white dog also. Unity!" The NYC protest was called by area rank-and-file trade unionists—including members of the National Maritime Union, Transport Workers Union, Communications Workers of America, AFSCME, carpenters, plumbers—and the Labor Black League of America.

WV Photo

1,200 black unionists and supporters march through Christiansted, St. Croix on May 2: "Get up, stand up for your rights!"

Militant seaman Gene Herson called for labor action starting with transport workers "hot-cargoing" (refusing to handle) all Hess Oil products. Maire Hayes—who marched in the impressive solidarity demonstration on the island last week—stressed the urgency of the New York support action "because Hess thinks nobody is going to find out what's happening down there in St. Croix." A statement by Ronnie Davis, recording secretary of the embattled oil workers union, was read thanking people on the mainland for their support.

Hess oil workers, organized into United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 8526, already toil under barbarous conditions, with the company having replaced the three shifts needed to operate the refinery around the clock by two brutal *12-hour shifts*. The giant refinery—the world's largest, with a capacity of 700,000 barrels of oil a day—operates on St. Croix exempt from *all* corporate taxes. Under the ruthless domination of rogue-capitalist Leon Hess and his Amerada Hess Corporation, the oil company is now operating at the refinery with scabs from Hess's Mississippi plant, subcontractors and management. Workers at St. Croix make more than $2/hour less than workers at the Hess oil refinery in Purvis, Mississippi, that notoriously racist, low-wage state!

On May 2 in Christiansted, the island's capital, the locked-out workers took to the streets. A massive solidarity march of 1,200 unionists and their families and supporters—reportedly the largest labor demonstration ever held in the Virgin Islands—in a festive mood marched in step with Bob Marley's "Stand Up For Your Rights" blaring from a sound truck. As the workers approached the marketplace by the harbor at the site of the old slave auction block, their placards took on a special meaning: "Dark Ages Slavery by $ Diplomacy—We Will Stand Up for Our Rights!" was one sign. Here, Lonnie James, president of Steelworkers Local 8526, vowed: "We marched here today to show we will not be sold and we will not be bought."

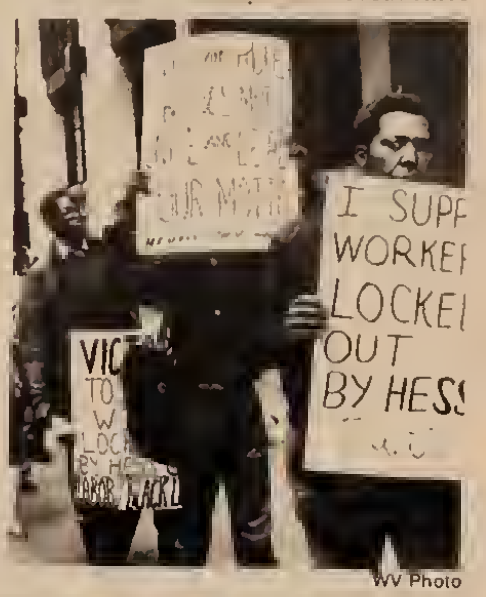
Like the old plantation owners, Leon Hess and his ilk have nightmares about slave uprisings on their "paradise" islands of tax shelters and naked racist exploitation. From the time the St. Croix refinery was first opened until recently, "bonded" black workers, little more than indentured servants, were "imported" from islands throughout the Caribbean for six-month periods, and threatened with deportation if they got out of line. Hess Oil making St. Croix its own private colony is standard procedure for these oil multinationals: Exxon in Aruba, Texaco in Trinidad, Royal Dutch Shell in Curaçao.

The spectre of "another Cuba" haunts the capitalists who have established hugely profitable enterprises with enormous tax dodges throughout the Caribbean. At every outbreak of labor struggle, they tremble with fear of revolution. Hess & Co. surely sleep better knowing that the white U.S. imperialist slavemasters didn't hesitate to send down troops to crush the people of Grenada when they got "uppity." With Reagan's enormous military buildup in the region—aimed most directly at toppling Sandinista Nicaragua, backing the murderous Salvadoran regime and menacing Cuba—the tiny Caribbean ruling classes and their imperialist masters know that the U.S. military isn't just their ultimate but their *first* line of defense.

But the Virgin Islands, although as small as tiny Grenada, have a black proletariat with significantly more social power. This weight is seen in the more than 8,500 workers organized into the USWA throughout St. Croix and St. Thomas, from the big Martin-Marietta aluminum plant to phone workers to HOVIC oil workers to a 1,000-strong USWA construction local. These black workers are conscious of their ties to their brothers and sisters on the U.S. mainland, as evidenced by signs at the May 2 Christiansted mass march: "First it was Reagan, then the Greyhound bus line, now it's Hess—These union-busters need a busted ass!" And, in turn, the strategically important black proletariat of the U.S. will be decisive in shattering American imperialism from within and so liberating the desperately poor colonial masses of the Caribbean.

Hot Cargo Hess Oil!

In Leon Hess the black oil workers are up against one of the most ruthless figures in a ruthless bunch. Hess, known to New Yorkers as the football Jets' owner who took the team to New Jersey, has had it all his way in St. Croix since he established the giant HOVIC oil refinery on the island in 1966. A Howard Hughes-type eccentric, Hess avoids the public and won't talk to the press. He tries to personally control every aspect of his far-flung operation right up to surprise inspections of Hess gas station attendants. He is a "buccaneer," wrote Tad Szulc in his profile of the sinister Hess, "Playing for High Stakes in the Virgin Islands," in *Forbes*, 1 August 1977. Indeed, Hess's oil piracy has paid off plenty. The company is officially listed as worth some $3 billion, but given the secretive nature of his operation, analysts say it is systematically undervalued.



WV Photo

New York protest at Hess Oil headquarters May 2 supports locked-out oil workers in St. Croix.

Hess lords it over the black workers on St. Croix, because that is what the Virgin Islands setup is all about. Known as a tourist spot by most Americans, the Virgin Islands are the scene of a multi-

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TROTSKY

LENIN

Destroy the Slavocracy!

When the Civil War began in 1861 with the South's attack on the Union garrison at Fort Sumter, South Carolina, the great black abolitionist Frederick Douglass called for total war against the slaveholders from without and a massive slave rebellion from within.

Let the ports of the South be blockaded; let business there be arrested; let provisions, arms and ammunition be no longer sent there; let the grim visage of a Northern army confront them from one direction, a furious slave insurrection meet them at another, and starvation threaten them from still another, and they will begin to murmur a discontent which will surely break out at last in bitter execration and curses upon the guilty authors of their triple woes. The confederate slaveholding traitors are now only on the outer wave of the whirlpool of treason; every circle they now make will bring them nearer the centre that is certain to swallow them up, and hurl them to the bottom of its howling waters.

—Frederick Douglass, "Sudden Revolution in Northern Sentiment" (1861)

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No. 354 **11 May 1984**

NYC Transit Union: Smash Koch/Kiley/Gunn Gang!

New York mayor Ed Koch, Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) czar Robert Kiley and Transit Authority (TA) president David Gunn have brought their union-busting machine to the 207th Street subway repair shop in Manhattan. A traditional center of Transport Workers Union (TWU) militancy, this work location now constitutes the union's front line against a system-wide attack by the TA bosses. At least 213 workers have been disciplined in a ten-day period since Gunn's hatchetman Ronald "Col. Jefferson" Davis took over the shop. In response to massive management provocations, TWU members have refused to work overtime and have implemented a "work to rule" enforcement of safety standards.

On a Sunday TV news program TWU president John Lawe denounced the TA's "Gestapo tactics" at 207th Street. But Lawe's program (like ex-UAW head Fraser at Chrysler) is to offer his services in disciplining the workforce by getting a seat on the MTA board. On May 3 WCBS News came up to the shop and recorded the workers' angry response every time Davis ventured out onto the floor. Amid shouts, horn honking and the din of banging tools, Davis was driven back into his office.

But protests, no matter how vocal, are not going to stop Kiley's union-busting.

TWU Has the Power!

The TWU is the most powerful and strategically located municipal union in the country. And transit workers acutely feel the need to mobilize that power in their defense. Under mounting pressure from the ranks the 207th Street shop committee on May 2 convened a morning shop stewards and delegates meeting and a lunchtime shop gate meeting attended by 800 workers. We reprint at right a leaflet issued for those meetings by the class-struggle Committee for a Fighting TWU, calling for mobilizing the power of the entire union against the victimizations. Defend the 207th Street shop!

This assault on the TWU is merely the latest in ex-CIA spymaster Kiley and "Hired" Gunn's union-busting offensive. Kiley (appointed by "friend of labor" Democratic governor Cuomo) and Gunn began their tenure by proclaiming they were going to give the supervisors association the "PATCO treatment," taking away their civil service status so the TA can hand-pick its slavedrivers and impose a sweatshop regimen on a workforce already subjected to lousy working conditions. When Committee members proposed a simple statement of solidarity with the supervisors against the crackdown, Lawe first responded with redbaiting. But even this piecard recognized that the TWU was the real target of this attack and finally issued a watered-down, class-collaborationist statement opposing this attack on the supervisors.

In early April, five elected officers of the Track and Power Division including division chairman Benny Foster were summarily fired from their elected safety committee posts for distributing so-called "unauthorized literature."

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Der Spiegel

Derailment! TA's speedup and attacks on safety standards are a deadly threat to transit workers and riding public.

Committee for a Fighting TWU Leaflet

"Stop Victimizations With Solid United TWU Action!"

Koch, Kiley and Gunn have brought a grueling occupation mercenary army under colonel "Jefferson" Davis to bust our union! They act like British troops in Ulster! The 207th street shop is at this point the front line of the TWU. In accordance with Kiley's and Gunn's grand scheme to crush the TWU, the appointee to the 207th street shop, "Jefferson" Davis, has provoked, intimidated and victimized union members. Under the smoke screen of "improving productivity" Davis has attempted to impose speed-up and disregard safety standards in subway cars repaired at the shop. Davis' "Final Solution" for the 207th street shop is to provoke, victimize and isolate us so he can impose sweatshop conditions on the whole union! His disregard for safety standards on subway cars will result in more deaths of conductors and motormen and poses a deadly threat to the riding public! In response to this provocation we have refused to work O.T. And we insist on enforcing safety standards!

This isn't just a 207th street shop fight—this is a TWU and city workers fight! The following motion is posed to the 207th Shop Stewards and Delegates meeting and the 207th street Shop Gate meeting:

MOTION: That an immediate emergency executive board meeting be called tonight, and that the power of the entire TWU be brought to bear against all victimizations of TWU members at the 207th street shop. These members are now acting in accordance with the union leadership's call to refuse to work overtime to protest management's speed-up, intimidation and disregard of safety standards! Lawe and the entire executive board must make it clear to the Kiley appointed shop boss Davis that if all victimizations are not immediately dropped the entire subway system will come to a solid halt!

P.S.,

We've heard that foremen have been working our jobs on the weekend. Scabs are a brand of disgusting filth. This filth will sell blood from the veins of its dying, crippled mother for a quick buck. This ugly, blood-sucking worm likes to work overtime while TWU workers are protesting speed-up and safety violations. On the NY docks there is a saying: "*You Can't Cross a Picket Line on Two Broken Legs.*"

—KARTSEN, BREWER, SMITH and the COMMITTEE FOR A FIGHTING TWU

2 May 1984

National Guard Out of the Copper Fields!

Defend Phelps Dodge Strikers!

On May 6 Arizona Democratic governor Bruce Babbitt ordered hundreds of National Guard troops into the mining towns of Clifton/Morenci after striking copper workers pelted scabherding cops with stones at a union rally the day before. It is the second time this "friend of labor" Democrat has called out the National Guard to help Phelps Dodge break the largely Chicano and Indian copper workers union. Beginning last July, this strike has become one of the longest and most violent labor struggles in the U.S. in recent years. Phelps Dodge, the country's largest copper producer, has assembled an army of gun-toting scabs backed up by the cops and National Guard. Now the copper bosses are trying to evict 400 strikers and their families from the company-owned housing where they live.

The copper workers have held out militantly and courageously for almost a year against the massive company/state strikebreaking effort. But they cannot win alone. Labor solidarity is the key to victory. Phelps Dodge's pure copper ingots are transported in Southern Pacific's unionized freight trains. This scab copper is too hot to handle! All copper miners have a stake in this fight. Shut down the entire industry! What's needed is a massive mobilization of the labor movement—and not just from Arizona—to put the fear of god into the Phelps Dodge bosses and Governor "Scabbitt." National Guard out of the copper fields! Victory to the Phelps Dodge strikers!

UPI

Phelps Dodge strikers battle cops at union rally, May 5.

Smash IMF Bloodsuckers—For Workers Revolution!

Hunger Revolt in Santo Domingo

Army, Police Shoot Hundreds

It was the social explosion everyone knew was coming. Sooner or later, somewhere in Latin America desperate masses would revolt against the monstrous austerity measures imposed by their capitalist rulers at the instigation of the imperialist bankers cartel, the International Monetary Fund (IMF). It broke out in Santo Domingo, on April 23. Pushed beyond endurance, crowds of starving slum dwellers broke into grocery stores in search of food. Cops and troops responded with a vengeance, killing scores, wounding hundreds, arresting thousands. It was the eve of the anniversary of the 1965 uprising when a people in arms rose up against the Yankee puppet, managing to hold out for weeks against the Dominican military and 40,000 U.S. Marines. This time it was the Dominican Republic, but throughout the region nervous presidents and generals knew the next volcanic eruption of popular anger could mean their downfall.

The day after the Easter holidays, Dominicans were confronted with drastic government-decreed price increases for basic necessities like sugar (up 17 percent), bread (35 percent) and cooking oil (nearly a 100 percent increase), while the cost of an airplane ticket to New York tripled. There was an outpouring of rage in the poor barrios of the capital. But in the absence of revolutionary leadership, the protests became classic hunger riots. On the night of the 23rd, tires were burning on virtually every street corner in the slums of the Dominican capital; within two days, 21 cities and towns of the Caribbean island republic had been hit. The police responded with murderous gunfire and soon there were running battles between stone-throwing youths and cops with machine guns and shoot-to-kill orders.

Scores of stores were looted and at least ten local offices of the ruling bourgeois-liberal Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) were burned to the ground. The police eventually announced that 62 people had been killed, all shot by the forces of "law and order," but there were at least another 300 seriously wounded and a reported 100-200 disappeared, so that the actual death toll could run into the hundreds. Some 6,000 people were arrested. Yet President Salvador Jorge Blanco went on national TV, flanked by the entire general staff, to praise the "equanimity," the "professionalization" and "respect for life" shown by the uniformed thugs of the police and army.

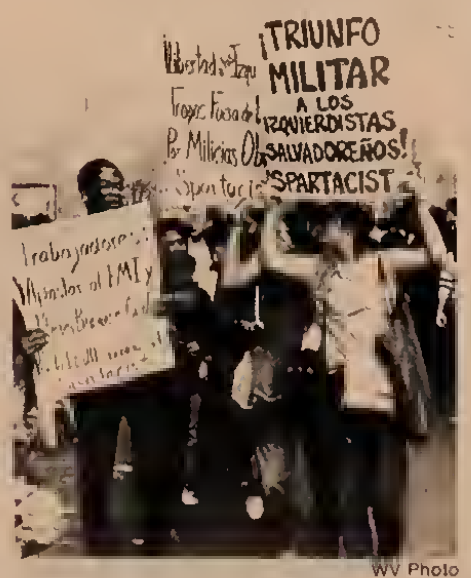
The French Revolution of 1789 was sparked by hunger. As the historian Michelet wrote of the bankrupt *ancien régime*, "Famine is a normal condition of existence; hunger comes by royal decree." Showing all the historical perspicacity of a two-bit Louis XVI, Jorge Blanco denounced the hunger revolt of April 1984 as the work of "sinners, delinquents and conspirators." The head of the Dominican Central Bank sounded like a Marie Antoinette in pinstripes: "Some are shifting their consumption habits." As the people were starving, the government declared, "Let them eat lead." Official unemployment is over 30 percent in the urban areas and disguised unemployment in the countryside probably twice as much. The minimum wage (many make less) is $48 a *month*, while sugar cane workers get a bare $1.35 a *day*! Even factory workers next door in impoverished Haiti make more than this. And when looters broke into stores all over the country, they didn't cart away color TVs—they were after *food*.

This is a chronicle of a long-awaited revolt. At the beginning of the year, Jorge Blanco wrote to his imperialist master in the White House warning that the drastic cutbacks and price rises dictated by the IMF "could undoubtedly provoke social tensions so strong that it could alter the peace." Three months later Ronald Reagan replied, telling the Dominican president to bite the bullet and tighten the belts of the poor. When Jorge Blanco visited Washington in mid-April, Reagan said the Dominican Republic "shines like a beacon for freedom-loving people everywhere."

AP

El Caribe

Santo Domingo poor rise up against bankers' starvation/ austerity program (above). One of the thousands of victims dragged off by police (right). Free the hunger protesters!



WV Photo

New York City, 26 April—Spartacist contingent says: Workers power not capitalist starvation!

Two weeks later the government shut down two radio stations and a TV channel for accurately reporting the mass revolt, and sent troops to occupy union headquarters in order to prevent labor from organizing protest demonstrations. A planned May Day march was called off in the face of official threats to break it up.

There was no leadership, and yet the people fought. The streets were dyed red with the blood of the Dominican people. The hungry were shot for looting stores, by the armed butchers of a "democratic" regime which loots the national treasury. "Subsidies must go," declare the PRD "social democrats" who raise the price of bread while subsidizing the profits of Gulf and Western through exchange rate devaluation. The country is mortgaged to the bloodsucking Wall Street bankers just as it was 70 years ago: in 1916 the U.S. sent in the Marines to collect the interest due out of customs receipts—today the IMF issues a stop payment order on a puny $400 million loan and the Dominican army does the dirty work. But they may yet need the Marines, for the Dominican masses vividly remember April 1965, when the "Santo Domingo Commune" held off the U.S. expeditionary force until a sellout "negotiated solution" was worked out by their bourgeois leaders at the bargaining table.

And this time the Dominican poor and working people are not alone. The spontaneous, undirected outburst of April 23-25 could be—should be—the harbinger of workers' revolts throughout the continent against the starvation policies of the international bankers and their bagmen, the local bourgeoisies. A year ago in São Paulo, Brazil thousands marched on the governor's palace to protest IMF-ordered starvation policies; when they were brutally dispersed by the police, it turned into a "riot" and soon supermarkets and food warehouses all over the country were overrun by hungry crowds. In July and August, Brazilian industrial unions called a series of illegal strikes against announced wage cutbacks. Earlier this year, in March, the Peruvian army was called out to put down a union protest against IMF cutbacks. And while fires were burning in Santo Domingo, the Bolivian Labor Central called a 72-hour general strike protesting the 300 percent increase in the price of the dollar.

Last week, as a young Dominican poet in New York, Héctor Rivera, wrote: "hunger died on every street corner, with stomachs full of gunpowder." Now the return of "normality" has been announced, the times when the poor starve in silence and their exploiters rule in the name of "the people." Such "tranquility" is the result of a bloody *defeat*, and for this the Dominican left bears responsibility. The "popular front" of pseudo-socialists and bourgeois populists contented itself with rejecting, denouncing, repudiating the government actions. When it was necessary to organize mass action, however, they lamented the looting. In the middle of the rioting, when everything was stopped anyway, the unions called a meaningless one-day work stoppage. This was then called off, to give the PRD a "deadline" (i.e., a truce) of one week. And once "passions were cooled off," they sagely declared that the army had the upper hand and nothing could be done. But it could have been and can be again. What's needed is revolutionary struggle for workers rule.

Death to the IMF, Workers to Power!

Protests against the PRD government's austerity plans and the agreements with the Monetary Fund have been multiplying for months in the Dominican Republic. A march against hunger called by the five union federations held on February 4 drew some 30,000 people in the capital. A second "day of struggle" against hunger on April 7 was brutally attacked by the police with tear gas and arrests by the secret service. There was much talk of uniting the struggle of different sectors (workers, peasants, housewives, etc.). Some leftists, such as the Movimiento por el Socialismo (MPS), had even been agitating with big headlines "Toward a General Strike!" (*Fuerza Socialista*, 16 and 30 March). Yet at the point when the popular anger boiled over there was *no* apparent leadership provided either by organized labor or the left. This was key to the government's ability to regain control of the situation.

During the April protests when the masses were in the streets, the most "advanced" demand put forward by the Dominican Left Front (FID), the popular-frontist umbrella coalition, was to "broaden the struggle" and turn it into a "great day [of struggle]"! Meanwhile an FID statement "condemned" the numerous popular attacks against offices of the ruling PRD and warned against "adventurist actions" (*Listin Diario*, 24 April). The Communist Party (PCD) contented itself with expressions of "unconditional support" for the movement and a weak protest over the arrest of its leaders Narciso Isa Conde, José Israel Cuello and others. Of the leaflets put out by the various Dominican groups in New York, the maximum demand was the MPS's call to "continue the national protests until the government gives in to these popular demands"! But the masses did continue the struggle as long as possible—what

30 Years After Dien Bien Phu

Hail Victory of Vietnamese Revolution!

The following article is translated from Le Bolchévik *No. 46, April 1984, published by our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France.*

Thirty years ago, on 7 May 1954, French imperialism lost its "dirty war" in Indochina in the valley of Dien Bien Phu. What was intended as a trap for the Vietnamese was turned into a memorable rout of the cream of the crop from Saint-Cyr [the French West Point]. The Navarres, Bigeards and other berihboned butchers commanding the professional criminals of the Foreign Legion—the elite French expeditionary corps—wading in the mud and muck, hammered relentlessly by Viet Minh artillery, were caught in a bloody trap. Humiliated and crushed after 57 days of fighting, they surrendered to those "little yellow men" they so despised in their arrogant race and caste "superiority." Imperialist France wanted to make Dien Bien Phu a symbol of its colonial power. The Vietnamese workers and peasants inscribed it in history as one of the most glorious pages in the struggles of the oppressed and exploited masses for their emancipation. But the Stalinist leadership gave up at the negotiating table much of what had been won on the battlefield; the war ended with the taking of Saigon *21 years* later.

Vietnam News Agency

Historic defeat for Western imperialism: Viet Minh overruns French garrison at Dien Bien Phu, 7 May 1954.

Dien Bien Phu nevertheless gave tremendous encouragement to the independence struggles in the French colonies. Six months after Dien Bien Phu, the national liberation movement erupted in Algeria. But the French war in Indochina was not simply a colonial war; it was explicitly part and parcel of the imperialist policy of "rolling back" Communism. Indochina was also a front line in the imperialist war drive against China and the USSR, to the point that the U.S. ended up financing almost all the French military operations in Indochina. Dien Bien Phu dealt a blow to imperialism's ambitions.

On both these counts we today commemorate the anniversary of the victory at Dien Bien Phu, first and foremost as a victory against our "own" imperialists. We are carrying forward the fight the Trotskyists waged in 1946-47 when the first Indochina War began. Just as the French Communist Party today votes for Mitterrand's anti-Soviet war budget, their ministers in 1947, members of the popular-front ("tripartite") government that unleashed the war, approved the budget for war against the Indochinese peoples. In contrast, our comrades, faithful to proletarian internationalism and intransigent opponents of the popular front, declared themselves at this very moment "for the military defeat of French imperialism, for the victory of Vietnam" (resolution of the PCI [Parti Communiste Internationaliste] central committee, February 1947).

Our commemoration of Dien Bien Phu has a burning relevance today. Vietnam is once again on the front line in the new imperialist Cold War drive. China, Reagan's pawn, is bombarding northern Vietnam. Pol Pot's gangsters, based in Thailand and supported by the CIA, are attacking Cambodia—where they were driven out by the Vietnamese army in 1979 after they subjected their people to genocide. Hands off Vietnam! U.S. imperialism out of Southeast Asia! Dien Bien Phu was a victory! Two, three, many defeats for imperialism!

was needed was direction.

Question: why was there no general strike? Answer: because things were so explosive that such a measure, even called by the reformists, could have brought down the government of Jorge Blanco, and *no one* on the Dominican left was prepared to wage a revolutionary struggle for power. This was recognized early on by the head of the PRD, Francisco Peña Gómez, the most sophisticated and "leftist" leader of the ruling party, in a two-hour speech directed at the left. The bourgeois-liberal PRD is a member of the social-democratic Second International, and to buttress the government position Peña Gómez pointed out that "social-ists" like Mitterrand in France and Felipe González in Spain are slashing thousands of jobs as part of austerity programs; and that countries like Hungary, Romania and Yugoslavia are members of the IMF, not to mention the economic mess Poland is in. He then warned the FID and the populist bourgeois opposition party, Juan Bosch's PLD (Dominican Liberation Party) that:

> "...any action headed toward bringing down this government directly affects the Dominican left, whose leaders will be persecuted, jailed, deported or killed."
>
> —*El Nacional de Ahora*, 25 April

Challenged to put up or shut up, the left shut up.

The perspective of the entire panoply of self-proclaimed revolutionaries was to *pressure* the PRD regime. This was seen clearly in New York at a demonstration on April 26 where the chants were dominated with such calls as "Raise wages, lower food prices!" and "IMF out of the country!" There were no calls for a general strike. The Spartacist League was present with signs calling for: "Workers: Smash the IMF and Its Local Bourgeois Puppets!" "Down with the PRD and Its Imperialist Masters—Workers to Power!" "Free the Leftists—Troops Out of the Barrios—For Workers Militias!" and "For a Trotskyist Party in the Dominican Republic!" Thus the program of the Trotskyists, in sharp contrast to the reformists, was to lead the masses' anger and will to struggle toward *workers revolution*.

The question of power was posed sharply by the most popular slogan of the demonstration: "*La guerra de abril, la vamos a repetir*" ("We are going to repeat the April war"), calling for a replay of the 1965 struggle. But the first time was a disaster, which led to 20 years of bourgeois strong-arm regimes, both under the former Trujillo puppet president Joaquin Balaguer and under the PRD! What's needed is to go beyond the bourgeois limits that were imposed on the struggle: as an SL sign proclaimed, "For a Proletarian '65!" This question is also intimately linked to the current struggles in Central America. The FID and virtually the entire Dominican left (with the exception of the MPS) calls for a "negotiated solution" in El Salvador and supports the "Contadora process." But as we pointed out in a recent "Open Letter to the PCD":

> ". . .there is *another* 'negotiated solution' whose ill-fated consequences are well known by the entire Dominican left: that which sealed the fate of the April '65 insurrection. And just as the danger of a 'negotiated' sellout of the Salvadoran civil war is prepared by the popular-front character of the FDR (which includes small social-democratic and Christian Democratic formations who fear that a guerrilla victory could lead to social revolution), the notorious conciliation agreement that put an end to the revolutionary situation in Santo Domingo was prepared by the political submission of absolutely *all* the Dominican left to the 'Constitutionalism' of Caamaño Deñó and Bosch. In the case of a new revolutionary situation on the island, the 'Dominican Left Front' promises to repeat the betrayal of 1965."
>
> —*Spartacist* [Spanish edition] No. 14, April 1984

Now they not only promise to repeat it, as we predicted, they have made it into a slogan!

In the Dominican Republic, the left failed to fight at all—at most exhorting the masses to keep up the struggle, at worst urging them to call it off. This is an unusually crass example of reformist betrayal. In Bolivia, the powerful COB labor federation called a three-day general strike—amounting to a long weekend holiday—while *refusing* to declare a real, "unlimited" general strike to force the government to rescind IMF-decreed starvation/austerity measures. In both cases, the labor fakers and pseudo-socialists feared a revolutionary struggle for power. Attempts to pressure their "own" bourgeoisies to "share the sacrifices" are a vile betrayal—and doomed to failure besides. A "debt moratorium" for a few years does not take the burden of paying for the capitalist crisis off the working masses, but only stretches out the agony. *Canceling the imperialist debt*, on the other hand, is a revolutionary measure which not even Castro's Cuba has dared to propose. Only the Trotskyists, advocates of permanent revolution, have a program to break the imperialist financiers' stranglehold—through socialist revolution on a continental and global scale. From Santo Domingo to Sri Lanka, the battle cry must be: Smash the IMF, for Workers Revolution! ■

CORRECTIONS

In the article "Racist Pig Ed Koch" (*WV* No. 351, 30 March), we noted that NYC mayor Koch was booed by hundreds of thousands of black youth when his name was mentioned from the bandstand during a Diana Ross concert. However, the mayor was not himself present, as we incorrectly stated. Also, the police brutality hearings from which Koch was run out last July were held in the Harlem State Office Building, not the armory (where subsequent hearings were held).

In "Sri Lanka: Deadly Lies Target Spartacists" (*WV* No. 352, 13 April), we incorrectly stated that a Spartacist protest last August 6 was physically attacked by rightist Sinhalese thugs. On that date a Spartacist League spokesman received anonymous phone calls threatening bloody revenge if we dared to demonstrate, and a handful of Jayewardene supporters attempted to disrupt the protest. But despite their jeering and menacing from the sidelines, demonstration monitors successfully prevented physical attack.

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PDC's Harlem Benefit a Big Success

Good Jazz for a Good Cause

WV Photos

More than 300 celebrate anti-racist victories at jazz benefit at Small's Paradise in Harlem (left). Performers from left: David Braham, Houston Person, Etta Jones and Frankie Jones.

More than 300 people packed Small's Paradise on Sunday, April 29 to hear the classic jazz combination of Houston Person and Etta Jones, backed up by drummer Frankie Jones and organist David Braham, at the Partisan Defense Committee's first benefit in Harlem. The highly integrated crowd included many union members, black activists, socialists, students and jazz enthusiasts who talked politics, danced and simply enjoyed great music from 6 p.m. till midnight. The atmosphere was vibrant and many new supporters became acquainted with the PDC and the Spartacist League.

It was a celebration of important victories for working people and blacks in Reagan's racist America. When you entered the club you saw a big photo of SLer Richard Bradley cutting down the hated Confederate flag of slavery and racist terror from atop a 50-foot flagpole in front of the San Francisco Civic Center on April 15. Other placards read, "Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero Must Not Go to Jail!" Thanks to the PDC-backed defense campaign, they won't. These victimized phone company strikers, an interracial couple, have beaten back a vicious state/company frame-up. "Stop the KKK!" proclaimed posters from the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the Klan from marching in the nation's capital on 27 November 1982. Recently the Spartacist League forced the *Washington Times*, owned by the sinister political cult of Rev. Sun Myung Moon, to retract its deadly violence-baiting libel against that demonstration. Currently the PDC is backing an SL lawsuit against the FBI's McCarthyite "Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines."

The noted Harlem jazz club was a fitting place for a labor/black benefit. Malcolm X once worked at Small's Paradise, and his portrait now hangs prominently in the front bar. As far back as the 1930s, performers at Small's contributed their talents to benefits for causes like the Scottsboro Boys defense led by the Communist Party. The PDC, a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, stands in the tradition of the early CP's International Labor Defense. The PDC benefit raised over $3,000 to help pay the costs for PDC-supported cases. Transit workers of the powerful and heavily black TWU Local 100 were especially active in building the event, purchasing more than 100 of the 500 tickets sold.

During the evening veteran civil rights attorney Conrad Lynn was warmly applauded as he described his first introduction to the black militants of Harlem in Small's Paradise in 1932 (see box). Ed Kartsen, speaking for the Local 100 Committee for a Fighting TWU, summed it up: "For November 27 and continued victories to come, against every manifestation of ruling-class oppression, we should celebrate the existence of the PDC and fight to organize a proletarian offensive in this country that will bring Reagan, the Klan and the Confederate flag down!" ■

Conrad Lynn at Small's Paradise

Black and Red in Harlem

WV Photo

In 1932 my first job was right on the corner of 135th Street and Seventh Avenue. That's where I got my first introduction, it actually was in Small's Paradise, to the black militants of Harlem who used to drop in. That was at the bottom of the Depression. Occasionally a man from Abyssinian Baptist Church, who liked his liquor—his name is Adam Powell—used to drop in and then he would meet with Ben Davis [later Communist Party city councilman from Harlem]. Now, Ben Davis was a black lawyer from Georgia who had defended Angelo Herndon, a young black man who was charged with insurrection because he led a huge crowd of blacks and whites, in Georgia, in the state capital, to demand food for starving people in 1932.

So it was in *this* place, and you have a great historic tradition here. The Harlem Riot of 1935, I remember that very well. When the riots started, I was with a young Russian, who was a Russian Communist—his name was Epifanovich, and we were in the Alhambra Theatre, 126th Street and Seventh Avenue. And as I came out the mob was very angry because they had heard that a black boy had been beaten to death by the cops in Woolworth's on 125th Street. When they saw the white face of Pyotr, the mob came at him. And I just stood in front of him and said, "He's a Russian and he's a Communist!" And they embraced him.

You have a great tradition. It sometimes seems, you know, 52 years ago now, and you feel that, what's all this struggle been about? It is true that history ebbs and flows, but I believe this meeting tonight is an indication again, like in the Latin Quarter of Paris where some students planned the overthrow of an oppressive status quo, so Small's Paradise in 1984 will live up to the reputation it gained in 1934, and be the source of a new movement in order to transform American society.

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- **Support the Spartacist League lawsuit against the sinister, McCarthyite FBI Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines!**

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Hail Ritchie Bradley—Feinstein Flops

SAN FRANCISCO, May 3—Everybody knows that SF mayor Dianne Feinstein is as haughty and arrogant as Chicago's racist, union-busting former mayor Byrne. Now Feinstein seems intent on proving she's just as nuts as "Crazy Jane." When Richard Bradley of the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense twice tore down the Confederate flag of slavery, racism and the Ku Klux Klan from an official display in the city's Civic Center and subsequently replaced it by hoisting the historic Union flag that flew over Fort Sumter, black people and all decent people throughout the Bay Area cheered his actions. But Feinstein and her district attorney Arlo Smith are pressing three separate sets of petty criminal charges against Bradley for his widely hailed feats, including on a truly obscure park code violation of "climbing a monument without authorization"!

Ressmeyer

"Dixie Dianne" Feinstein sports police jumpsuit.

Do the mayor and the D.A. really want a public trial in San Francisco, on the eve of the Democratic National Convention, to prosecute a black militant for tearing down the racist banner of the slavocracy—used today by the murderous KKK—and replacing it with the flag of the victorious Union? If they do, let them come ahead. Our defense will be to put Mayor "Jefferson Davis" Feinstein and her cohorts on trial: for flying the Confederate flag of race-terror for years, for immediately replacing it after we tore it down the first time, for arrogantly removing the Union flag we donated to the city!

These issues were joined at a pre-trial hearing on May 2 in the SF Municipal Court. Before a judge who was clearly conversant with the whole story, an assistant D.A. presented the charges on Ritchie's taking down the Confederate flag the second time. The possibility was raised of offering Bradley a "deal": to plead guilty in exchange for 15-20 hours of "community service" (like picking up garbage), following which the charges would be expunged from the record.

WV Photo

Richard Bradley in Union Army uniform stands in front of historic Fort Sumter garrison flag, presented to City of San Francisco.

Ritchie's attorney, Partisan Defense Committee staff counsel Valerie C. West, responded that Bradley had already done his community service in twice tearing down the Confederate flag. She added that Ritchie is 34 years old, has no record, and is not particularly concerned about one stemming from these absurd charges. In ripping down the Confederate flag twice, Ritchie has already handled enough garbage. Let Dianne Feinstein pick some up to pay for flying the filthy racist Confederate rag!

The D.A. also said her office wants Ritchie to make "restitution" to the city for the destruction of the Confederate flag. At this point, the judge intervened to note that Ritchie had already given a flag of historic significance to the city. The judge has set a trial date of May 29. When his clerk asked if he wanted the trial scheduled in his courtroom, the judge replied, "Would I miss trying this case?" We share this sense of anticipation. If "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein wants to prosecute this case on behalf of the Confederacy, if she wants to fight out in the courtroom the battle over slavery that was settled by blood and iron in the Civil War, we are ready!

Keep the flag of slavery down. Let the Union flag fly. Send money for Bradley's legal defense to the Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Black Press Features Anti-Racist Victory

NEW YORK Amsterdam News

He rips down Dixie symbol

A member of the ing uniform of the Union Spartacist League wear Army climbed a 40-foot pole and tore down a Confederate flag last week that had flown outside the San Francisco City Hall for several years.

At supporters cheered Ritchie Bradley cut the flag into pieces and threw it to the ground, while 13 white San Francisco cops stormed to pick up the shreds. Bradley was arrested after descending from the flag pole. Police had rallied to the Civic Center to remove Bradley from the pole, after refusing to allow supporters to climb the ladder. The police then roughed the Black militant, rightly handcuffing his hands behind his back and manhandled him to a police car, shoving him head first, as he was charged with "malicious mischief."

The Spartacist League and Labor Black League have vowed that "This flag will not fly." Spartacus spokesman Diana Coleman said, "If Feinstein wants the flag to fly she will need to put a militia ground and hands 24 hours a day."

Mayor Diane Feinstein's city administration got the confederate flag hoisted up in the Civic Center after the hated symbol of slavery and the KKK was torn down and destroyed at a rally. Feinstein's decision to put the flag back up came one day after the acquittal by an all-white jury in Greensboro, NC of the six KKK and Nazi murderers who killed five civil rights and labor activists in 1979 in a unprecedented action in the country. The outrageous Greensboro verdict gave a green light to racist murder across the United States. Publicity the Confederate flag has up in this city all labor and minorities in a calculated political act by the Feinstein administration a declaration that it is open season on Black people in San Francisco and an invitation to KKK violence against all those on the political left.

"Civil liberties have gone

LOCAL NEWS BRIEFS
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Confederate Flag Torn From Pole In S.F., Cal.

Richard Bradley, former Spartacist candidate for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, last Tuesday, member of the Labor Black League for Social Defense, climbed a 50-foot flagpole in San Francisco's Civic Center recently and tore down the Confederate flag.

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"Civil liberties have gone

THE ATLANTA VOICE
THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE
Consumer News & SHOPPER'S GUIDE

A VOICE NEWS NETWORK PUBLICATION — April 21th - May 4, 1984

OAKLAND POST

Confederate Flag Ripped

Members of the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense say they are determined that the Confederate flag will not fly in San Francisco's Civic Center Plaza City officials seem just as determined to fly the banner—part of a set of 18 flags from various periods of U.S. history.

The flag was first torn down Sunday by League member Richard Bradley and burned while about 50 league members cheered. The flag was replaced Monday but Bradley returned to tear it down again.

He was arrested each time and issued misdemeanor citations for malicious mischief. He has vowed to continue tearing down every Confederate flag raised in the Plaza.

"The Confederate flag is the banner of racist terror," League member Janice Gerrard told the Post Monday. "It is the flag of the slaveowners who end the Ku Klux Klan's years of lynching, burning, shooting and bombing. Everywhere the banner of the race terrorists is the Confederate flag."

On Monday, League members tried to address the Board of Supervisors meeting but were ruled out of order by president Wendy Nelder. They were asked to leave under police escort after shouting their protests against the presence of the "seditious banner of white supremacy."

A Recreation and Parks Department official attempted to defend the banner, [illegible]

The Sun Reporter

We Wish To Plead Our Own Cause. Too Long Have Others Spoken For Us

An Unneeded Symbol

DAILY CHALLENGE

The Hilltop

new-york Voice

25¢ outside of NYC 40¢

Commission Pr... At Queens Hos...

Down With Old "Dixie"!

CHI/DEF. Mon., April 30, 1984 P. 2

Chicago Defender

POST
HEARST GROUP

Confederate Flag Downed In San Francisco

by Matthew Scott

BIG RED NEWS

Witchhunters' Lies Exposed

No sooner had the Confederate flag come down in San Francisco than unnamed "police sources" launched a disinformation campaign aimed at, among others, the Spartacist League. Even as San Franciscans hailed the successful and eminently peaceful action of pulling down the hated flag of slavery, the *San Francisco Chronicle* listed the SL among groups "that police fear may play a violent role in demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in July" (see "*S.F. Chronicle*: Retract Your Dangerous Smear." *WV* No. 353, 27 April 1984).

This threatening frame-up was picked up and further elaborated with outright inventions by *New York Post* disinformer Niles Lathem, who claimed the SL had played a violent role at the anti-Kissinger demonstration which was hit by a cop riot. Subsequently, the *San Francisco Examiner* (24 April) published the lie that the SL would "provoke a violent confrontation" at a recent demonstration against U.S. war minister Weinberger. And it all fits too neatly with the Reaganites' "anti-terrorism" crusade against political opponents. Thus right-wing columnist Guy Wright lectures SF mayor Feinstein because she supposedly "caved in to terrorist tactics" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 1 May) in not putting the Dixie flag up for the third time!

This chain of lies is typical of "disinformation" campaigns. Libel begets libel. And at the source you will invariably find it linked to government authorities, from local police red squads to the FBI. We will not stand for this frame-up which threatens not only our reputation, but the safety of our members and friends. We have successfully fought such libels in the past, compiling an impressive record of victories against the witchhunters. So we are not about to sit back and let ourselves be set up for government repression as "violence"-mongers and even "terrorists." Our lawyers immediately demanded retractions from the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *Examiner* and the *New York Post*.

Already the record is being set straight. Importantly, Katy Butler who wrote the original article in the *Chronicle* did the right thing instead of pulling the usual "absence of malice" alibi. We are reprinting above her letter of rectification to the Associated Press. She has also written to the UPI, the *New York Post* and Niles Lathem. On 21 April the *Chronicle* published a statement by SL spokesman Al Nelson in another article on the subject, and followed this with the publication of a letter (28 April) which we reprint below.

San Francisro Chronicle
THE VOICE OF THE WEST

The Managing Editor
Associated Press
Fox Plaza
San Francisco, CA.

April 25, 1984

Dear Managing Editor:

On April 21, I was co-author of an article about fears of certain political grups disrupting demonstrations near the upcoming Democratic National Convention.

In the interests of fairness, I would like to make sure you also saw the article we ran the next day, in which the Spartacist League specifically said it has no desire, nor any plans, to attend or disrupt the convention or related demonstrations.

In addition, the Spartacist League was removed in1981 by then-Attorney General Deukmejian from a list of left-wing terrorist organizations. Copies of the relevant clippings are enclosed.

I would particularly like to point this out because the New York Post recently ran a column using some of the information from the first story, in a distorted form. That article specifically said the Spartacist League had attended and disrupted the anti-Kissinger demonstration, when it was not present.

Sincerely yours,

Katy Butler

777-7153

S.F. Chronicle reporter Katy Butler's letter (left) helps to expose the media smears of SL (below).

—23 April 1984

NEW YORK POST

...arrests.
San Francisco police and FBI agents are known to be paying particular attention to three militant groups operating in San Francisco — the revolutionary Communist Party, the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, and the Spartacist League.
Officials say these groups were involved in agitating the crowd last week.

—24 April 1984

San Francisco Examiner

...ied to the mass arrests.
Police intelligence sources had expressed concern that radical dissidents — members of the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Spartacist League and the Prairie Fire group — would attempt to infiltrate last night's rally and provoke a violent confrontation with officers in riot gear and on horseback.
...ssors of the Weinberger...

The smear stands exposed!

One of the police "sources" cited for "fears" of violence at the Democratic Convention by the *New York Post* was the U.S. Secret Service. Spartacist League general counsel Rachel Wolkenstein wrote on May 3 to John R. Simpson, director of the Secret Service. Wolkenstein not only stated the absolute falsity of the charges, but reminded the director of the Jane Margolis case in 1979. Margolis, a well-known supporter of the Spartacist League, was dragged from the floor of the Communications Workers of America union convention where she was an elected delegate as if she were too dangerous to be present when then-president Jimmy Carter spoke. After a lawsuit, the Secret Service was obliged to issue an apology along with $3,500 in damages (which she donated to the CWA's defense fund). As Wolkenstein insisted in her letter to Simpson:

> "There should be no repetition of the Margolis case. Your office must stop the dissemination of false, defamatory and dangerous accusations that the Spartacist League and its supporters are engaging in or planning violent conduct or provocation of violence."

This campaign of disinformation is part of a wider "anti-terrorism" witchhunt by the Reaganites. They are setting up left-wing groups for secret police surveillance and "preventive strikes" by "anti-terrorist" hit squads. This latest smear campaign centers its witchhunting on a supposed threat to the Democratic Convention. Rachel Wolkenstein wrote on April 26 to Charles Manatt, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, making it known to him that "not only has the Spartacist League no intention or desire of disrupting the Democratic National Convention, but it has no intention of even selling its newspaper, *Workers Vanguard*, to convention delegates." She quotes Spartacist spokesman, Al Nelson, speaking to the *Chronicle*: "For our part, we think the Democratic Party Convention will be a monumental bore. We have no interest in seeking to lobby or pressure this party of racism and imperialist war." Wolkenstein asked just who will benefit from all the witchhunting hysteria being generated around the Democrats' Convention.

> "The real facts thus compel the conclusion that the *S.F. Chronicle* and *N.Y. Post* articles, falsely characterizing the Spartacist League as violent and intending to disrupt the Democratic National Convention, are a renewed governmental COINTELPRO-type effort, an attempt to foment the Reagan administration's "anti-terrorist" campaign and intimidate all those who want to exercise their democratic rights. Although not within the domain of the Spartacist League's direct concerns, one wonders if an object of this provocative and false reportage is the Democratic National Convention itself? The beneficiaries of this campaign of 'fears of violence' at the Democratic National Convention is the Reagan administration—certainly not the American people."

We have spent much of our precious resources in the fight against the "terrorist" smear, particularly the current governmental campaign to define Marxists and other political opponents as "terrorists." Against this sinister campaign of "McCarthyism with a drawn gun," the SL has launched a lawsuit against the new FBI Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines. In 1981 we sued then-attorney general of California George Deukmejian when the Spartacist League was included in the "Terrorism" section of the 1979 Report on Organized Crime. And we forced Deukmejian's office to issue a statement of error to police agencies throughout the country. Most recently the Spartacist League libel lawsuit secured a retraction from the Moonies' *Washington Times* which had falsely accused the SL of provoking violence against the police at the successful Labor/Black Mobilization of 5,000 which stopped the Ku Klux Klan in November 1982. We cannot help noticing that the *Washington Times*, predictably, has published a column on "fears" of violence at the Democratic Convention, including the question: "can a riot be far behind?" But this time the *Washington Times* had the good sense not to mention the Spartacist League. ■

WV Photo

San Francisco, April 29—Supporters cheer as Union flag goes up where Contederate flag once flew.

San Francisco Chronicle —28 April 1984

Peaceful Protests

Editor — In the article "Three Militont Graups Couse Canventian Fears,". April 20, yau falsely list the Spartacist League as amang "some af the small, ultra-left graups aperating in the Bay Areo that police fear may plan o vialent rale in demonstrations at the Democratic Natianol Canvention in July."

The stary was picked up by o New Yark newspaper in an even mare distarted farm, claiming the Spartacist League had "agitated the crawd" at the demanstratian against Henry Kissinger. In fact, and unfortunately, we were not present at that demonstratian as we were then preparing ta tear down the Canfederate flag a secand time. Linking aur peaceful protests against that banner af slavery with police fantasies af violence at the Democratic canventian is a smear calculated to diminish the papularity af aur actions.

We have no desire ta even sell aur newspaper, let alane demanstrate at the Democratic Party Convention. But we emphatically uphald the right af those who da wish ta demanstrate, despite aur belief that the warking class can only realize its historic interests if it breaks with this capitalist party. Further, the climate af hysteria praduced by yaur article benefits only Ronald Reagan.

Your false branding af us as vialent sets us up as "terrarists", ta be targeted far infiltratian, investigatian and harassment. We are Marxists not terrarists ar criminals and as a warkers party have the right ta arganize for aur views.

AL NELSON, for the
Spartacist League

San Francisco Examiner
30 April 1984

The Bay / East Bay

Man who tore down flag now hangs one

S.F. Examiner on Battle of the Flags

—Reprinted from San Francisco Examiner, *30 April 1984*

Clad in the uniform of a Union sergeant, activist Richard Bradley shinnied up a Civic Center flagpole—the same 50-foot staff he'd scaled twice this month to rip down Confederate flags—and unfurled a replica of the 33-star Fort Sumter banner.

Cheered on by 50 demonstrators from the Socialist-oriented Spartacist League, 34-year-old Bradley made his ascent about 11:30 a.m. yesterday with a copy of the Union standard stuffed in a bright red nylon sack.

Waving their own banners, which bore slogans such as "Down with the Confederate flag of slavery & the KKK," Bradley's supporters chanted "Right on, Richie" as the one-time San Francisco Board of Supervisors candidate hoisted aloft the Fort Sumter flag.

Denouncing the Confederate flag as "a symbol of racism," Spartacist League spokesman Jeff Higgins said, "We took the Confederate flag down and we want it to stay down.

"This flag (the Fort Sumter flag) is a very great and gracious symbol . . . we think it's a fitting flag for San Francisco."

By some historic accounts, the banner chosen by the Spartacist League is a replica of the standard Northern troops flew above Fort Sumter when the stronghold was besieged by the Confederates in April 1861.

Fighting went on for two days before the Southern forces seized the fort. But by that time a handful of defenders had retreated and spirited away the 33-star flag.

Police whisked Bradley away in handcuffs to Northern Station immediately after his descent. He was cited for disturbing the peace and trespassing, then released. His previous adventures ended in arrest on charges of malicious mischief. Both times he was released on his own recognizance.

Yesterday's demonstration, staged amid preparations for closing ceremonies of the Cherry Blossom festival, was the latest in a skirmish between the Spartacist League and city officials over the Confederate flag.

Bradley first clambered up the pole supporting the "Stars and Bars"—one of 18 flagpoles in Civic Center plaza—on April 15. He cut the flag down and set it ablaze.

The next day, another Confederate flag was sent up and Bradley tore it down, hurling the shredded remains to the ground.

Shortly after, Mayor Feinstein announced she would not replace the flag a second time. She said her decision was based on a request from Supervisor Doris Ward, not on the Spartacist League's demonstrations.

Feinstein: Anti-Gay "Sex Cops" to Make S.F. Safe for the Democrats

Government Out of the Baths!

SAN FRANCISCO—Mayor Dianne Feinstein and the Democratic Party administration, in one of the more crudely cynical political maneuvers in recent memory, finally forced the city's public health director to ban "sexual activity" in gay bathhouses, sex clubs and bookstores. They wanted to shut down the baths permanently; SF health director Mervyn Silverman's "compromise" decision, as he stated April 9, is that, "All sexual activity between individuals [must] be eliminated in public facilities in San Francisco where the transmission of AIDS is likely to occur." So now in "liberated" San Francisco, Feinstein's "sex cops" are to police the baths!

This vicious attack on homosexuals has *nothing* to do with stopping AIDS and *everything* to do with furthering Feinstein's grandiose political ambitions. She wants to "clean up" "her" city before the Democratic Party convention comes to town this summer. As one of Feinstein's political cronies put it: "She wants to be vice-president so bad she can taste it" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 1 April). But San Francisco's freewheeling "Babylon by the Bay" image doesn't go over well with Southern Dixiecrats and middle-American racist ethnic ward heelers who are a major base of the Democratic Party. When the Democrats came to New York City in 1980, the cops swept the streets of prostitutes, even grabbing a nun who later sued. Feinstein wants to show she can get tough with gays the way she's done with labor and racial minorities. Thus the massive police riot at the anti-Kissinger demonstration April 16 at the Civic Center was an expression of her determination to crack down on *any* public protest activities as the convention approaches.

The Democrats in San Francisco have a highly organized gay constituency and pro-Feinstein faction. Support for the mayor's sex ban came not only from Board of Supervisors president Wendy Nelder and ex-cop and rad-lib darling Richard Hongisto, but also from gay supervisor Harry Britt, a member of Michael Harrington's DSA (Democratic Socialists of America) and leader of the city's major gay Democratic club. Nelder admitted the maneuvering that was going on: "I think it's terrific that this idea [for the ban] has come out of the gay community, because none of us wanted to say it and look like we were discriminatory." And one officer of a major Democratic club cynically remarked: "When the Democratic Convention comes to town with 10,000 reporters, we don't want the big local issue to center on gays' right to commit suicide in bathhouses" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 29 March).

Of course, "suicide" isn't the issue but the right of consenting individuals to engage in sexual activity. Simply put: government out of the bedrooms—and the baths! As we wrote in *Women and Revolution* (No. 27, Winter 1983-84) about reactionary uses of the AIDS scare:

> "While the fundamentalist, paranoid Puritan ethic encouraged by our rulers alleges otherwise, the fact is sex does not equal disease, does not equal death. Any kind of sex. Aside from the fundamental question of saving lives, one damn good reason to get this frightening outbreak cleaned up is so people can enjoy sexual activity in safe, healthy conditions—including the baths and bars if that's their scene."

Does anyone think that Feinstein *really* wants to stop all "sexual activity between individuals in public facilities" in the name of "public health"? She could try to "stop gonorrhea" by shutting down the motels for instance, or the straight hot tub establishments. And what about closing the prisons, which are real hotbeds of AIDS infections.

"Out of the tubs and into the shrubs!" chanted gay protesters wearing bathhouse towels in San Francisco, making the point that Feinstein can't ban sex anyhow. All this new measure will do is increase police harassment and state terror against an already oppressed minority. The Moral Majority is screaming for god's retribution against homosexuals, and California governor George Deukmejian just vetoed a minimal reform that would ban discrimination based on "sexual orientation" in hiring. As Marxists, champions of democratic rights for the working people and the oppressed, we support bills like AB-1 as a statement of legal equality for gays. At the same time we point out that such laws do little to change the oppressive reality of American capitalist society.

Pro-Feinstein gay Democrats in San Francisco are cynically playing on the genuinely terrifying nature of AIDS. Death rates are still climbing, and while a virus has now been identified which is the possible cause of AIDS, no cure for this deadly outbreak has yet been found. If AIDS is finally eliminated, it will be the result of intensive scientific research—not brutal cop raids on gay bars and baths. The gay communities in America's major cities are already traumatized by the AIDS tragedy. Everybody knows someone's friend or lover who has the dread disease, or who has already died. But AIDS is not a "gay disease" or the "responsibility" of homosexuals to "cure themselves." Nobody suggested banning the "heterosexual lifestyle" because it was responsible for spreading herpes, gonorrhea and syphilis—the latter a genuinely horrible and fatal disease until the discovery of Salvarsan in 1910.

Although the SF ban is presented as a "self-policing" measure proposed by gays, in fact, national gay organizations are rightly fearful and indignant about it. "Personal behavior should not be regulated by the state, which historically has been an instrument of our oppression," stated the National Gay Task Force. The Gay Men's Health Crisis group said, "data has not shown any clear justification for governmental involvement on grounds of public health. . . . GMHC does not believe that hasty, politically inspired moves benefit either public health or the individual rights of all Americans" (*Village Voice*, 10 April). And in Toronto, where the cops have brutally and repeatedly raided gay bars and baths, there is much fear that they'll use this latest vicious assault to crack down again.

What's all too likely to happen in San Francisco, where Dan White was acquitted of murder charges after slaying homosexual SF official Harvey Milk and an eco-freak racist was acquitted for stabbing a black woman smoking a cigarette, is the next time someone firebombs a gay bar he will probably get off on the claim he did it in the interests of public health!

The ban on sex in gay baths is part of a broader assault on democratic rights for the oppressed. From the Moral Majoritarians in the White House to the Ku Klux Klansmen in the streets, the central target of the reactionary offensive is black America. Communists, said Lenin, must be tribunes of the people. Thus tearing down the racist flag of the Confederate slavocracy is fighting for the rights of gays as well as blacks. And by mobilizing to stop a Nazi assault on a gay pride march, as the SL did in Chicago on 27 June 1982, we struck a blow for black people against the racist terrorists.

Down with Feinstein's sex ban! Government out of the bedrooms and baths! ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area
Fri 5:00-8:00 p.m., Sat 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone (415) 835-1535

Chicago
Tues 5:30-9:00 p.m., Sat 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 S. Plymouth Court, 3rd Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone (312) 427-0003

New York City
Tues 6:00-9:00 p.m., Sat 12:00-4:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto
Sat 1:00-5:00 p.m.
299 Queen St. W., Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario Phone (416) 593-4138

El Salvador...

(continued from page 1)

plated Cherokee Chiefs (locally known as "garkmohiles" hecause so many oligarchs drive them). Constituent Assemhly president D'Aubuisson is unpalatable to the U.S. Congress which has to approve Reagan's multimillion aid bills. So now the Reagan administration has got itself a figurehead with more "moral authority" than the man who ordered the assassination of Archbishop Romero.

"U.S. Said to Plan to Invite Duarte If He Is Elected," headlined the 5 May *New York Times*. Their purpose is to get more bucks in order to drown the Salvadoran leftist rebels in blood. And leading Democratic "dove" Michael Barnes told CNN news today that Congress would indeed show more "patience" and "flexibility" with Duarte, who is popular with both Christian Democrats and social democrats in Europe. But if Butcher Duarte has friends in the White House and on Capitol Hill, it is urgent that opponents of the Salvadoran dictatorship mobilize on the streets to expose this cynical "Operation Moderation."

"Death Squad Democracy"

An American churchman who observed the first round of the Salvadoran "vote" on March 25 reported, "What I witnessed on election day was not an outpouring of 'democratic effervescence' (to use Ambassador Thomas Pickering's phrase) but an outpouring of fear" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 7 April). Salvadorans must have their identity cards stamped at the polls: to fail to do so would risk losing their jobs ...or their lives. In this "death squad democracy," those labeled as "subversives" are likely to wind up a bullet-ridden corpse along the roadside. For the American press, which has difficulty distinguishing baby kissers from baby killers, the important thing is "How long are the lines?"

The Intervention Elections were made to play in Peoria, and on Capitol Hill. One Salvadoran bitterly remarked, "Elections have surpassed coffee as our leading export to the United States." It was the State Department and not its Salvadoran puppets which pushed for (and paid for) these elections. Now Congressional liberals can vote millions in military and "economic" aid to the Salvadoran butchers with enthusiasm (they did it anyway before, albeit "with a heavy heart"). The dictators get their dollars, the Reagan administration gets to escalate U.S. intervention, the Democrats get off the hook for "losing Central America" to the Communists ...and the peasants get more phosphorus bombs.

Unless they get a drastic increase in military aid, soon, remarked a "concerned" Robert McFarlane, Reagan's national security adviser, El Salvador could go "down the drain" (*New York Times*, 4 May). Duarte, who is said to talk to more U.S. Congressmen than Reagan, is the man for the job. Salvadoran armed forces minister Vides Casanova opined that, during his term as head of the junta, "many people learned . that they could live with Duarte." But as the countryside was stained blood red with his program of "reforms and repression," many of the Salvadoran masses learned that they couldn't. So as the death squads escalated their terror, thousands of the urban and rural poor joined the guerrillas of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN).

The *New York Times* (1 May) headlined, "Duarte Vows to Crush Death Squads." What do you know. You and whose army, one is tempted to ask. But the article itself only promises a special commission to study death squad murders. Considering his record covering up for these killers, these are hollow words indeed. While Duarte headed the Salvadoran murder-junta between December 1980 and March 1982, nearly 30,000 workers, peasants and leftists were slaughtered by the regime. In the movie *Revolution or Death* Duarte appears at a press conference to absolve the security forces of blame for the massacre at Archbishop Romero's funeral. Yet the movie has just shown pictures of uniformed National Police snipers on roofs overlooking the cathedral square shooting down into the crowd.

In May 1980 some 600 refugees were massacred by Salvadoran and Honduran soldiers at the Sumpul River trying to escape across the border. In December 1981 junta troops murdered over 900 civilians in and around the village of El Mozote after FMLN insurgents had slipped through a government army net. That same month the top leadership of the opposition political coalition, the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), was seized by a government commando in the capital and executed. A few days later, four American nuns were killed by soldiers armed with American guns. And all this occurred under the reign of the "moderate" Duarte.

Yet it is to this front man for mass murder that the FDR/FMLN look for a "negotiated settlement" (read: sellout) of the Salvadoran civil war. An FDR call for a "provisional government of broad participation" issued in January would only exclude "the oligarchy" (a conveniently elastic category) and D'Aubuisson's ultrarightist ARENA. And who would be the prime candidate to head such a provisional government? None other than Butcher Duarte. And why not? In the 1972 electoral farce, Christian Democrat Duarte ran for president together with small-time bourgeois reformist Guillermo Ungo for vice president. Today Ungo is head of the FDR opposition popular front, seeking to reunite with his former running mate in order to keep the heroic struggle of the Salvadoran masses within capitalist limits.

Put Butcher Duarte on the Run!

How soon they forget. But the amnesia of the reformists and rad-libs is eminently political. In September 1981 when Duarte came to the U.S. on a shopping trip for arms for the junta, he was met in San Francisco by 6,000 angry demonstrators chanting "Duarte asesino!" SF cops in riot gear and on horseback charged into the anti-Duarte demonstrators, clubbing fleeing protesters and passers-by alike. Even then some of the CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) types joined the cops in accusing the Spartacist League of "provoking" the police riot, because we were chanting our slogans for military victory to leftist insurgents in El Salvador. Today Joe Duarte, "Mr. Political Solution," is the "moderate" sensation in the government of "hroad participation." Only the Trotskyist advocates of workers revolution are denouncing Mr. Political Solution.

Meanwhile, two-thirds of the U.S. population isn't huying the Reagan policy on Central America, and nearly half are afraid the administration will land the country in a war over El Salvador. Increased puhlic opposition to U.S. policy has been seen in recent Bay Area demonstrations against prominent Reaganite war criminals, surprising hoth police and protest organizers by their size and militancy. On April 16, some 1,500 picketed a speech by Henry Kissinger at San Francisco's Commonwealth Club. More than 190 people were arrested as the police TAC squad waded into the crowd; once again the cops blamed leftists, and media disinformers tried to set up the SL. A week later a crowd of 2,000-3,000 came out to revile Reagan's war secretary, Caspar Weinherger. A Spartacist eontingent raised the call to "Defend Nicaragua—Kill the Invaders!" and a Spartaeus Youth League banner proclaimed, "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists! U.S. Get Your Bloody Hands Off the World!"

As popular revulsion deepens against the Reagan war policies, however, the reformists are deeper and deeper into the Democratic Party. We have pointed out how in the face of the CIA's increasingly overt war on Sandinista Nicaragua the CISPES cesspool has failed to organize a single sizahle protest. The reason for "the movement's slow response," as the rad-lib *Guardian* (9 May) delicately puts it, is that they have been too busy drumming up votes for Democratic "doves." "Jesse Jackson is the real peace candidate in 1984," says CISPES leader Suzanne Ross, calling local Rainhow Coalitions "key forces in the anti-intervention movement." Yet Jackson's position on Central America is virtually indistinguishable from that of the other two Democratic presidential candidates. They all agree that aid to El Salvador should be linked to "progress on human rights." And Duarte's election is considered proof positive of such paper "progress."

If Somozaist mercenaries are too unsavory, Reagan will use ex-Sandinista Edén Pastora as figurehead of the *contra* counterrevolution in Nicaragua. And in El Salvador he can sell a Christian Democrat to Congress, as CISPES goes along in the hopes of wangling a "negotiated settlement." But this means preservation of the genocidal army and thus a massacre for the Salvadoran masses. The several hundred workers who courageously demonstrated in San Salvador on May Day rightly denounced the electoral farce (something the FDR/FMLN has been loath to do). The leftist guerrillas must win on the battlefield, to open the way to social revolution against the landlord/capitalist/military dictatorship. A Trotskyist party, forged around the program of permanent revolution, is key to achieving a genuine workers and peasants government.

The Reaganites have turned Central America into the front line of the Cold War. For them, Sandinista Nicaragua is a fallen domino, becoming a "Soviet surrogate" some time ago. While the Democratic liherals have a better grasp on reality, they too are wedded to the anti-Soviet war drive. And thus, despite their pious protests over CIA mining of Nicaraguan harbors, the "doves" have voted for every single appropriation to the *contras*. The only way to defend the Nicaraguan Revolution against imperialist attack is to *complete* it by expropriating the capitalists and *extend* it—for workers revolution throughout Central America.

The CISPES/USOCA/NICA crowd is for "solidarity" everywhere except where it counts. From Washington to Moscow, it is understood that global interests are at stake in Central America. The Spartacist League says openly: "Defense of Cuba, USSR hegins in El Salvador," and "Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs. Nicaragua needs MIGs!" The problem is, Stalinist hureaucrats from Havana to Moscow look at Central America through narrow nationalist eyeglasses. They seek to reduce their exposure to Reaganite counterrevolution by withdrawing advisers from Nicaragua, striking deals with apartheid South Africa over Angola, etc. Authentic communists seek to take advantage of the Yankee imperialists' present difficulties in Central America by waging revolutionary war throughout the isthmus.

Napoleón Duarte, "Mr. Political Solution," will present a hell of a problem for the reformists when he comes to the U.S. Everyone who knows the bloody record of this butcher will want to give him the "greeting" he deserves. But the "solidarity" sellouts know well, even if they do not say it, that Duarte is the political linchpin to a "negotiated" betrayal of the Salvadoran revolution. What will they do when this object of FDR/FMLN wooing comes to town? The Trotskyists, advocates of military victory for the leftist insurgents and workers revolution, are clear on Duarte. We say: put Butcher Duarte on the run. This is a key point in the political struggle over Central America. Reagan knows it. The Democrats know it. The Salvadorans know it. If the administration puts over "Operation Duarte" in Congress, the Salvadoran masses will pay with their hlood.

Widespread douhts, fear and anger among the American people over Reagan's war drive in central America and a renewal of anti-militarist protest among student youth present revolutionaries with urgent opportunities. This sentiment must be mobilized through internationalist socialist propaganda and agitation; the imperialists' anti-Soviet war drive, from El Salvador to white supremacist South Africa, must he fought by class struggle in America. The Spartacist League calls on U.S. workers to boycott all military goods to Central America. For labor strikes against an imperialist invasion!

While the reformists rely on the cooing imperialist doves, we seek to organize active class solidarity with the embattled working masses of Central America. Where CISPES et al. look to Congress to certify "human rights" progress in the land of the death squads, the Spartacist League calls on labor to "hot cargo" (boycott) all military shipments to Central America. Where the rad-libs look for a pot of gold at the end of Jesse Jackson's mythical rainbow coalition, the Marxists call for a multiracial revolutionary workers party. Where they call for a deal with Duarte, the communists say: "Put the butchers on the run, leftist rebels need Russian guns!"

Drive out Duarte! No negotiated sellout! Military victory to Salvadoran guerrillas! ■

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Olympics...

(continued from page 1)

few examples: Last October the U.S. Marines invaded the Soviet embassy in Grenada and marched Soviet diplomats, hands behind their heads, to the airport at gunpoint. World wars have been started for much less. In March a Soviet oil tanker docking at Puerto Sandino in Nicaragua strock an underwater mine laid by CIA demolition squads, ripping a hole in the hull and critically injoring five Soviet seamen. The following day on the other side of the world the U.S. aircraft carrier *Kitty Hawk* deliberately rammed a Soviet nuclear-armed sobmarine in the Sea of Japan and almost sonk it. The list of similar bloody provocations is endless and appalling.

Spearheading the campaign against the Soviet Olympic team is the much-publicized "Ban the Soviets Coalition," a melange of right-wing Southern California businessmen, South Korean anti-Communists and East Eoropean "freedom fighters." This sinister group planned to practically kidnap Soviet athletes. "Safe" houses were readied as they prepared to send their agents into the Olympic village to "recruit" defectors. Asked about the activities of the "Coalition," State Department spokesman John Hughes stated:

> "I know it is difficult for the Soviets to understand, but this is a free country.... Many people find things in the Soviet Union to be abhorrent."
>
> —UPI, 8 May

Who could disagree with the Soviet Olympic Committee when it says that the Reagan administration is using "the games for its political aims," while "chauvinistic sentiments and an anti-Soviet hysteria are being whipped up in the country."

Groups like the "Ban the Soviets Coalition" are not to he taken lightly. They are not playing games. Southern California, in particular, is fertile terrain for right-wing crazies. An open member of the Ku Klux Klan, Tom Metzger, ran for Democratic Congressman from San Diego. And there's a joke about an Orange County politician who joined the John Birch Society because he wanted to he seen as a middle-of-the-roader.

While the Reagan gang incited its friends in the "Ban the Soviets Coalition," it prevented the Soviet government from protecting its athletes. In early March the State Department refused to allow a senior Soviet Olympic official, Oleg N. Yermishkin, into the country on the grounds that he was a KGB agent. It is irrelevant whether or not Yermishkin had any connections with the KGB, but the Soviet government was duty-bound to try to provide its athletes with some protection and security.

This is the second time that U.S. imperialism has used the Olympics as a major provocation against the Soviet Union. When in December 1979 the Soviet army intervened against the CIA-backed feudalist cutthroats in Afghanistan, the Carter/Mondale administration announced it was boycotting the Moscow Olympics the following summer. This, along with cutting off grain shipments to the USSR, marked the opening shots of "Cold War II." At the time we wrote:

> "Unlike the liberal athletes opposing Carter, communists are not sports purists. Rather we oppose Carter's Olympic boycott because it is a diplomatic attack by U.S. imperialism on the Soviet degenerated workers state, one momentarily important in mobilizing popular support for Washington's war drive. Oppose Carter's Cold War iron curtain! Let the U.S. Olympic team go to Moscow!"
>
> —"Break Carter's Olympic Boycott," *WV* No. 248, 25 January 1980

The intent of the Reagan gang and its right-wing vigilantes to make life hell for Soviet Olympic athletes expresses the U.S. ruling class's drive to destroy the USSR, which despite Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration retains the fundamental social gains of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. We fully understand the decision of the Russian authorities to protect Soviet athletes targeted by the U.S. government's virulent anti-Communist hysteria. As American communists we are committed to smashing the American imperialist order and building a socialist world which alone can end the threat of war. It will be under the banner of socialist internationalism that individuals can at last begin to realize their full potential and athletes will compete without fear of political violence. ■

Hess Oil...

(continued from page 2)

billion-dollar scam for the capitalist oil looters like Leon Hess. On the one hand, the refinery can be regarded as "foreign," meaning it is exempt from the Jones Act, which requires American companies to use much more expensive American (onionized) ships. But since the Virgin Islands are a U.S. territory, Hess Oil can claim various U.S. benefits, such as federal subsidies for those who must use expensive "foreign" crude oil (Hess accumulated a total of $1 billion in these entitlements in the late 1970s, until his competitors got most of it canceled). To rely on appeals for "better labor laws" for the Virgin Islands really misses the point: the laws are set up to make these territories an exploiters' paradise.

Today, as the island's main employer, Hess has repeatedly blackmailed the local government into exempting it from local and most federal taxes. When the poverty-stricken island regime tried in 1981 to renegotiate the company's 16-year tax "holiday" which was then expiring, Hess threatened to close the entire plant. Hess won.

Among Hess's overtime-wracked employees it is said that Hess stands for working "Holidays, Evenings, Saturdays and Sundays." At the May 2 protest in St. Croix, many marchers brought handwritten signs expressing both their class hatred for this blood-sucker Hess, as well as knowledge of their collective power: "Hess: You are dealing with the people that help build your empire!" St. Croix Central Labor Council president Cecil Benjamin told the workers that "The company has initiated a volcano that is about to erupt."

Hess and the rest of the capitalist rulers of this U.S. colony are now desperate to prevent this erupting volcano. A court order obtained on *Easter Sunday* bars picketing at HOVIC and the workers have been denied unemployment compensation. At the NYC demonstration outside Hess world headquarters May 7, militant trade unionists called on the USWA to back the locked-out St. Croix brothers with generous contributions from the strike fond. Real labor solidarity on the part of the U.S. labor movement is key to bringing Hess to its knees. As NMUer Gene Herson summed up, "Picket lines mean don't cross! Labor should hot-cargo Hess Oil! Seamen, Teamsters, steel workers, oil workers and longshoremen must refuse to handle Hess oil until the St. Croix workers win!" ■

Class War in Vegas

Kodey/Las Vegas Review-Journal

A 23-year-old striker, Jim Turner, lies pinned under a car driven by a scab "security guard" at Caesars Palace in Las Vegas. Over 17,000 workers, including cooks, waitresses, musicians and other hotel workers in four unions, went on strike April 2 against the takeaway demands of the Nevada hotels' association in this racist Mafia-run town. Emboldened by Reagan's smashing of the air traffic controllers union (PATCO) in 1981, the bosses have decided it's open season on unions, blacks, the poor, illegal aliens, radicals, etc. They're not satisfied with wage cuts, they want dead strikers to display, as in the recently defeated Greyhound strike.

The violently racist anti-union bosses in Las Vegas took the cue: the hotels have imported a scab army of over 1,500 and showgirls are making the beds. Local cops have arrested over 600 strikers, including ten union leaders, while blatantly ignoring the murderous scab attacks on picketers. Hauling away strikers like cattle with their hands tie-wrapped behind them is becoming commonplace in the U.S. (As we go to press two Hilton hotels and Caesars Palace, covering 4,300 workers, have settled, but for the rest this bitter and hard-fought strike goes on.)

Upwards of 7,500 unionists and their families marched down Las Vegas Strip in mid-April to demonstrate their solidarity, and the Teamsters union has vowed that its drivers will not deliver food and liquor or pick up garbage at the struck hotels. AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer Thomas Donahue emphasized, "Any time you have 17,000 people fighting for their rights it's a national fight." But actions speak louder than words, and the former PATCO strikers know too well the treachery of the AFL-CIO labor fakers. As we wrote in March, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win": the key to winning is relying on labor's own strength, especially the defense of the picket line through mass mobilization of labor. Genuine labor solidarity could win this strike overnight if the airline unions refused to bring in the daily planeloads of people for the gambling casinos. Smash the scab/cop union-busters! Victory to the Vegas strikers!

NYC Transit...

(continued from page 3)

This consisted of union bulletins which called on trackmen to follow the TA's own safety rules and to refuse "voluntary" overtime in response to seniority violations. (Every year *10 percent* of the trackmen are seriously injured.) In an April 9 leaflet the Committee demanded:

> "** In protest and solidarity with Brother Foster and the other officials effectively expelled from union held offices by the T.A., all union officials must immediately resign their posts. The Lawe leadership must view themselves as being fired as a direct result of the T.A.'s actions against the TWU officials in Track and Power.
>
> "** New elections should be immediately held to re-assert that the power to select union officials rests solely with the membership! These new elections must include elected shop stewards in each area responsible for dues collection!
>
> "** All union officials must be paid by the union! We must protect all of our union officials from financial dependence on the T.A. bosses!
>
> "** The union must launch a law suit against the actions taken by the T.A. against its elected officials. These actions are clear violations of laws protecting the right of unions to organize and the democratic right of free speech! If need be this suit should be taken to the Supreme Court!"

Kiley's Gestapo tactics are not restricted to 207th Street. Recently TA cops beat up a signal helper who allegedly refused to show his pass. A female car maintainer was arrested, handcuffed to a chair and physically abused because transit police didn't believe she was a transit worker even after she showed her pass. Undercover transit cops ("beakies") prowl the Coney Island repair shop disguised as car cleaners to intimidate and discipline workers. It is in this climate that Dennis Dixon—a TWU member who barely escaped the racist lynch mob which killed transit worker Willie Turks near the Coney Island shop in 1982—is thrown out on the street by the TA (while the lynch mob's ringleaders got early parole).

Kiley, Gunn, Davis and their ilk want to turn the clock back to the early 1930s before the TWU was built. To stop the wholesale attacks, the class-struggle tactics that built the TWU and the CIO—solidarity strikes and mass picketing to stop scabs—most be implemented. TWU president Mike Quill went to jail during the 1966 strike but the union ended up with the industry's best contract and the Condon-Wadlin Act, forerunner of the anti-union Taylor Law, was smashed.

Today in capitalism's world financial center, the transit system and everything else is falling apart. Bridges and tunnels collapse, hundred-year-old water mains burst and major electrical fires and their accompanying blackouts are regular occurrences. Only a workers government can save America, and working people are interested in having a country left to rule. In an open letter to Lawe on April 6, the Committee proposed that "the TWU should make public who really cares for the subways and the interests of the public. In addition to exposing Kiley's fake subway renovation, the TWU should demonstrate concern about the real causes for the decay of the subways." In particular the leaflet described how the city's use of salt for snow removal is leading to massive corrosion of structural support beams in the subway tunnels as well as damage to equipment. Cave-ins, fires and power shortages are the results.

A few years back columnist Rossell Baker joked that Carter was planning to deploy MX missiles in the New York subway system. He had a point. And what does Grumman care if their bosses break in two? Their real business is hi-tech weaponry for use against the Russian workers. It is to pursue capitalist profits and imperialist wars that Kiley and Koch go after our unions, our standard of living and the cities themselves.

The Lawe regime is badly discredited and the Committee for a Fighting TWU has the program to win. These militants are now seen by important layers of the membership as *the* alternative to Lawe & Co. Their candidate for Local 100 president, Ed Kartsen, received over 1,000 votes in the last election. If the Committee can grow and root itself among these workers, they can point the way forward for all of NYC labor—a proletarian offensive that can save this city. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

"Dixie Dianne" Feinstein Pulls Down Fort Sumter Flag

Finish the Civil War!

We Tore Down the Flag of Slavery...

On April 15 Richard Bradley of the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense, wearing the uniform of a Union soldier in the Civil War, tore down the Confederate flag of slavery and racist terror from atop a flagpole outside San Francisco City Hall. This set off a "battle of the flags" as Democratic mayor Dianne Feinstein ordered the Dixie flag raised again. After Bradley ripped it down a second time, Feinstein was forced to give in. But when Bradley put up in its place a replica of the Union battle flag which waved over Fort Sumter, it was too much for "Dixie Dianne." In a deliberate act of political racism she had this historic banner of the war against the slavocracy removed.

The dates are significant, both historically and today. April 14, the day Fort Sumter fell after heavy fighting in 1861, is also the date of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln four years later by a Confederate fanatic. And on April 15 of this year, the same day Ritchie Bradley tore down the banner of racism, an all-white jury acquitted the members of a KKK/Nazi death squad who had murdered five leftists, civil rights organizers and unionists during a rally against Klan terror in Greensboro, North Carolina. While blacks and all decent San Franciscans applauded Bradley's action, the government was giving a green light to racist murder. And meanwhile, its journalistic mercenaries were trying to brand the Spartacist League as "violent" and even "terrorist" for peacefully removing a racist provocation (see "Witchhunters' Lies Exposed," page 8). To finish the Civil War and make good on the promise of black equality will require a Third American Revolution, under the red flag of socialism.

We print below the SL press release issued in San Francisco on May 1.

On Sunday, April 29, Richard Bradley—member of the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense—climbed the flagpole in San Francisco's Civic Center for a third time and put up an exact replica of the historic 33-star Fort Sumter garrison flag. This historic Union flag was donated to the city by the Spartacist League in celebration of the removal of the Confederate flag twice torn down by Bradley. Following widespread support for Bradley's actions, Mayor Dianne Feinstein was forced to announce that she would not replace the Confederate flag again in Civic Center.

The Fort Sumter garrison flag has an honorable and heroic past. The surrender of Fort Sumter on April 14, 1861, after two days of fierce bombardment by Confederate forces marked the beginning of the Civil War. The besieged defenders retreated with honor taking the garrison flag with them. Four years later to the day, after the Confederacy had surrendered, by special order of President Abraham Lincoln, the very same flag was re-raised with great ceremony at Fort Sumter and every rebel battery that had fired on it was ordered to fire a 100-gun salute in its honor.

On Monday, April 30, Mayor Dianne "Jefferson Davis" Feinstein, in yet another act of calculated political racism, abruptly ordered this proud Union flag taken down. Now the flagpole stands bare again. Dixie Dianne's arrogant actions are despicable, deeply insulting to all decent people especially black people and puts her on the side of the slaveholders defeated in the Civil War.

The Mayor was quite content to fly the racist Confederate flag for years. Yet she instantly removed the flag of the victorious Union side. Mayor Feinstein might recall that the last people to force down this heroic banner were the Confederate forces at Fort Sumter.

We have learned that Mr. Wallace Levine, head of the Veterans Affairs Council, has recommended, and the Mayor—feeling the heat—has agreed, to replace the Confederate flag with the "California Hundred" flag, the banner of the first 100 California volunteers who paid their own way back east to fight against the slaveowners. This is a real victory for all those who hailed the Spartacist League's removal of the Confederate flag!

Raising the California Hundred flag instead of the hated banner of slavery and the Ku Klux Klan rightly puts San Francisco and California back on the Union side of the Civil War. It is a fitting tribute to California's sons who fought and died in the great conflict to end slavery. California entered the Union in 1850 as a free state, over the objections of the slave states, and remained staunchly pro-Union throughout the Civil War.

We have donated the Fort Sumter garrison flag to the city of San Francisco and in view of its historical significance a suitable place for its display is side by side with the California Hundred flag in Civic Center.

On May 2, 1984, Richard Bradley will appear in the San Francisco Municipal Court on charges of malicious mischief for tearing the Confederate flag down a second time after its replacement by Mayor Feinstein. He will be demanding and welcomes an immediate trial on these outrageous and ridiculous charges. ■

WV Photo

...And Put Up the Historic Union Flag

WV Photo

San Francisco, April 29—Richard Bradley being arrested after putting up Union Army flag to replace Confederate flag of slavery.

Hail Ritchie Bradley—Feinstein Flops 7

Black Press Features Anti-Racist Victory 7

Witchhunters' Lies Exposed 8

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 355 25 May 1984

Soviets K.O. Cold War Olympics

Russians to Reagan: Shove It!

MAY 21—The Russians have already won the XXIII Olympiad. America's rulers incited and sanctioned a campaign of intimidation, harassment, even possible kidnapping and right-wing violence against Soviet-bloc Olympic teams. Going beyond the usual patriotic flag-waving, they have been gearing up for a real orgy of anti-Communism in Los Angeles next month. The purpose: to mobilize the population for war against the Soviet Union. But Moscow finally said "Enough!" and told Reagan to take his Cold War games and shove 'em. The withdrawal of the USSR and East Germany in particular, the top medal winners from the last two Olympics, along with other allied nations, means the absence from the games of the world's greatest athletes, and reduces the games to a farce. Now the "first capitalist games" will explicitly be nothing but the "NATO Olympics."

First there was Democrat Carter's boycott of the 1980 Moscow games; now it's Republican Reagan scuttling the Los Angeles Olympics. When the Russians refused to get shafted, Washington wailed: "the Soviets are saying they are so angry they won't play games with us any more," as one State Department official remarked. These are not just games. And contrary to the talk of a "double-cross," Soviet officials have been complaining for months about the lack of adequate security in L.A. A Kremlin spokesman replied,

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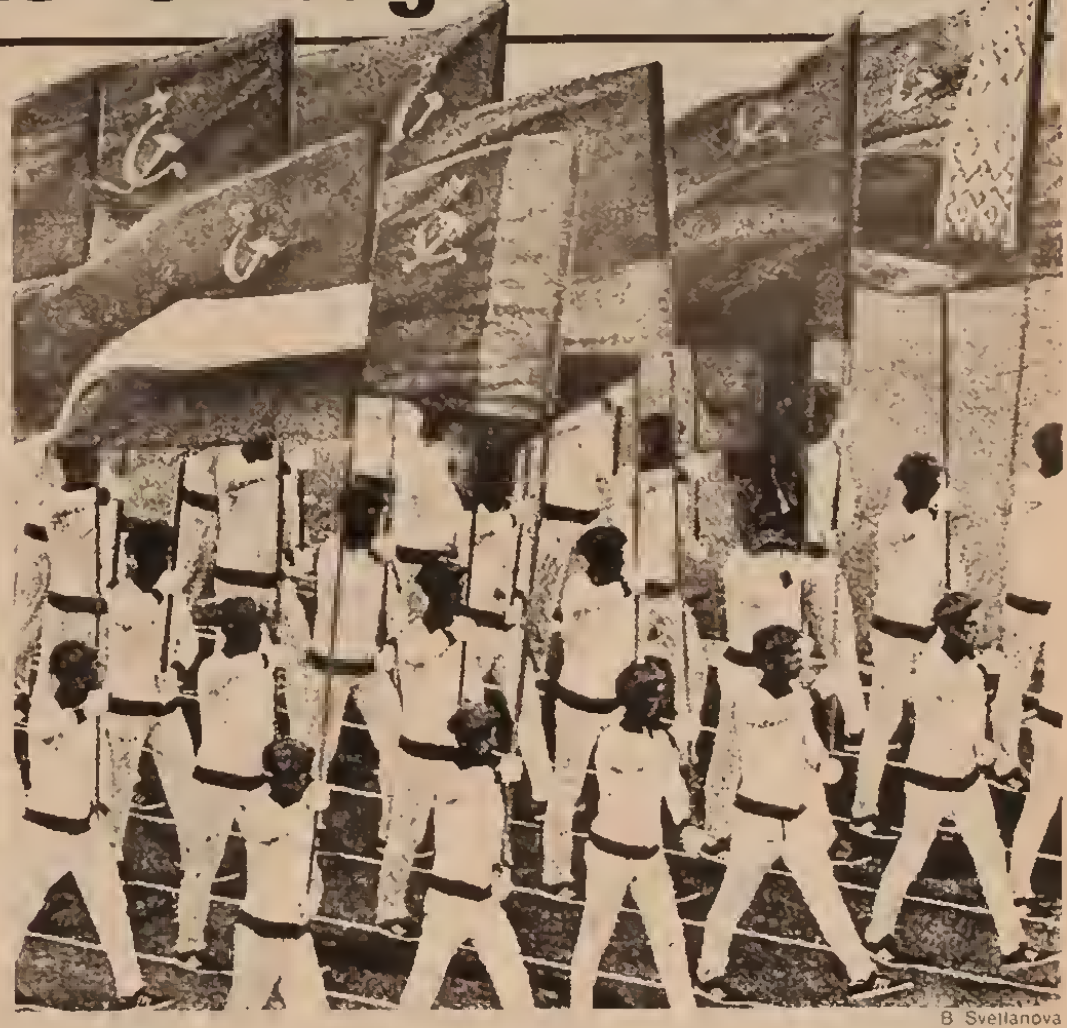
Camera Press

Soviet defense minister Ustinov termed U.S. missile deployments in Europe a "dangerous miscalculation." Don't mess with Russia!



B. Svetlanova

El Salvador's Duarte: CIA Front Man for...

Death Squad "Democracy"

MAY 22—They're doing the dance of the death squads in Washington as Ronald Reagan leads "Joe Napoleon" Duarte around town as the newly "elected democratic" leader in El Salvador. This winner of an election, bought and paid for by the CIA, is the man who presided over 30,000 murders during his rule from 1980-1982. But the CIA didn't shell out $2.1 million for nothing. The State Department needs Duarte rather than the certified Death Squad torturer, "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson. Duarte is imperialism's Great Moderate Hope to "stop Communism on our doorstep." So from "Meet the Press" to meet the Congress, this front man for death squad "democracy" does a "free world" jig to get the money to continue Reagan's bloody war of terror.

And despite the massive revulsion against Reagan's policy among the American people and the hellyaching in Congress, time after time the war budgets are rubber-stamped on Capitol Hill. The Pentagon is also supplying the "friendlies" directly through various forms of "creative accounting." And to make certain that the Democratic "doves" would keep the money flowing, Reagan went on TV May 9 with an overdose of that old-time McCarthyite anti-Communist religion. The Russians are coming, he railed in a speech that would make John Foster Dulles blush. "Soviet surrogate forces" are creeping ever closer: "San Salvador is closer to Houston than Houston is to Washington, D.C." He raved about the spectre of "pro-Soviet" dominoes and appealed to the racist fears of hordes of brown-skinned refugees surging over the Rio Grande. The Nicaraguan *contras*, the most sadistic collection of killers and torturers in this hemisphere since Batista's gang fled to Miami, Reagan hailed as "freedom fighters." The petty-bourgeois Sandinista regime which (unfortunately) hasn't executed a single Somozaist butcher since coming to power, he labeled a "Communist reign of terror."

The U.S. liberal imperialists are embarrassed by such primitive anti-Sovietism. (The *New York Times* has even begun quoting Richard Nixon against Reagan as a more sophisticated "elder statesman.") But this kind of "Who Lost Central America?" hectoring works on the Democrats. It always has. So the day after Reagan's speech the Democrat-controlled House voted $261 million for the murderous Salvadoran dictatorship. No one should be surprised. At bottom the entire ruling class is pushing the anti-Soviet war drive. So even as Walter Mondale on the campaign trail tries to toughen up his criticism of Reagan's policies in Central America, he is quick to add: "He [Reagan] sees the Soviets and their proxies—as do we all" (*New York Times*, 16 May).

Unlike the Democratic liberals who try to present McCarthyism as some kind of bizarre paranoid aberration of healthy American democracy, Marxists understand that anti-Communist nuts like Reagan are driven to their

continued on page 2

Salvador Death Squads...

(continued from page 1)

manias by a desperate determination to defend the class interests of the dying imperialist order. Behind Salvadoran guerrillas fighting against a local landlord-military dictatorship, Reagan sees the spectre of revolution throughout the hemisphere and around the world. He's made El Salvador the front line of the Cold War. If he can stop them in El Salvador, then it's on to Nicaragua, Cuba and ultimately the powerhouse of the victorious proletariat—the Soviet Union. That's why the Spartacists say, "Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador!"

The anti-Soviet nut in the White House is setting the stage for an invasion of Central America. U.S. imperialism's militarization of the region escalates daily. On May 23 the second phase of the Granadero "exercises" is scheduled to begin, an operation which will mass thousands of American troops along the Honduran border with the Salvadoran province of Chalatenango, a leftist-held zone. The current maneuvers follow on the heels of the Navy's "Ocean Venture 1" which featured reinforcement of the U.S. base at Guantánamo, Cuba and a practice invasion at the Puerto Rican island of Vieques.

For Reagan it is a stark choice: intervene or lose. But so far all the Reaganites' attempts to mobilize mass sentiment for military intervention have flopped miserably. Congress voting hundreds of millions in "aid" is one thing, but sending U.S. troops to die in some tropical forest or the cratered slopes of Guazapa Volcano for Reagan's anti-Soviet crusade is something else again. Memory of the Vietnam debacle is still vivid in the U.S. population. And they've got an army based on black and Hispanic recruits who may prove unreliable as cannon fodder for racist imperialism's dirty wars.

The U.S. bourgeoisie knows they can't win in Central America without direct U.S. military intervention. But they know if they do send in combat troops, *this* country will explode. What is a big problem for the ruling class is a big opportunity for revolutionaries. The Trotskyists fight for workers revolution throughout Central America, and its extension north to Mexico and the imperialist heartland. To provide real solidarity with the Salvadoran leftist rebels it's necessary to defeat U.S. imperialism on its home ground. Not a bullet, not a bomb, not a penny to drown our Salvadoran class brothers in blood! The Spartacist League calls for labor to "hot cargo" arms and materiel to the Central American dictatorships! For labor strikes against imperialist intervention! What is needed is not efforts to pressure Democrats but revolutionary struggle in the United States itself—for mass labor strikes to bring Reagan down!

Der Spiegel

Victims of right-wing death squads. Duarte provides "democratic" cover for mass murder of workers, peasants and intellectuals.

The imperialist "doves" want a smarter anti-Soviet strategy and sharper tactics in Central America. Their dilemma: like Reagan, they fear what will happen in Central America if the U.S. does not intervene militarily. At the same time they fear what will happen if they do. During the Congressional debate on Reagan's military aid package, Stephen Solarz, Democratic Congressman from Brooklyn, expressed this problem succinctly as he worried out loud about the "Vietnam syndrome": "The American people don't want any more Cubas in Central America, but neither do they want any more Vietnams." Thus the Democrats, to prevent another defeat for U.S. imperialism, want to buy off those "leftist" sectors in Central America which are willing to prove their loyalty to the capitalist order. And those sectors are on the market.

The rad-libs and reformists of the El Salvador movement like CISPES tail these Democratic liberals and the petty-bourgeois leadership of the Democratic Revolutionary Front/Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FDR/FMLN) in the search for a treacherous "political solution," which is in fact another military solution—one which would leave the Salvadoran army intact to drown the workers and peasants in blood should they put down their guns. For this betrayal Mr. Duarte is the key figure.

In a recent interview Guillermo Ungo, leader of the FDR and Duarte's school chum and running mate in the 1972 presidential election, raised this point in exactly the terms of the U.S. capitalists: intervene or negotiate with the butcher Duarte.

> "He [Duarte] is the best choice insofar as providing window dressing for further U.S. intervention. In theory, he is also the best man for negotiating with us because he is supposed to be a moderate. Only he can resolve that contradiction."
>
> —*Los Angeles Times*, 8 May

And how will Duarte "resolve" the contradiction? The man who fronted for D'Aubuisson's killers for two years as head of the Christian Democratic/military junta says he will never "negotiate" with the guerrillas, except their terms of surrender, or share power with the left. He won't even—can't even—investigate the death squads set up with aid, advice and arms of the United States. The Ungos and dissident Christian Democrats like Zamora are for sale just as Duarte is. Their problem is they haven't found a buyer.

For socialist revolutionaries the choice is not between the various forms of defeat. Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador! Kill the *Contra* Invaders in Nicaragua! Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution! Only by defeating the Yankee imperialists and their bloodthirsty oligarchs can the road be opened to proletarian revolution throughout the region. ■

Freedom and Communism

TROTSKY

LENIN

Marxists have always maintained that communism will liberate the full potential of each individual. We reprint below Marx and Engels' inspiring vision of the socialist future of mankind.

For as soon as the division of labour comes into being, each man has a particular, exclusive sphere of activity, which is forced upon him and from which he cannot escape. He is a hunter, a fisherman, a shepherd, or a critical critic, and must remain so if he does not want to lose his means of livelihood; whereas in communist society, where nobody has one exclusive sphere of activity but each can become accomplished in any branch he wishes, society regulates the general production and thus makes it possible for me to do one thing today and another tomorrow, to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, criticise after dinner, just as I have a mind, without ever becoming hunter, fisherman, shepherd or critic.

—Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology* (1845-46)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 355 **25 May 1984**

Corrections

A photo caption in "Black Caribbean Workers vs. Hess Oil Empire" (*WV* No. 354, 11 May) wrongly stated that a New York City protest demonstration supporting locked-out Hess oil workers in St. Croix, U.S. Virgin Islands, took place on May 2. The correct date for the New York protest was May 7. The same article identified one of the groups supporting the New York demonstration as the Labor Black League of America. This should have read Labor Black *Leagues* of America. The Labor Black Leagues, which are committed to the class struggle as central to the struggle for black liberation, are locally autonomous groups with chapters in Oakland, Detroit and Los Angeles; chapters are now also being formed in Washington, D.C. and New York City.

* * * * *

In our previous issue (*WV* No. 353, 27 April), in our political obituary on the Socialist Workers Party, "Barnes Axes Last Veterans of the Old SWP," we quoted from Steve Zeltzer's *Workers Review* (January-February 1984) an account of the Socialist Action group's gooning for San Francisco union bureaucrats against militant workers and Spartacist supporters during last winter's bitter Greyhound strike. Our article mistakenly attributed the account to Zeltzer rather than to a lengthy letter to the editor, signed by Ken Morgan, which appeared in Zeltzer's publication.

In the same *WV* article on the SWP, the photo reprinted below was identified in our caption (taken from the book, *The Founding of the Socialist Workers Party*, Monad Press, 1982) as a meeting of the SWP Political Committee in December 1938. We have been informed that the meeting pictured was in fact a discussion group at an SWP National Committee plenum. Of the participants, all of them SWP leaders (clockwise from top left: Felix Morrow, James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, George Clarke, James Burnham, Nathan Gould, Martin Abern), two, Morrow and Clarke, were not at that time members of the Political Committee.

Monad Press

Workers Rout Scabs, Cops, Goons

Toledo Labor Takes Off the Gloves

MAY 22—Labor is playing hardball in Toledo, Ohio—and winning! A united force of Toledo labor swung into the union-busters yesterday in defense of the striking brothers of United Auto Workers Local 14 at the A.P. Parts plant. They beat back the cops and scabs and hired goons from "Knuckles, Inc.," in a class battle the likes of which hasn't been seen on the streets in some time. Amid the burning cop cars and cowering scabs one thing has become certain: in Toledo scabbing is no longer a safe occupation. All of U.S. labor has a victory won through militancy on the streets. It's about time!

For the company, it was to be union-busting as usual. They had a couple of hundred scabs in the plant with cops in riot gear outside to protect them. But in this union town in the heart of industrial America, union-busting is the stuff of war—class war. So yesterday as the scabs showed up for the 4 p.m. shift change they were met by an effective mass picket of the combined force of the Toledo labor movement. The striking UAW workers, who number only 450, were joined by 4,000—from other UAW locals including the militant JEEP auto plant, striking OCAW workers at nearby Sun Oil refinery, building trades, Teamsters, etc. They fought like hell for the future of the labor movement, and this round of the battle is theirs.

The scabs were stopped. The cops went after the workers and all hell broke loose. The cops threw tear gas, but workers picked up the canisters and hurled them back. Squad cars went up in smoke. The cops came with their night sticks, but were driven back in a hail of bottles and bricks. According to UPI, a 14-wheeler semi car-carrier rammed through the plant gate—a proletarian tank!

The workers blocked the road leading to the plant with vehicles. One cop told UPI that when their reinforcements arrived at 4 p.m., "We didn't even have a chance to get out of our cars when the rocks started." Workers put the A.P. Parts plant under siege, as the scabs cowered in the plant all night while blankets and food could only be flown in by helicopter. When the tear gas had settled there were 12 injured cops. More than 50 workers, mainly UAW strikers, had been arrested. But by 9 a.m. this morning all the scabs were "taken out." The plant is shut down. Now the bosses have promised to come back tomorrow morning with their scabs, cops and hired goons. Labor must mobilize its power now for mass picketing to keep the plant shut down! Picket lines mean don't cross! Drop the charges!

A.P. Parts is on an all-out drive to bust the UAW in the plant, which manufactures auto mufflers and tail pipes. When the contract expired on March 4, UAW officials had agreed that the workers should stay on and work without a contract. The company, smelling weakness, immediately moved in to slash wages and benefits by some $5.84/hour, or *35 percent* (!), lay off 175 men on the spot, and tighten the screws on the shop floor, handing out disciplinary write-ups for "loafing," and changing work rules every day. Finally on April 28, after 7 weeks working without a contract under sweatshop conditions, the union took a strike vote and the workers walked out on May 2.

The victory yesterday which drove out the scabs and shut down this plant was a victory by and for the Toledo labor movement. Now maybe this militant action at a small auto parts plant can spark the entire labor movement. Labor is going to have to keep on playing hardball to win. As one JEEP worker said, "This is just the beginning." The bosses also know that labor victory is contagious, and are going all-out to try to turn it around. The picket line is a battle line in the class struggle. The bosses have a policy of murder and are carrying it out: Brother Ray Phillips from Zanesville, Ohio, run down on Greyhound picket duty last December; Greg Goohic, OCAW labor martyr run down by scabs at Rodeo, California earlier this year.

The battle of A.P. Parts comes on the heels of a long string of defeats for the U.S. labor movement, set up by a tamed and treacherous bureaucracy loyal to the bosses' Democratic Party. But now with a brief upturn in the economy, the class struggle has sharpened. At Phelps Dodge, miners have been battling the company, the state and its troops for nearly 11 months. In Toledo the struggle is razor sharp tonight.

The labor movement can turn back the bosses' union-busting offensive. What do they think they have in Toledo, another PATCO? This is the UAW. This is labor power. No more PATCOs! No more Greyhounds!

Can it be completely accidental that the streets of Toledo look like the 1930s?

AP

Early a.m., May 22—Workers build bonfires as they lay seige to 250 scabs trapped in Toledo auto parts plant.

For this struggle takes place exactly 50 years after the great Toledo Auto-Lite strike which climaxed in May-June 1934 and grew into a general strike. Of course vastly different in scale, the Toledo auto strike also erupted after a long series of labor defeats. In 1934, the employed and unemployed joined in a long heroic fight against cops, scabs, goons and government labor boards and courts. They defied court injunctions and waged a pitched battle with National Guard troops. And the workers won! As Art Preis wrote in *Labor's Giant Step*: "It was at this stage, when strike after strike was being crushed, that the Toledo Electric Auto-Lite Company struggle blazed forth to illuminate the whole horizon of the American class struggle." In particular it opened the way for the rise of CIO industrial unionism and the organization of the UAW. Surely the workers who stand against today's union-busters know they stand in a proud tradition.

There are those who say the strategies and tactics which won industrial unionism are dead today. They are just wishing. Look at Toledo! Unionists have no other weapon than the strike, the mass picket, the secondary boycott. If we fight, we face the weapons of the bosses state—if not today then tomorrow. (And these days it's sooner rather than later.) So labor—let's play hardball to win!

Only 50 miles from Toledo is Detroit, the powerhouse of the UAW and a depression-wracked city where the black proletariat will be in the vanguard of militant class struggle. What's needed is a solid nationwide auto strike! UAW members are seething over the superprofits the fat-cat auto bosses have been raking in with the connivance of the UAW bureaucracy which has made Detroit "Giveback City." The auto bosses are hoping that workers won't fight. Detroit workers are surely looking at Toledo. The militant class-struggle methods that built the unions are still the key to fighting back against the union-busters—fighting to win. ■

Phelps Dodge Strikers Battle Evictions

Phelps Dodge Corporation's union-busting war against striking Arizona copper miners is soon to enter its eleventh month. Yet 70 percent of the largely Chicano and Indian workforce remains loyal to the union. The copper miners, a coalition of 13 unions, the largest being the United Steelworkers (USWA), have had to battle gun-toting scabs protected by the bosses' National Guard and state troopers to defend themselves against Reagan's PATCO policy of union-busting, wage cuts and massive takeaways (see "The Battle of Phelps Dodge," *WV* No. 338, 23 September 1983).

The copper barons' latest ploy in their relentless attempts to break the miners' solidarity is a threatened eviction of 30 union militants from the company's housing project in Morenci, Arizona, site of Phelps Dodge's largest smelter. According to USWA Local 616 president Angel Rodriguez, the company is trying to intimidate the ranks by singling out many of the most militant picketers, charging them with "strike misconduct" and ordering them to vacate their homes by May 31.

AP

Striking copper workers confront scab in Clifton, Arizona.

Earlier in the strike Phelps Dodge tried to get away with massive evictions for nonpayment, but now the union has been paying the strikers' rent. So the copper bosses do not even have *this* fig leaf to cover their outrageous action! In company-owned Morenci, you either live in company housing or you live on the street! You either shop in the company store or you don't eat—period!

Eviction of strikers from their homes in the western minefields has a vicious and lethal history. In 1914, striking coal miners in Ludlow, Colorado were forced to live in a makeshift "tent city" that was assaulted by state militiamen who killed 21 and burned the "city" to the ground. This infamous Ludlow Massacre was carried out at the behest of John D. Rockefeller's Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. Phelps Dodge is no stranger to these murderous tactics. In 1917, in Bisbee, Arizona they sent their armed guards to oust 12,000 striking miners out of their homes at gunpoint to be shipped and dumped into the New Mexico desert wilderness.

Phelps Dodge's targeting of union militants and these threatened evictions must be stopped cold. This strike can be won, but it will take the shutting down of the entire copper industry. Hot cargo scab copper! For massive picket lines and demonstrations of the entire labor movement throughout the Southwest. Breaking with the Sun Belt's "right-to-work" Democrats is key to forging this unity. Stop the evictions! Victory to the Phelps Dodge strikers!

Richard Bradley: "I Demand a Trial!"

San Francisco, April 29—Ritchie Bradley puts up Fort Sumter garrison flag to replace Confederate flag, which he had earlier ripped down.

WV Photo

On April 15 Richard Bradley, clad in the uniform of a Union soldier during the Civil War, scaled a 50-foot pole in San Francisco's Civic Center and cut down the Confederate flag which had flown over that city for the last several years. The next day Democratic mayor Dianne Feinstein put it back up. So Ritchie went back up, and cut it down again. This time it stayed down as San Franciscans, especially blacks, hailed the action and made it clear that they would not stand for the flag of slavery flying over their city.

On April 29, Bradley once more scaled the flagpole, this time to put up an exact replica of the 33-star flag that flew over the U.S. Army garrison at Fort Sumter. Feinstein has since taken down this honorable and heroic banner. Outrageously, Bradley and Peter Woolston, executive board member of ILWU Local 6, were both charged with "vandalism" for ripping down and burning the hated Confederate flag. A pre-trial hearing was held early this month at which the trial date was set for May 29. Now Bradley faces more charges for putting up the Fort Sumter flag.

A member of the Spartacist League and Labor Black League for Social Defense, Richard Bradley was a Spartacist candidate for SF Board of Supervisors in 1982. Bradley knows well that the present fight is more than a symbolic one. He grew up less than 100 miles from the Charleston, South Carolina harbor where the Civil War began with the firing on Fort Sumter. Recently Ritchie talked with *Workers Vanguard* about the "battle of the flags," his experiences in the civil rights movement in the South, and the upcoming trial.

WV: Ritchie, you know, when we were laying out the article in the last issue of *WV* on your upcoming trial, someone jokingly suggested the headline, "Don't Drop the Charges!"

Bradley: It's no joke. I welcome and *demand* a trial on these charges. I think it will be very revealing, maybe even somewhat hilarious. But at the same time I think Feinstein and the D.A. are being pretty stupid.

The really stupid thing was to take down the Fort Sumter garrison flag after I put it up, and leave the bare pole standing there. It was an outrage and an insult to all San Franciscans and everyone who fought in the Civil War. I believe the last time that flag was taken down was when it was fired on in the Charleston harbor. The Confederate flag is the flag of slavery, an ugly thing for anyone. It means blacks being terrorized by the Ku Klux Klan, who still carry that flag today when they burn crosses.

I saw the Fort Sumter flag for the first time when my parents took me to Charleston harbor. It was quite an experience. Charleston is an old historic place and driving around you can still see the old plantations where the slaves were. Then you whip off to the harbor and there's the flag of victory over slavery—a nice, big Union flag flying. It's quite a relief seeing the Fort Sumter flag, knowing the history of the South.

WV: Where did you learn that history?

Bradley: I sure didn't learn about it when I attended high school in the South. I talked with my parents about it, and it was clear that this was a part of history that they weren't going to teach in a black high school.

My mother had an interesting history in the civil rights movement. She strongly believed in the civil rights movement. She used to tell me stories about how white racists would spit on them when they were marching down the street. But my mother and the others would continue to march. Something like that just made me furious. People standing on the side of marches would spit on you, throw things and hit you. So taking down the Confederate flag and putting up the Fort Sumter garrison flag in San Francisco Civic Center was a great pleasure. I felt like we were fighting the Civil War all over.

WV: Tell us something of your experience in the civil rights movement in the South.

Bradley: Well, I was one of the first black students to integrate the University of South Carolina. We were fighting racism every day. Look at the pepper that got into all the salt. And all the salt wanted to get us little bit of pepper out of it. So it was like being called a nigger every day.

The highlight of my civil rights days was when we tried to integrate a bowling alley at South Carolina State College. All the whites could go in the front door and blacks went in the back door. What happened was a big sit-in blocked the front entrance. The governor called in the National Guard and state troopers; three people got killed and a lot of other people were shot. And we did finally integrate that bowling alley.

WV: For you, as a civil rights activist in the South who knows the terror of the Ku Klux Klan, the Greensboro massacre must have a special impact. You took down the Confederate flag on the very day the government gave the Klan/Nazi murderers the green light again in court....

Bradley: Yes, on the first day we pulled down the Confederate flag. But I didn't know at the time it was the day those killers got off. We heard the flash on the radio. So then I felt real good about getting that flag these people had killed for. Greensboro proved how the Ku Klux Klan with their burning crosses and the Nazis with their swastikas are really interlinked—it was a joint terrorist action. The Greensboro trial was really disgusting. It showed how the state was behind the racist killings, and the courts say it's okay to shoot down civil rights activists and leftists.

WV: And now Dianne Feinstein says it's okay to fly the Confederate flag of racism, but not the Union flag.

Bradley: Right. Feinstein took down the Fort Sumter flag deliberately. She wants to be vice president. She wants to please the racists. And racism here runs very deep. This trial says a lot about justice in California. Moving here from New York, I found California an extension of the South, with a heavy migration of whites from Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi. The *Chronicle* and *Examiner* ran letters in defense of the Dixie flag—I've never seen so much hatred in letters. And there was even a racist nut who showed up once running around the Civic Center with a Confederate flag. They all claim the flag of slavery has something to do with California history. So I said the Nazi flag is "historical," why doesn't the mayor fly the swastika? And everyone just shut right up.

WV: So now Dianne Feinstein has you and Peter Woolston facing charges of

continued on page 10

S.F. Examiner Retracts

A potentially deadly disinformation campaign smearing the Spartacist League as "violent" and "terrorist" appeared in the media in the wake of our popular action in pulling down the Confederate flag in San Francisco. We demanded retractions of these vicious lies that set up our members and supporters for state terror (see "Witchhunter's Lies Exposed," *WV* No. 354, 11 May). The *San Francisco Chronicle* printed a statement and letter from an SL spokesman denouncing this smear campaign, and the author of the original article sent a letter of rectification to the Associated Press, UPI and the *New York Post*. We reproduce at right the retraction which appeared in the *San Francisco Examiner*.

San Francisco Examiner 21 May 1984

Clarification

An article that appeared in the April 24 Examiner headlined "Weinberger protest: this time it was a different story" reported that the San Francisco Police Department had expressed concern that members of the Spartacist League would attempt to infiltrate the Weinberger demonstration and provoke a violent confrontation with police.

Some readers may have inferred from this that the Spartacist League intended to or did incite violence at the rally. The Spartacist League is a Marxist political organization whose members lawfully participated in the demonstration. Any implication to the contrary was not intended by The Examiner.

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Presidential Directive to Kill

Reagan's Terrorism

Last month the Reagan administration unveiled its latest terror weapons for use against a mythical "international terrorist conspiraey" of "Soviet surrogates" abroad and in stepped-up red-hunting repression at home. Top secret "National Security Decision Directive 138," signed hy Ronald Reagan on April 3, is designed (in the words of Secretary of State George Shultz) to "take 'preventive or pre-emptive aetion' against state-sponsored terrorism" (*New York Times*, 17 April). That the Reaganites have some insane new provoeation up their sleeves was ominously suggested April 20, when the administration publieized its "warnings" to six East European countries to stop supporting "international terrorism."

What is National Security Decision Directive 138? So secret that its exaet eontents have not been divulged, NSDD 138 reportedly calls for the creation of FBI and CIA paramilitary teams and Pentagon military squads for pre-emptive strikes, as well as for intensified spying domestically and ahroad by the FBI, CIA and Defense Intelligenee Ageney (*Washington Post*, 16 April). Dangerously laying the basis for "anti-terrorist" bounty hunters, the new directive is linked to Reagan's paekage

Daily World

Government concentration camp at Allentown, Pennsylvania, originally built for political prisoners under 1950 Internal Security Act. Reagan reportedly is readying ten such camps.

of "anti-terrorist" legislation, whieh would give the FBI sweeping new investigative powers, jail Americans for up to ten years for aiding "terrorism," and permit huge bounty payments—up to $500,000—for "infórmation" on "terrorists."

Submitted to Congress in late April, the paekage ealls for 10-year prison terms and/or $100,000 fines for those who provide "training," "support services" or similar assistanee to nations, "faetions" or "groups" found by the secretary of state to be involved in terrorism (*New York Times*, 27 April). This means that any U.S. teacher or nurse in Niearagua, or anyone who provided finaneial support to the IRA in Northern Ireland, for instanee, would be immediate targets of this directive.

Meanwhile, reports have heen eireulating of Reaganite plans for reaetivation of a nationwide network of concentration camps preparatory to massive roundups of "illegal aliens" and politieal dissenters. An artiele, "Reagan Orders Concentration Camps" appearing in the 23 April edition of *The Spotlight*, publication of the right-wing Liherty Lohby, reported on a "secret appendix" to the new national seeurity directives authorizing a vast police operation eode-named "Rex 84," and calling for the readying of ten prison camps at key defense commands. Aceording to author James Harrer, "Rex 84" is primarily aimed at the detention and deportation of illegal immigrants, but its "more closely guarded and carefully orehestrated ohjeetive" is "to apply so-ealled 'C&C' ('capture and eustody') measures against political opponents, resisters or even outspoken eritics whom the administration considers 'dangerous'." The *Spotlight* story has subsequently been pieked up in the *Daily World*, and the New York black eommunity paper, *The Black American*.

While there are no claims these camps are being readied for immediate use, certainly this uneonfirmed report is consistent with the Reaganites' strategic view that the Vietnam War was lost "at home." The Reaganites want to rehabilitate and sharpen every weapon in the old McCarthyite arsenal, as they gear up for military intervention in Central Ameriea, and ultimately against the Soviet Union.

Conecntration camps for politieal dissidents is eertainly not a new idea in the U.S.A. They were initiated by Democrat FDR as part of the raeist, chauvinist hysteria during World War II against masses of Japanese Amerieans. And in the McCarthy period, huge conecntration camps were estahlished to hold tens of thousands of politieal dissidents rounded up from a "master list" in a "national emergency." The "happy" Cold Warrior liheral Democrat Hubert Humphrey (Walter Mondale's mentor) was a key supporter of the amendment which set up these camps as part of the 1950 Internal Seeurity Act. The government refurbished some of the old Japanese Amerieaan internment camps with their children's faeilities for mass detention. And the "lists," you ean he sure, have been maintained in one form or another ever since.

"Menu of Targets"

Referring to the plans for international pre-emptive and retaliatory strikes, the 12 Mareh *Wall Street Journal* reported that the Pentagon is already lining up its most favored targets:

> "'You have to have targeting done in advance, with a menu of targets available,' says one Pentagon official. He argues: 'We should be prepared to respond quickly. That's what the Israelis do. That's what we ought to do'."

Indeed, this chapter comes straight out of the Mossad's hook. The Israelis—who first defined all Palestinians as "terrorists," then turned Palestinian refugee camps into free-fire zones against "terrorism"—have for all time serawled their raeist terror in the hlood of the hundreds of Palestinian women, children and helpless old men massaered at Sabra and Shatila! U.S. imperialism now seeks this fate for the Central American masses huddled in refugee camps from El Salvador to Honduras to southern Mexieo!

In the name of "anti-terrorism," they seek to legitimate and gear up all the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state—its secret police, its elite "first-strike" squadrons—in preparation for imperialist war. Meanwhile, Shultz screams that current restrietions on presidential power are "formulas for ahdication" whieh tie the U.S.' hands in the Middle East and Central America. NSDD 138 must be understood as part of the Reaganites' running political battle on all fronts to beat back the "Vietnam syndrome," trying to mobilize the population for the anti-Soviet war drive even if they have to carry it out with pure state terror.

Differences of opinion within the ruling class surfaced over the question of including in NSDD 138 an open authorization for assassinations, which would have meant reversing a 1981 presidential order "prohibiting" U.S. operatives from "legally" rubhing out foreign political leaders. As the *Wall Street Journal* reported it, "Some Pentagon officials argued that this order should be modified to allow the U.S. to 'take out' known terrorist leaders." But the CIA, which knows its Murder, Inc. is best earried out in seeret, and stung by the post-Vietnam/Watergate spotlight on the nefarious activities of its super-spooks, wanted less exposure. "'We're not going to get back in the Laos-Vietnam game,' says one senior intelligenee offieial."

The Real "State-Supported Terrorists"

As we have said repeatedly, all this talk about "terrorism" is to disguise the massive murderous operations of the real assassins, the real "state-supported terrorists." The CIA and its minions have spread their torture and devastation around the globe, from the bombed-out moonseapes of Vietnam to the mines exploding in Niearaguan harbors. Who but the CIA, the deranged product of dying American imperialism, eould smuggle plastie explosives across the Niearaguan borders hidden in Miekey Mouse luneh packs, designed to spread terror by indiseriminate murder. An ultrarightist Salvadoran professional killer exeused the death squads' hideous tortures of left-wing insurgents by noting that it is "the same thing you did in Vietnam. We learned from you. We learned from you the means, like blowtorehes in the armpits, shots in the halls" ("Crossfire El Salvador," PBS interview, 27 June 1983).

Sweets/Washington Post

FBI trains for Los Angeles Olympics, focus for government's "terrorism" scare.

As we wrote earlier this year:

> "The U.S. sends a 'peace' force of Marines and battleships to Lebanon and infiltrates fascistic mercenaries called 'freedom fighters' into Nicaragua. In 1984 the real terrorists with state power, armed with every available means of destruction, are hunkered down in the White House behind massive concrete barriers crying, 'The terrorists are coming! The terrorists are coming!'"
>
> —"Why Reagan Needs 'Terrorism'," *WV* No. 347, 3 February

But as the bourgeoisie frantieally gears up for imperialist war, we struggle to win the working elass and the oppressed to the program of socialist revolution, to sweep away these criminal "state-supported terrorists" of the CIA and FBI, once and for all. ■

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The Muslim Demagogue, White Racist Hypocrisy and Jesse Jackson

The Sinister Farrakhan

Suddenly last month Jesse Jackson's association with Louis "Hitler was a great man" Farrakhan became the major issue in Jaekson's campaign. White politicos and the media are flaying the hlack Democratic presidential candidate for his ties to the Black Muslim demagogue. Yet Ameriea's raeist capitalist rulers are themselves guilty of crimes on the scale of Hitler's, from Truman's A-hombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to the war against the Vietnamese people under Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon. Today, leading Democrats as well as Reagan Repuhlicans support the *contra* terrorists in Nicaragua and the "death squad democracy" in El Salvador. And these war criminals now lecture Jackson on the had company he keeps!

Many hlacks want to delend Jackson in the Farrakhan affair. The strong racial solidarity among black people, the gut instinct to rally hehind any black leader attacked hy the white power structure is very understandahle. Understandable, hut not always right. Jesse Jackson is exploiting and abusing racial solidarity to tie black people to the main party of racist American eapitalism, the Democrats. To those who want to defend Farrakhan because he shakes up and scandalizes tbe white establishment with his carefully eultivated "bad ass" image, we say: Beware—Louis Farrakhan is bad news for black people. As Louis X in Elijah Muhammad's organization he set the stage for the murder of Maleolm X, repeatedly and grotesquely calling for the death of the courageous blaek militant leader. Farrakhan is one of the most sinister and dangerous figures in black political life.

Chenet/Newsweek

Would-be Hitler of black people, Louis Farrakhan, warms up audiences for Jesse Jackson (to his left), front man for racist Democratic Party.

Hitler Was the Biggest Racist Pig in History!

Last January in a private conversation witb hlack *Washington Post* reporter Milton Coleman, Jaekson referred to Jews as "Hymies" and New York City as "Hymietown." When Coleman revealed this conversation, Jackson at first denied he'd said it and then apologized. Most Jews are already hostile to Jackson for his support to the Palestinians, and the ethnic slur did not seem to hurt his campaign that much. While much of the left alibied for Jackson, we noted that the "Hymietown" remark showed the black Democrat's affinity with America's white raeist rulers (see "Jesse Jackson's Disgusting Anti-Semitie Slur," *WV* No. 351, 30 March).

Just as the "Hymietown" scandal was dying down, the story broke last month that in a March 11 radio address Farrakhan, a prominent Jackson supporter, had called Coleman a "Judas" and an "Uncle Tom" and said: "One day soon we will punish you with death. You're saying, when is that? In sufficient time. We will eome to power right inside this eountry one day soon" (*New York Times*, 17 April). When reporters looked into Farrakhan's controversial March 11 address, they discovered something even more outrageous and disgusting, his remarks on Adolf Hitler:

> "Here the Jews don't like Farrakhan, so they call him Hitler. Well, that's a good name. Hitler was a very great man. He wasn't great for me as a black person, but he was a great German. Now I'm not proud of Hitler's evil against Jewish people, but that's a matter of record. He rose Germany up from nothing."

Jaekson brushed off the Muslim demagogue's attack on Coleman as "a bit inciteful and intemperate," but insisted, "I have no ability to muzzle surrogates who want to make a contribution." Even after the Hitler scandal broke, Jackson stated that he was against making Farrakhan into a "pariah" and "wiping him out of the human race."

Adolf Hitler was the biggest racist pig in history. In addition to Hitler's monstrous genocide against the Jewish people (which to a virulent anti-Semite like Farrakhan is no crime), what about Hitler and black people? If the Nazis ever came to power in this country they would do to hlaek people what Hitler did to the Jews. The Nazi *Führer* supported Mussolini's conquest of hlack Ethiopia and the Boers' hid for power in South Afriea. To this day the white supremacist Boer rulers of Soutb Africa—that apartheid hellhole for 22 million hlacks—agree with Farrakhan that Hitler was "great." (Farrakhan ought to know that Hitler wasn't so "great" for Germany either: he managed to wipe out 1,000 years of German settlement in East Europe by his ultimately suicidal attack on the Soviet Union.) Anyone who calls Hitler "a great man" should be reviled by every black person.

It is not so surprising that a rabid nationalist like Farrakhan respeets another rabid nationalist, namely Adolf Hitler. Farrakhan wants to be the Hitler of black people. For that reason he hates and opposes "race-mixing" in this country. Note his attaeks on hlack pop star Michael Jackson, who is often seen in the eompany of starlet Brooke Shields, for being "sissified." ("The image he projects to young black men is an image that we should all reject.") Farrakhan's underlying position is that hlacks should stop heing entertainers and athletes. And there's a reason, since many of them are strongly pro-integration. They want to break down the barriers, including cultural harriers, which keep blaeks at the

Pioneering hlack Americans whose achievements strike a hlow at racism and segregation. From left: Sociologist **E. Franklin Frazier** described in *Black Bourgeoisie* the dilemma of the hlack middle class as "without cultural roots in either the Negro world with which it refuses to identify, or the white world which refuses to permit the hlaek hourgeoisie to share its life." **Wynton Marsalis**, award-winning classieal and jazz trumpeter. Contralto **Marion Anderson** was refused permission hy the D.A.R. to sing at Constitution Hall in Washington in 1939, hut the government invited her to sing from the Lincoln Memorial. In 1955 Anderson heeame the first black star of New York's Metropolitan Opera. **Ernest Everett Just**, brilliant experimental embryologist. A recent biography of Just notes that patronizing treatment from the U.S. scientific community and difficulties securing adequate funding for his research led him to become an expatriate in Europe. **Richard Pryor**, popular comedian and scathing satirist of American race relations.

no credit

E. Franklin Frazier

The Phoenix

Wynton Marsalis

CBS

Marion Anderson

Oxford University Press

Ernest Everett Just

no credit

Richard Pryor

bottom of American society. Richard Pryor, for example, is not just an important entertainer, he is a major force for integration in this country. As fighters for black equality, which can only be fully realized in a socialist America, as revolutionary integrationists, we are utterly opposed to Louis Farrakhan and everything this would-be Hitler of black people stands for.

Louis Farrakhan: The Man Who Wanted Malcolm Dead

Farrakhan has recently emerged as a big-time operator in black Democratic Party circles. In February the black Democratic mayor of Washington, D.C., Marion Barry, ran a "Louis Farrakhan Day." Today Farrakhan affects a militant image. Sometimes he claims to be walking in the footsteps of Malcolm X. Too had the ghost of Malcolm, the most courageous and intransigent black militant of his generation, didn't show up in D.C. to make things hot for his one-time protégé. Even while in the Black Muslim sect, Malcolm was known for his openmindedness and respect for knowledge. He boasted that in prison he read every book he could get his hands on. Contrast this to the Polish reactionary Lech Walesa, who boasts he's never read a book in his life.

Malcolm split from the Black Muslims because he wanted to fight the racist rulers of this country, which Elijah Muhammad's sect *never* did. As Malcolm put it in his *Autobiography*:

> "It could be heard increasingly in the Negro communities: 'Those Muslims *talk* tough, but they never *do* anything, unless somebody bothers Muslims'." [emphasis in original]

Louis Farrakhan (then Louis X) first made it big when he was sent in by Elijah Muhammad to replace Malcolm as minister of Harlem's Mosque No. 7 when Malcolm split from the Nation of Islam in early 1964. After the split the Muslims waged a savage hate-Malcolm

Us Magazine

Michael Jackson, denounced by Farrakhan, escorting starlet Brooke Shields.

campaign, and Farrakhan was the rabid hatchetman. He likened Malcolm to "the dog that returns to his own vomit," he denounced Malcolm for "trying to make friends with the white people" instead of calling them "a race of devils." Two months before Malcolm was gunned down in Harlem's Audubon Ballroom, Farrakhan wrote:

> "Only those who wish to be led to hell, or to their doom, will follow Malcolm. The die is set, and Malcolm shall not escape....
>
> "Such a man as Malcolm is worthy of death, and would have met with death if it had not been for Muhammad's confidence in Allah for victory over the enemies."
>
> —*Muhammad Speaks*, 4 December 1964

Today even Farrakhan himself admits he "helped create the climate" for the murder of Malcolm X (quoted in *Village Voice*, 22 May).

Whether or not Elijah Muhammad's people killed Malcolm—and they may have—they hated him and wanted him dead. The Muslims kept up their hate-Malcolm campaign for years. For example, in 1970 Elijah Muhammad's goon squad, the Fruit of Islam, tried to

continued on page 8

Farrakhan: The Man Who Wanted Malcolm Dead

By Cliff Carter

Cliff Carter, a black trade unionist, is a frequent guest contributor to Workers Vanguard.

In the February 1984 issue of *Essence* magazine, Minister Louis Farrakhan made the following statement: "The moderate Black leadership opposed Malcolm X and the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, and that gave the government the signal that it could destroy these leaders and their organizations." My first comment to Farrakhan concerning this statement is, after all these years, how can he mention Malcolm's name in the same sentence with his so-called Honorable Elijah Muhammad? There is no history recorded where the government ever tried to destroy Elijah Muhammad and Louis Farrakhan; they were messed with, but not destroyed. The government knew they (Elijah and Louis) weren't worth a bullet.

But first when talking about Malcolm X, Elijah Muhammad and Louis Farrakhan, I will have to take you back to the beginning of the year 1962. Elijah was the leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI) and Malcolm X and Louis Farrakhan were Elijah's two top ministers, with Malcolm number one man and Louis number two man. There were many speaking engagements given by the NOI in the larger cities around the country coast to coast. Weeks before the speaking engagement, Elijah would be announced as the speaker, but at the day of the talk Farrakhan would start things and first he would announce Elijah was too ill to speak or had to catch an early plane. (This was to keep Muhammad from talking to people because he was a very, very poor speaker and stumbled over simple words.) Then Farrakhan would give his little talk (if you heard him in one city, then you heard him in all cities) with phrases like: the white man is the devil, need some land of our own, must do for self. After Farrakhan came Malcolm X and he did entertain the people with a talk to suit the occasion.

Some of Malcolm X's speeches would include the doctrine of the NOI, but most of his talk was his own words. I heard Malcolm X say things nobody else has ever said.

Whenever the Black Muslims (as the NOI was often called) were called to meet the press, comment or debate, it was always Malcolm X. Louis Farrakhan wasn't known outside of Boston. Farrakhan tries today to talk like Malcolm X, but if you had the pleasure to see Brother Malcolm in person, then you would not walk across the street to hear Farrakhan.

The newspaper of the Black Muslims or NOI, whichever you prefer, was started by none other than Malcolm X. As far back as 1958 there was a section in *The Journal and Guide* (a black newspaper) entitled "Muhammad Speaks," and this is the same name given by Malcolm X: *Muhammad Speaks*. After the death of Elijah Muhammad, his son Imam Wallace Deen Muhammad took over, and the newspaper was changed to the *Bilalian News* and then later to the *American Muslim Journal*. Louis Farrakhan had a few of the old group to follow him and his newspaper is called *The Final Call*.

Come the end of 1962 not all was going good inside the Black Muslims, for it was known that Elijah's ministers were preaching one thing and doing another. Elijah Muhammad had his

Malcolm X:
We wrote in our obituary of this outstanding black leader that communists "building on the experience of others such as Malcolm, and emancipated from his religiosity, will build a movement in which the black masses and their allies can lead the third great American revolution. Then Malcolm X will be remembered by black and white alike as a heroic and tragic figure in a dark period of our common history."

—"Malcolm X," Spartacist No. 4, May-June 1965

Don Charles

heds filled with the young girls inside the Black Muslims. Elijah had babies by some of the young girls and wanted this kept a secret, but Malcolm X said no, "what is good for the goose is good for the gander." Malcolm X confronted Elijah about the babies and Elijah admitted this to be true.

At the beginning of 1963, Elijah was plotting to turn the whole Nation of Islam against Malcolm X. Around the middle of 1963, the handlers of *Muhammad Speaks* stopped printing anything about Malcolm X. In the NOI, the ministers did as Elijah said' without bothering to think for themselves. Elijah was looking for an excuse to rid himself of Malcolm X. Malcolm X had built the NOI to a respectable size and now Elijah did not need him anymore. The Black Muslims' main purpose was to have all the people moved from one of the United States and give the state to them (the Nation of Islam). This was ridiculous and stupid and Elijah knew this, but that was his program and he could ask a lifetime for this and still say that it isn't impossible.

In November 1963, Elijah got the excuse he had wanted. President John F. Kennedy was killed, and Malcolm X expressed the opinion that the assassination was a matter of "chickens coming home to roost." Elijah immediately suspended Malcolm for 90 days; nor could he make any puhlic statement and perform the duties of a minister. Elijah gave several reasons for this suspension, hut the real reason he did not ever give: he wanted to rid himself of Malcolm. Malcolm would not see Elijah do wrong and call it right like Farrakhan and the other ministers did.

In March 1964, Malcolm told Elijah what to do with his NOI and formed his own group, The Muslim Mosque, Inc., and initiated a new political group, the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

After Malcolm left the NOI, everywhere he went there were NOI members checking him out. Louis Farrakhan moved to New York City to replace Malcolm and he was all smiles because he thought when the old man dies, he would be number one. (But when Elijah died, Imam Wallace Deen Muhammad was number one and Farrakhan was sent looking.) Farrakhan talked about Malcolm X like a dog, even after Malcolm was killed Farrakhan said he would like to see Malcolm's body dug up, killed and buried again. Elijah even had Muhammad Ali, the boxer, put the bad mouth on Malcolm on national TV.

In between the time of his withdrawal and death, Malcolm X said Farrakhan wasn't fit to lead the NOI and that is why today Wallace D. Muhammad has the greater portion of Elijah's followers and Louis is flagging trains such as Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition. Malcolm knew Louis should have come to his defense when he was attacked by Elijah, but as we know Louis is better defending misleaders like Jesse Jackson.

Now about Elijah. A friend asked Malcolm did he still believe in Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm said, to hell with him, he will tell the truth one day and lie the next.

Farrakhan wants the public of today to believe he is walking in Malcolm's footsteps and they were good friends until the end. Every time Farrakhan writes an article or makes a speech he tries to tell the public how bad Malcolm was treated and how hard a time Malcolm had trying to function in that society. Why doesn't Farrakhan tell all the bad things he said about Malcolm and how he betrayed and deserted him when Malcolm needed him the most? I know you followers of Louis Farrakhan do not like hearing this, but it is the truth, for just ask Louis how many nights this has "whipped" him.

Louis Farrakhan: Stop calling Malcolm X's name in the same breath as Elijah Muhammad's, Jesse Jackson's and all your other misleading friends. Until you tell the truth about what happened between Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammad, I say to you, Louis Farrakhan, keep your mouth off Malcolm X. Jesse Jackson is your speed.

Now, Farrakhan, you have joined the Democratic Party and it only took you a little better than 25 years. Just like I said, Louis, the government does not want to destroy you, because they know where you are and know what you are going to do next, such as joining the Democratic Party. Malcolm X must he turning over in his grave for the tenth time already. Surely Jesse Jackson must have taken time to explain "the" Democratic Party to you (notice I did not say "his" Democratic Party because there are places and things he isn't allowed and told about).

Minister Louis Farrakhan, since you say you are walking in Malcolm's footsteps (this is what you said or want people to believe, isn't it?), Malcolm X said the Democratic and Republican Parties have sold the working people down and up the river and it is time for the masses to form a party of their own. ■

Farrakhan...

(continued from page 7)

break up a Malcolm X memorial meeting in Philadelphia organized by the militant Black Panther Party. According to the paper of Farrakhan's present rival, Wallace Deen Muhammad:

> "As late as the early 1970's Min. Farrakhan was heard before audiences like the Southwest Illinois University audience in 1973, speaking of how he would like to see Malcolm's corpse dug up and killed again!!"
>
> —*American Muslim Journal*, 2 March

Given Farrakhan's present ties to black Democrat Jesse Jackson, his violent hatred for Malcolm X showed a kind of foresight. For Malcolm despised black Democratic politicians as traitors to their people. And so did all black militants in the 1960s.

Behind all of Farrakhan's "black power" demagogy, he is running an influence racket in the Democratic Party in which the black masses are to be the pawns. If Jesse Jackson is "locked out" at the Democratic convention in San Francisco, Farrakhan threatens to lead an army of blacks on Washington, D.C. to demand a separate territory. This is just hot air. Farrakhan's actual role is to hustle the black vote for Mondale via the Jackson candidacy, even if he later squeals about the Democratic nominee. He appeals to downtrodden blacks much as the Dixiecrat racists appeal to the backwardness of poor whites. Yet the Jesse Helms and George Wallaces are not backward at all, but quite forward in their vicious program for the destruction of blacks.

Black Panthers Had Jesse's Number

Whenever Jessie "jacknape" Jackson sees people moving in a progressive manner, he tries to put an obstacle in their way to get them hung up. His latest obstacle is a group called, "Black Men Moving", who are so brainwashed that they feel the youth gangs are more of a threat to the existence of Black people than the Ku Klux Klan, Mayor Daley, Richard Chicken Heart Nixon and the racist dog policeman who has killed more Black people than "Raid" killed bugs.

—from *The Black Panther*, 7 March 1970

White Racist Rulers Preach to Black Hustlers

The white ruling establishment has hammered at Jackson over his refusal to break with Farrakhan. His fellow Democratic presidential candidates, Mondale and Hart, have asked him to dissociate himself from the Black Muslim leader. A *New York Times* editorial (10 April) takes Jackson to task for not living up to the "spiritually uplifting" image of Martin Luther King. Jackson, lectures the *Times*, "is being challenged to take responsibility for the political company he keeps."

Talk about a racist double standard! No one demanded that Richard Nixon break with all the gangsters he was involved with. No one is calling on New York City's Democratic mayor Ed Koch to dissociate himself from Israeli war criminal Ariel Sharon, who organized the massacre of Palestinians at the Shatila/Sabra refugee camps. And where were the cries of outrage when the Ku Klux Klan endorsed Reagan for president in '84 (as they already did in 1980)? In his own way Jackson exposed the hypocrisy of the ruling establishment's anti-Farrakhan campaign when he pointed out that he has also sought the support of notorious white racists:

> "Mr. Jackson noted that he had reached out for political support this year to Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and former Gov. Orval Faubus of Arkansas, two of the nation's most ardently segregationist politicians in the 1960's...."
>
> —*New York Times*, 13 April

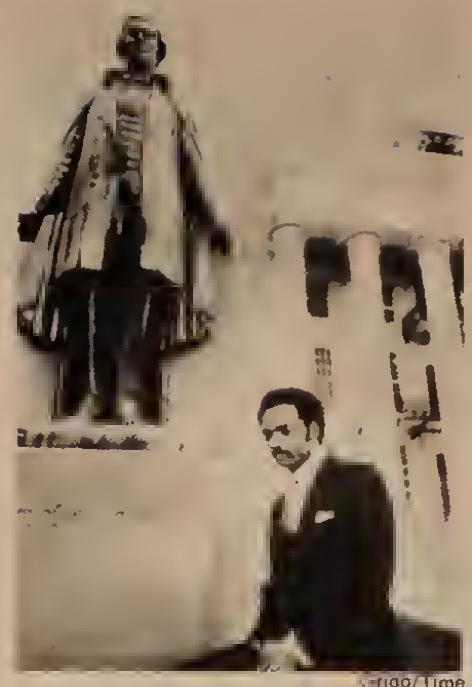
Certainly Mondale and Hart would never call on Jackson to dissociate himself from the likes of Wallace and Faubus. The Dixiecrat racists are and always have been a very important component of the Democratic Party, and 100 times more powerful than Jesse Jackson, not to mention a small-time black sect leader like Farrakhan.

So Jesse Jackson is on the verge of becoming *the* annointed black leader in America, a role no one has filled since the assassination of Martin Luther King in 1968. The white ruling class demands that such a black leader preach love-thy-neighbor moral uplift to black people as King did. In other words, he's supposed to be a turn-the-other-cheek Uncle Tom. No one expects a white politician to model himself on the pacifistic Martin Luther King.

But times have changed and Jackson has to project a somewhat different image. That's why he has stubbornly refused to break with Farrakhan despite the enormous pressure from the white ruling establishment that he do so. He aims to appeal not only to those blacks who identify with "respectable" black leaders like Coretta Scott King and former UN ambassador Andrew Young but also those blacks deeply alienated and hostile to the system. Andrew Young shrewdly observed that denouncing Farrakhan could shatter Jackson's fragile support among such alienated blacks. If Jackson axes Farrakhan now, it will look like he's taking orders from Mondale and the *New York Times*. In fact, he *is* serving the interests of Mondale and the *Times*. His job is to

WV Photo

27 November 1982: At SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C., a young black man carried photo of Malcolm X, symbol of anti-racist militancy. Separatists like Farrakhan stayed home.



Trigg/Time

Jackson poses in front of statue of Confederate leader Jefferson Davis.

pull in the black vote for the Democratic Party in November. To do this effectively he must *appear* to be independent, even on occasion defiant, of the white power structure. Jackson's association with a white-baiting demagogue like Farrakhan helps give him that appearance of independence.

The Farrakhan affair has put leading Democrats like Mondale and Hart in a real bind. They need Jackson to stump for them after the San Francisco convention, but they want him "respectable." That is, they don't want Jackson to repel white racist voters toward Reagan. As *Newsweek* (23 April) put it: "Jackson aims to reach some accommodation with the Democratic Party and its nominee—and Farrakhan's political liabilities could hurt the party in the general election." So while calling on Jackson to distance himself from Farrakhan, the Democratic tops are offering some cosmetic "reforms" to entice blacks with the illusion of more political "clout" inside this party of racist American capitalism.

The Republicans, on the other hand, are trying to crucify Jackson. It is only with the most consummate hypocrisy that a member of the Reagan cabinet of notorious bigots and yahoos like vice president (and former CIA chief) George Bush can call Jackson's attitude toward Farrakhan "shocking" and declare: "We denounce the intrusion of anti-Semitism into the American political process and believe it has no place in our system." Go tell that to James Watt. For a Bush to complain about anti-Semitism is like the crook Nixon bemoaning "crime in the streets." And it serves the same purpose: to promote racist reaction. They are also cynically playing for the Jewish vote, for which the Reaganites and Democrats will of course hail every genocidal atrocity of the Israeli Zionist rulers.

Bush's inflammatory attack on Jackson is part of a broader effort to organize a white racist backlash. In the South the Republicans have launched their own "voter registration" drive, pushing anti-Jackson scare tactics for which they claim unusual success. And this anti-Jackson campaign can only fuel racist violence. Jackson has already received over a hundred death threats, and his campaign office in southern California was firebombed.

With this history of assassinations of black leaders in America, from Malcolm X to Martin Luther King, for Bush to declare Jackson beyond the pale, with "no place in our system," is ominous indeed. Farrakhan is sinister and dangerous precisely because his rhetoric of race war can be exploited by the KKK-backed Reaganites to incite race-terror. Remember the 1979 Greensboro, North Carolina massacre in which five anti-racist militants and leftists were gunned down by the Klan and Nazis (accompanied by government agents) in broad daylight! All-white juries have repeatedly freed these fascist killers, thereby providing legal sanction to racist murder. At bottom, Farrakhan has only his mouth while the white Hitler-lovers have the guns and friends in high places.

Not Racist Democrats, But Labor Black Struggle

The Farrakhan affair has revealed particularly clearly the true nature of the Democratic Party. This "people's party" stretches from "white-devil"-baiting black separatists like Farrakhan to George "Mr. Segregation" Wallace. Actually, on the white racist side the Democratic Party goes well past Wallace to public Klansmen like California's Tom Metzger, who ran for Congressman from San Diego. Thus the Democratic Party binds millions of black people to their worst enemies.

Black people are suffering as never before under the whip of Reagan racism, a government openly endorsed by the Ku Klux Klan. But the answer is not the party of Farrakhan, Jackson and George Wallace. There is no "black power" but only black pawns within the confines of the Democratic Party. Race-conscious black militants must come to understand that the oppression of blacks is rooted in class oppression which places black people as a race-color caste at the bottom of racist American capitalist society. As we wrote in our article "Malcolm X: Courageous Fighter for Black Liberation" (*Young Spartacus* No. 116, March 1984):

> "The labor movement stands as the one racially integrated and powerful force in this society. It is the strategic weight of black workers in the labor movement which gives them the potential leverage to topple the entire racist, capitalist system. Black workers, armed with a revolutionary socialist program and organized by a communist vanguard party, *can lead* backward, even racist white workers in battles against the ruling class."

What is necessary for black liberation is multiracial *class* struggle for *revolutionary integration*. This program is exemplified by the Labor Black Leagues initiated by the Spartacist League in several cities across the country, which are committed to the class struggle as central to the struggle for black liberation. These organizations of working-class and black struggle were inspired by the Labor/Black Mobilization of 27 November 1982 which stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. Local black Democratic politicos tried to sabotage this action by over 5,000 mainly black workers and youth, while separatists like Farrakhan were nowhere in sight. From stopping the Klan in the nation's capital, to protesting the execution of anti-apartheid fighters in South Africa, to ripping down the Confederate flag in front of San Francisco's city hall, the Labor Black Leagues and the Spartacist League are in the forefront of revolutionary struggle in Reagan's America. For a multiracial revolutionary workers party with a strong black leadership component! ■

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Olympics...

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"Now the whole world will understand the Soviet government will do what it says it will" (*Time*, 21 May).

The Cold War provocations over the '84 Olympics are part of a far broader, sinister program of pushing the Soviet Union into war. In the last nine months we have seen the dispatching of KAL Flight 007, with over 200 aboard, on a suicide spy mission over ultrasensitive Soviet military bases; the ramming of Russian subs from the Bermuda Triangle to the Sea of Japan; CIA mines blowing holes in Soviet tankers in Nicaraguan harbors; manhandling Soviet embassy personnel during the U.S. pirate invasion of Grenada. World wars have been started for less. Most ominous was the stationing of first-strike Pershing 2 missiles in West Europe, six to eight minutes flying time from Moscow. Now Congress has approved going ahead with the MX missiles designed to take out the Russians' entire strategic arsenal. Reagan wants to return to the post-WWII era of nuclear blackmail.

But the Russians aren't flinching. On May 20 Soviet defense minister Dmitri Ustinov warned:

> "It is high time for those who shape U.S. policy to come to think about the futility of attempts to achieve a military superiority over the U.S.S.R."

Ustinov noted that the Pershing 2s deployed in NATO Europe are intended to hit Soviet bloc cities "in 8 to 10 minutes after the launching of the missiles." He warned:

> "But this is an illusory advantage. We have increased the number of our submarines with nuclear missiles aboard off the coasts of the U.S.A. in terms of their characteristics—yield, accuracy, the ability to reach targets on the territory of the United States and the flight time to target. Soviet sea-based missiles create a counterbalance to the threat equal to that which is posed to us and our allies by the American missiles in Europe."

And he added, "we will accordingly increase the number of SS-20 missiles in the European part of the U.S.S.R." (*New York Times*, 21 May). It's just tit for tat—don't mess with Russia!

Reagan Targets Soviet Athletes

In their maniacal drive to wipe out the legacy of the Russian October Revolution, whether they talk of "containment," "encirclement" or "rollback" of Communism, U.S. leaders have sought to recreate the diplomatic and military isolation which beset the young Soviet workers state. The denial last February of a visa to Soviet Olympic attaché Oleg Yermishkin was not only a violation of the Olympic charter but a threat to the safety of the athletes themselves. The chief of Soviet security for the games was denied entry on the grounds that he allegedly worked for the KGB—the Soviet security agency! Meanwhile, the Israeli government, brutal murderers of thousands of Palestinians from the West Bank to Sabra and Shatila, undoubtedly secures free access for its sordid secret police, the Mossad.

The May 8 TASS statement complained that "extremist organizations and groupings of all sorts" aimed to "create 'unbearable conditions' for the stay of the Soviet delegation" and "sharply stepped up their activity with direct connivance of the American authorities." Nonsense, said the White House. But even such an establishment organ as *Sports Illustrated* (21 May) reported "the development in Southern California of the Ban the Soviets Coalition, with its plan to open 'safe houses' to encourage defections." The Coalition is an assemblage of the American ultraright wing, ranging from the John Birch Society to the Baltic Freedom League. They openly flaunt "Kill a Russian" lapel badges and Coalition head David Balsiger has met several times with administration officials and frequently broadcast over the CIA's Radio Free Europe.

The Soviets are not the only ones to note the atmosphere of violence surrounding the Los Angeles Olympics. The conservative London *Sunday Times* (13 May) reported:

> "...Brian Jenkins, a recognised expert on international terrorism at the Rand Corporation in Santa Monica, California, believes that Soviet fears of attacks on her athletes are not without foundation.... According to Risk International, a Virginia-based private research firm that tracks terrorism around the world, there have been eight terrorist attacks against Russians or their property in America since 1979."

Challenged about the frenzied anti-Communists and their plans for anti-Soviet provocations, a State Department spokesman claimed that "our society is free and we can't prevent private groups from making their views known." Yet when a small L.A.-area rad-lib outfit, the Federation for Progress, applied last April for a permit to demonstrate against Reagan on the opening day of the Olympics, they were banned from marching. Some "free society"! Really, how could the Soviets even think of coming to such a hostile environment when the only "protection" being offered up are the world class racists of the LAPD who daily terrorize the black ghetto and barrios, and the FBI, America's anti-Communist secret police. Just think of J. Edgar Hoover.

The 1984 Los Angeles Olympics were billed as the "first free enterprise games," in which by harnessing industry and finance to sponsor American athletes, capitalism could avenge itself for Soviet bloc predominance in international sports. More than $500 million was spent in advertising by firms purchasing the rights to be the "official" Olympics everything, from seat cushions to cat food, from mineral water to water. Individual firms bought up segments of the 3,000-mile journey of the Olympic torch to display their products. And while loudly complaining about state support of sports in the Soviet bloc, every device from "trust funds" to "philanthropical" contributions is being used to promote corporate sponsorship of American "amateur" athletes. "It would be tragic if the Eastern bloc countries were highly successful on our soil and dominated the Games," commented U.S. Olympic Committee head Don Miller. But now that the Soviets have pulled out, no matter how many gold medals the Americans rack up in L.A., the Olympics will be universally recognized as a failure.

Sutton/Duomo

Soviet women gymnasts winning 1983 World Cup. Russian Olympic pullout reduces "first free enterprise games" to empty shell.

Nelli Kim, gymnast from Soviet Central Asia.

Sports Illustrated

Liberating Women from the Veil

For years the Americans have alibied their routine losses to Soviet Olympic teams by arguing that Soviet athletes are really state-supported "professionals." It's all so "unfair." Unfair to whom? To be a world-class "amateur" athlete in capitalist America requires substantial personal wealth. And if you don't have it, then you're at the mercy of money-grubbing sports entrepreneurs and their agents in the college administrations. That the Soviet collectivized economic system makes sports available to the entire population is a good and not a bad thing. As James Riordan observed in *Soviet Sport* (1980):

> "...it is likely that communist athletes do well in world sport not because they themselves are a privileged elite, but because the society they live in makes the widest possible provision for general participation in sport and the development of sporting skills....
>
> "The Soviet Union makes no bones about the fact that it has used sport to further the emancipation of women in society.... It is worth reflecting that the graceful gymnasts Elvira Saadi and Nelli Kim come from a Muslim region where less than fifty years ago women were excluded from all public life and would probably have been stoned to death for appearing in public clad only in a leotard."

Riordan's reference to Elvira Saadi and Nelli Kim is particularly significant given that Jimmy Carter boycotted the 1980 Moscow Olympics to "punish" the Russians for sending their army to wipe up the Islamic fanatics in Afghanistan. Under the old Islamic order there were no Afghan Nelli Kims, nor could there be. The Soviet military intervention opens the possibility of liberating women from the slavery of the veil and producing Afghan women doctors, cosmonauts and gymnasts.

The Reagan Olympics provocations are all part of the anti-Soviet war drive. But this did not begin with the Republicans. It was Democrat Jimmy Carter who proclaimed a "free world" boycott of the 1980 Moscow games to "punish" the Soviets for intervening to stave off CIA-aided Islamic counterrevolution in Afghanistan. At the time Reagan called for cancellation of the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics. Now he talks of the "Olympic spirit" while pushing the Russians to the wall, hoping to whip up sports fans against the Soviet "evil empire." But the Olympic ploy isn't working. Ronald and his Reaganauts may think they can threaten nuclear war with impunity, but most Americans recognize that this would mean their own destruction. In 1980 the Spartacist League proclaimed "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and "Break Carter's Olympic Boycott!" Today we stand with opponents of U.S. imperialism everywhere in saying, "*Nyet* to Reagan's Cold War Olympics!"

World Olympics and World War

There is much hand wringing among liberals and many American athletes that the Olympics have been "ruined by politics." Actually, the Olympics have been, from their inception, an arena for fierce national antagonisms. They originated in the military sports associations which flourished after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. These groups were promoted by European governments to stimulate national pride and instill martial values in the youth. The French founder of the modern Olympics, Baron Pierre de Courbetin, was a rabid chauvinist who adamantly opposed admitting German athletes to the games.

In the 1924 Paris Olympics, glorified in the film *Chariots of Fire*, Germany and all the defeated powers of World War I were excluded. So was Soviet Russia. Indeed, the USSR was not admitted to the Olympic competition until 1952. The Olympics are "above politics"? Many Americans active in the antiwar protests of the late '60s remember the 1968 Mexico City Olympics, which the Mexican government prepared by massacring hundreds of leftist students protesting U.S. imperialism's genocidal war against the Vietnamese masses. When two black U.S. track stars, Tommie Smith and John Carlos, gave the black power salute from the winners' platform, U.S. Olympic officials brutally ended their careers by banning them from all major track events.

But it is the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin that most closely parallel what the U.S. government attempted in Los Angeles and typify the Olympics as an arena of preparation for imperialist war. Just as some extreme right-wingers wanted to ban Soviet athletes altogether today, so a section of the Nazi Party did not want "foreign enemies" contaminating German soil in '36. The sports leader of the Storm Troopers, Bruno Malitz, opposed allowing "Frenchmen, Belgians, Pollacks, Jew-Niggers" to use German tracks, playing fields and swimming pools.

Adolf Hitler, however, saw the 1936 Berlin games as a way to "prove" "Aryan racial superiority" and gear the German people up for war to conquer Europe. As the runner carrying the Olympic torch entered the Lustgarten park just before the games, 25,000 brown-shirted Hitler Youth with sheathed daggers on their hips and 40,000 Storm Troopers gave him the Nazi salute. And throughout the games, whenever a German athlete won this was greeted by thunderous cries of "Heil Hitler!" from the spectators. Eleanor Holm, an American swimmer on the 1936 Olympic team, observed the Nazis' preparations:

> "They had parades with tanks and guns before the Olympics. Even in the stadium, they showed off the lockers. They were underground shelters for the future made of concrete."
>
> —*Washington Post*, 22 January 1980

Everyone knows that the Nazis were embarrassed by the successes of the

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Olympics...

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American men's track team, with its fine black athletes, especially Jesse Owens. This is frequently hailed as an index of the superiority of the "American way of life." According to the myth, Hitler refused to shake hands with Owens. (No one talks about the fact that the black runner couldn't buy a cup of coffee at a white restaurant in the Jim Crow South.) It's interesting to note, however, that two American Jewish sprinters, Marty Glickman and Sam Stoller, were deliberately removed from the relay team on the eve of the '36 games by U.S. Olympic officials. Glickman maintains to this day: "The Nazis had already been embarrassed by the supremacy of the black athletes. It is my belief that we were replaced to save the Nazis from not having Jews run and win."

But why would "democratic" America go out of its way to avoid embarrassing the Nazi Führer? Because the main target of fascist Germany at the time was the Soviet Union. The Berlin Olympics were held just before the signing of the anti-Comintern Pact between Germany and Japan. Interestingly the Communist International tried to organize its own "Popular Olympiad," the Spartakiade, in Barcelona, Spain. Five thousand athletes from 15 countries were attracted to this counter-Olympics. Yet the games never took place. It was not possible to escape the class war. They were disrupted by the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, the bloody prelude to World War II.

Smash the Anti-Soviet War Drive!

Reagan's insane anti-Soviet provocations have finally hit many Americans where they live—in front of their TV sets watching sports extravaganzas. But the stakes in Washington's games are far higher than the future of the Olympics. It is the future of humanity that hangs in the balance. The Pentagon war machine is now preparing to invade Central America, and with this could well come a blockade of Cuba. The war hawks in Washington are constantly dreaming of the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, the closest U.S. rulers have yet come to pushing the ultimate button. On the other side of the world, Washington is begging every oil sheikdom on the Persian Gulf to request the intervention of the U.S. Navy in order to "contain" the unbelievably bloody Iran-Iraq war (and assure control of vital oil supplies for world imperialism). This potential flash point for World War III is but a few hundred miles from the southern border of the Soviet Union, which has repeatedly warned of the dire consequences of a U.S. intervention. Will Reagan ignore Moscow's unambiguous warnings just as he has over the L.A. Olympics?

We Trotskyists are not the only ones to notice that these are *pre-war games* highlighting the danger of thermonuclear world war. The quirky remnants of American Maoism, Bob Avakian's Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), reviewed the history of great power chauvinism dominating the Olympics. But the anti-Soviet RCP presents the Cold War as a conflict of two rival imperialist powers, not fundamentally different from the conflict between the "democratic" United States and fascist Germany under Hitler. Here is how the RCP explained Carter's boycott of the 1980 Olympics: "The U.S. was the leader of the Western Alliance, and thus, was required to play pointman in confronting the rival imperialist bloc" (*Revolutionary Worker*, 20 April). In fact, the RCP was just as hysterical in denouncing Soviet military intervention against the Afghan feudalists as were Carter and Reagan. And Mao's heirs in Peking, together with the CIA, are arming the Islamic fanatics at the Khyber who skin Soviet soldiers alive and shoot Communist schoolteachers for teaching young girls to read.

Der Spiegel

Soviet military power has prevented U.S. imperialism from pushing the nuclear button.

The arch-reactionary Reagan understands well, as the dimwitted RCP Maoists refuse to see, that the Cold War is at bottom a class war which began in October 1917. The Soviet Union continues to embody proletarian state power, although bureaucratically degenerated under Stalin and his heirs. It is the duty of every class-conscious worker to unconditionally defend the Soviet Union against the threat of NATO imperialism. But the Moscow-line Stalinists weaken and undermine that defense by preaching "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, even with the most rabidly anti-Communist militaristic governments. No doubt the Stalinists are looking forward hopefully to a 1988 "détente" Olympics under Mondale... to be held in Seoul, South Korea of all places!

It is only proletarian revolution in the imperialist centers which will insure a socialist future for the Soviet Union, the world's first workers state. In the United States the desperate conditions produced by capitalist decay—the dangerous growth of racist reaction, depression-level unemployment even amid an economic upturn, union-busting and drastic slashes in social services—drive the working class, oppressed black masses and other minorities into struggle. A revolutionary party can and must intervene in these struggles to direct them against the madmen in the White House and their masters on Wall Street and forward to a workers revolution which will put an end to this racist, capitalist system once and for all. ■

UPI

Head of Ban the Soviets Coalition, which planned to practically kidnap Soviet Olympic athletes.

Corporal Griffin...

(continued from page 12)

today in a Mercedes in Columbus, Georgia thanks to a pardon from Jimmy Carter, while Corporal Griffin, who refused to commit such atrocities, gets imprisonment at hard labor.

The case of Corporal Griffin reveals the Achilles' heel of American imperialist militarism. The rotting U.S. economy has driven tens of thousands of desperate black and Hispanic youth into the recruiting stations as a last-ditch means to escape starvation. Griffin himself told reporters that he signed up at 19 because he couldn't find work and wanted job training. But under fire, many GIs, especially minorities, realize that they don't want to be cannon fodder for their oppressors. Some, like Corporal Griffin, object for religious reasons. No doubt many recall Muhammad Ali saying "No Vietcong ever called me nigger." At the time of the Beirut bombing, we noted that the widespread American outrage was mainly directed at the imperialist commander in chief. We seek to channel this outrage against the entire imperialist war effort. And as for vicarious bloodthirsty "leftists" who say of the Marines in Beirut, killed in a senseless imperialist adventure, "live like pigs, die like pigs," we wrote: "We can only despise those who call for the death of American soldiers for the crimes of their rulers" ("Marxism and Bloodthirstiness," *WV* No. 345, 6 January).

It took courage for Corporal Griffin to stand up to the USMC. But more than an individual's moral stance is required to fight racist U.S. imperialism. As a crucial part of the struggle to achieve a socialist society we need to burst asunder the U.S. armed forces from within, mobilizing the ranks against the brass who are prepared to slaughter *millions* in the Cold War crusade against Communism. Proclaiming solidarity with their "foreign" class brothers against the bosses' wars, revolutionary soldiers and sailors will inscribe on their banners: "The Main Enemy Is at Home!" ■

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Bradley...

(continued from page 4)

vandalism for tearing down her Confederate flag.

Bradley: The deal the D.A.'s office offered at the hearing was to do 25 hours of community service. That was stupid! Because I definitely have done my community service. There's no doubt about that. Taking down the Confederate flag on two occasions and putting up the Union flag. The mayor said she was in search of a flag, so I think the Fort Sumter garrison flag is quite appropriate.

The judge thought the D.A.'s "community service" was such a stupid idea, he burst out laughing. And the court stenographer burst out laughing. No one in that courtroom could hear what was going on, or sit there with a straight face. This was an outrage! This was ridiculous. You want to prosecute for *what?!*

So, yes, I want my day in court. I think a jury trial will make it clear. It's an outrage to pretend I'm any kind of criminal. I didn't fly the Dixie flag, the flag of the enemy. And I didn't pull down the Fort Sumter flag, Dianne Feinstein did. Or somebody gave the orders. Let's find out in court. If Feinstein thinks the South is going to rise again here, then we raise again the Civil War cry, "Abolish Slavery!" That was decided in blood and iron. Robert E. Lee was the general who sent old John Brown to the hangman. But by the end of the war it was Lee who surrendered to Grant at Appomattox and not the other way around. Dianne Feinstein is on the spot, not me. She's the one who's got to answer to those thousands of black troops who fought and died for freedom in the Civil War, to those great American revolutionaries who died at Harpers Ferry.

Richard Bradley's trial is an opportunity to reassert the meaning of the Emancipation Proclamation, of Harpers Ferry, and the continuing fight against the racist Confederate flag and all it stands for. We urge everyone to contribute generously to Bradley's court costs. Send donations to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

La Migra...

(continued from page 12)

deported to Tijuana. Despite the fact that his father had long possessed resident papers for the entire family, Mario was singled out for deportation because he "looked like an illegal." INS commissioner Alan Nelson refused to apologize for the incident claiming that in general "the INS shows good and compassionate concerns to aliens."

Recently the San Jose, California city council ordered local police to refuse to cooperate with INS raids in Silicon Valley manufacturing plants, declaring the *migra* sweeps "discriminatory, inhumane and callous." Police chief McNamara said they were "disturbed" because "only people with brown skin seem to be questioned." No doubt the city fathers were sensitive to political pressure from the area's large Hispanic population. More importantly, this citadel of high-tech "free enterprise" seeks a plentiful supply of undocumented immigrant workers without legal rights in order to keep wages down and unions out. Thus the council resolution pointedly criticized INS factory raids as "unwarranted disruption of a business community" (Oakland *Tribune*, 16 May).

Recent movies such as *El Norte* and *The Border* have finally brought the misery of "illegals" to public attention, portraying the incredible hardships faced by Latin workers and peasants escaping starvation and death squads to look for a future in the U.S. In *El Norte* a Guatemalan brother and sister fleeing for their lives arrive in L.A. where they become part of a vast pool of day laborers who can't protest because the threat of deportation to certain death hangs over their heads. *The Border* shows the connivance between the bosses and Border Patrol cops, who stage raids just before payday (saving the owners a bundle in payroll costs) while themselves smuggling in unfortunate Latins who are bought and sold like cattle. Yet these films are mild Hollywood stories: in real-life factory raids most don't escape and find a better job, as in *El Norte*; and *migra* cops with a heart of gold like Jack Nicholson in *The Border* are pure fiction.

"Land of the Free"

The truth is that U.S. capital needs these workers to serve as a cheap labor force at the lowest rung of the economic ladder. As a spokesman for the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund put it, undocumented workers are "a class of slaves who are brought here to work and then told to leave." In addition, as the fortunes of the CIA-led *contras* in Nicaragua and the U.S.-backed military dictatorship in El Salvador have declined, the administration also seeks to use racist fears of "brown-skinned hordes" to undercut the unpopularity of U.S. war policies for Central America by inventing an absurd scenario of more immigrants fleeing north to escape "Communism." Last June Reagan tried to float the image of millions of "feet people" (supposedly like the Vietnamese "boat people," consisting of drug pushers and Saigon army torturers) flooding the American job market. In fact it's the mass-murdering U.S.-backed dictatorships that make for a mass exodus: since 1980 nearly *one tenth* of the entire Salvadoran population has come to this country. The "brown peril" campaign is not just the property of Republican reactionaries. The haughty *New York Times* has run editorials such as "The Refugees Are Coming!" "Time to Turn the Illegal Tide" and "Hispanic Votes vs. Public Interest."

If the Latino worker or peasant is able to make his way out of the hellhole existence in Mexico or Central America, his fate is then put in the hands of the American smugglers or "coyotes" who bring their cargo across the border by the pound. "I've seen beef come across the border in better condition," one INS official recently remarked (*Los Angeles Herald-Examiner*, 20 March). Once in the U.S. the immigrant worker is at the mercy of cutthroat labor contractors. A 38-year-old Guatemalan seamstress living here for eight years told the *Los Angeles Times* (20 April):

> "I'm a mother alone with three children. What happens if they catch me and send me back? I have no family there at all. And my children will be all alone here.... They treat criminals better than us. Criminals are allowed to drive cars wherever they want, to have houses that no one invades, to walk freely on the streets. But all we want to do is work—work that no one else will do. Why do they want to do this to us?"

For Central American workers deportation can be a matter of life and death. Recently a study by the American Civil Liberties Union showed that at least 50 out of a sample of 2,500 Salvadorans deported from the U.S. back to their homeland were arrested by the security forces the minute they stepped off the plane and killed (*Los Angeles Times*, 25 January). Currently about 1,000 Salvadorans, Guatemalans and Hondurans are flown out of Los Angeles by the INS every month. And under pressure from the Reagan administration the Supreme Court has also ruled that Central American refugees in this country need not be informed that they may be eligible for political asylum.

Contrast this to the elaborate attempts to organize defections by Soviet bloc athletes and visitors to the upcoming L.A. Olympics—until the Russians finally said *"nyet"* to this Cold War provocation. According to the *Los Angeles Times* (19 April) the INS set up a special unit to instantly approve asylum requests, a handbook was distributed to LAPD street cops with a section on how to handle such requests, and the federal government had a special phone staff to receive calls from would-be defectors. Working in tandem with the cops a local East European émigré nest, the "Ban the Soviets Coalition," had plans to virtually kidnap Soviet participants in the games. Like Cuban *gusanos*, Vietnamese drug pushers and Polish Solidarność anti-Communists, they were to be welcomed to the "free world," while black Haitians and brown-skinned Salvadoran refugees are handed over to the death squads of U.S.-backed dictatorships.

The claim that foreign workers take away jobs from U.S. workers is a sordid lie and an alibi for racist superexploitation. The bosses and their labor lieutenants are demagogically trying to cover up the bankruptcy of the capitalist system which generates unemployment. What do undocumented workers have to do with the laying off of hundreds of thousands of automobile workers in Detroit, for example? Most immigrant workers take low-paying jobs in the service sector where little education is required and language skills are not required. Two years ago it was estimated that the combined earnings of all undocumented workers in this country add $25 to $75 billion to the economy (*Los Angeles Times*, 28 June 1982). Yet while "illegals" contribute vastly to the U.S. economy they get little in return. Foreign-born workers have social security taxes deducted from their paychecks but less than 1 percent receive any benefits whatsoever. In Los Angeles children are dropped from the school lunch program under Reagan administration requirements that their parents provide proof of their resident status.

Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign-Born Workers!

Fishing for Hispanic votes in the elections, all three Democratic candidates have come out against the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill, but only because it provides for employer sanctions and threatens to impose a national identity card. Meanwhile, California Democrats managed to get debate on the bill put off until after the state's primary June 5, eventually hoping to postpone the sensitive issue until after the November elections. Jesse Jackson makes the strongest pitch, hoping to add brown to his stillborn Rainbow Coalition. But come November he will be campaigning for the Democratic nominee, and front-runner Mondale favors the Roybal amendment which calls for beefing up the Border Patrol and the INS cops in general. For years these thugs have been a law unto themselves from San Diego to El Paso. Already the Reagan administration has embarked on a program to spend half a billion dollars on new radar, computerized closed circuit TV systems and 850 new border guards. And now the Democratic liberals, supported by Stalinist Hispanic leaders like Bert Corona and Antonio Rodriguez, are offering to out-muscle Reagan to "regain control of the border."

WV Photo

Los Angeles SL/SYL protests migra raids, demands full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers.

Rather than attempt to organize these exploited workers to struggle together against the bosses, the union bureaucracy joins forces with racist Reagan reaction against "foreigners." AFL-CIO misleaders are reportedly "pressing for a statutory ban on employment of illegal aliens, contending that they depress wages and working conditions for American citizens" (*New York Times*, 22 April). Over the last decade of recession and depression this has been one of the main "answers" to mass unemployment put forward by these social chauvinists. Similarly they push protectionist import quotas on everything from steel to shoes and oppose "runaway" shops in Mexico and elsewhere. For these labor fakers the cause of mass unemployment is not capitalism—which they support to the bitter end even as millions are thrown out of work and historic union gains are ripped up in the interests of the bosses' profits—but *foreign workers*.

To get labor votes Mondale thunders about declaring "economic" war with Japan. Much of the so-called left is supporting Jackson who joins Mondale in this disgusting protectionist appeal, whining how "Honda and Toyota, Suzuki and Yamaha, Sony and Panasonic are being unloaded at the docks and replacing Buick and Chrysler in the American market." Black and Latin workers had better know that such racist attacks will target them first and foremost. In June 1982 Vincent Chin, a 27-year-old Chinese American engineer in Detroit was bludgeoned to death by a laid-off auto plant foreman and his cousin who blamed Japanese competition for the loss of jobs at their plant. And the same Ku Klux Klan which has resumed lynchings of black people marches against "illegal aliens" from Austin, Texas to San Diego. (The KKK terrorists tried to stage a racist anti-immigrant march in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982, but the hooded Kluxers were stopped in their tracks by the Labor/Black Mobilization of 5,000 initiated by the Spartacist League.)

The fake-left in this country has either capitulated to protectionist sentiment or advanced some sort of sectoralist scheme. The Communist Party has steadily refused to call for full citizenship rights for undocumented workers, echoing the bourgeois line that U.S. capital can do without "illegal aliens." The Stalinists have supported legislation against runaway shops and even taken part in demonstrations against foreign-made steel coming into the U.S. The L.A.-based Internationalist Workers' Party (IWP), followers of the notorious Argentine political swindler Nahuel Moreno, proposes the "unity of Latinos and Blacks" based on "the streets, factories, workplaces, offices and ghettos," which can eventually win the support of "white workers, Native Americans, Asians and other minorities" (*Working Class Opposition*, August-September 1983). This utopian nationalist perspective of "ghetto unity" is a ticket for defeat. The key to defending immigrant workers is to mobilize the *social power* of organized labor on a program of *class* unity, which requires above all a struggle to oust the treacherous, racist pro-capitalist bureaucracy. Yet the Morenoites along with the reformists are constantly looking for a political bloc with sections of the bureaucrats. While they formally oppose the Democrats, the Morenoites snuggle up to such middle-class reformers as the Citizen's Party and the Consumer Party to push the sectoralist politics which are the lifeblood of the Democratic Party.

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League fight for a multiracial revolutionary workers party which will wage international struggle to bring down capitalism. We fight for the working class and its organizations to stand at the head of the struggle for foreign-born workers' rights. When pro-Democratic Party United Farm Workers chief Cesar Chavez called on the INS in 1974 to go into the fields to arrest Mexican "illegals" we were virtually alone on the left in denouncing this outrage. When the INS threatened a raid on the Ford auto plant in Mahwah, New Jersey in 1975, Spartacist supporters joined with immigrant workers to demand that UAW Local 906 use the union's muscle to protect its foreign-born (largely Haitian and Latin) members. Feeling the heat, the local UAW president informed management the entire workforce would walk out if the INS cops set one foot inside the plant. *La migra* never showed at Ford Mahwah.

The Trotskyists fight for militant unionizing of the unorganized on both sides of the border, in the sweatshops of L.A. and El Paso as well as the *"maquiladoras"* of Tijuana and Juarez. We say: Labor must combat the protectionist poison of the capitalists and demand full citizenship rights for undocumented workers. For union action to stop Gestapo-style terror raids against foreign-born workers! Smash the INS concentration camps! Stop the deportations! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

ABC-TV

Defend Corporal Griffin!

Black Marine: I Won't Go!

Refused to Go to Lebanon, Grenada

On May 15, a military judge at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina threw the book at U.S. Marine corporal Alfred Griffin. This black Marine was sentenced to four months at hard labor, reduction in rank to private, forfeiture of $395 monthly pay for six months and a bad-conduct discharge. His "crime" in the eyes of the Marine Corps? Griffin, a Black Muslim, refused to go to Lebanon and Grenada to kill fellow Muslims and blacks. *This soldier has stood up to the Marine Corps.* The draconian sentence is an attempt to intimidate all soldiers, particularly blacks, in the imperialist U.S. military. The Spartacist League demands: "Drop the charges! Freedom for Corporal Griffin—Restore his rights!"

A machine-gun team leader and two-year member of the Presidential Honor Guard, Griffin was depicted as a model black Marine on the cover of the *Marine Corps Gazette*. He had a flawless record until he refused to join his unit when it left for Beirut on 18 October 1983. "If I had gone to Lebanon," he said later on the stand, "I would have been put in a situation in which I would have had to take arms against other Muslims." The Marine brass had a politically explosive situation on their hands, complicated by the fact that only a few days after Griffin returned to Camp Lejeune on October 19, more than 240 Marines were blown up in their barracks in Beirut. So they offered Griffin an "all is forgiven" deal to rejoin his unit in Beirut. Griffin refused. When the unit was diverted for the assault on Grenada, the Marines tried to send him there. But citing religious and moral grounds, Griffin again said "No" to all "offers" to kill Muslims and blacks. Therefore, on November 29, special court-martial proceedings were begun, the prosecution seeking their heaviest penalty.

Reagan and the racists gloried in the sight of white Marines ravaging a black and largely defenseless Grenada. But a military machine based heavily on black enlisted men poses serious problems for U.S. imperialism. Racist Marine Corps "justice" was demonstrated in the case of the Camp Pendleton 14 in 1976. A group of black Marines defended themselves against repeated terror raids by Ku Klux Klan Marines and the military threw the *blacks* into the stockade. For the U.S. military with its endless history of war crimes, from atom-bombing Nagasaki to mining Nicaraguan harbors, the "crime" is to refuse to carry out murderous orders. American military and civilian "justice" means that Lieutenant Calley, the butcher of My Lai in Vietnam, is driving around

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Supreme Court Authorizes Gestapo-Style Raids

La Migra Out of the Factories!

LOS ANGELES—In a decision that sets the stage for a wave of Gestapo-like police raids, the Supreme Court ruled April 17 that immigration cops may conduct surprise "inspections" in factories to search for suspected "illegal aliens." The high court justified this blatant violation of freedom from arbitrary search and seizure by claiming that in such a "brief encounter"—in which dozens of heavily armed "*migra*" cops jump out of police vans and quickly surround a plant, shotguns at the ready—workers are "free to leave," even if they don't answer the questioning. The estimated ten million undocumented workers in this country know better. The Supreme Court decision will unleash the immigration police, who already interrogate and deport anyone whose skin is too dark or accent too thick. Meanwhile, in Congress both the Republican Senate and the Democratic House leaders are gearing up for a push to enact the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration "reform" bill, which along with a limited amnesty will lay the basis for mass deportations.

La migra—hated INS agents raid Los Angeles shoe factory in 1982. Supreme Court has given green light to police-state terror against foreign-born workers.

Mullen/Herald Examiner

The recent Supreme Court decision stemmed from a 1977 case in Los Angeles when immigration agents launched an unannounced raid of the L.A. garment district. In one factory alone 162 Latino workers were arrested after police sealed off all entrances to the building and grilled the entire labor force for hours. "Factory surveys," as they are described by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), account for an estimated 60 percent of all arrests made of foreign-born workers outside the border areas. Last year some 20,000 workers were deported from Los Angeles alone as a result of these raids.

The panic among Latin workers when the INS cops arrive reminded one British reporter of "the Jews fleeing the S.S. sweeps throughout Europe in the Second World War" (London *Guardian* dispatch, 1 May). In the presence of dozens of uniformed goons and under the eyes of the boss what foreign-born worker is going to refuse to answer questions about his citizenship status? Latin American workers in the sweatshops, foundries and restaurants of L.A. know that to give the "wrong" answer during an interrogation can quickly lead to a trip to the border or possibly the morgue.

The head of the INS in Los Angeles, Will Ezell, crowed that the Supreme Court ruling was "the finest thing that's happened to us in a long time" and planned to up his factory raids from two to five a week. No doubt this Reagan-appointed bloodhound would love to deal with the estimated 250,000 Salvadoran refugees now living in Los Angeles in the same manner Salvadoran troops regularly terrorize that country's workers.

To the *migra* cops any brown-skinned person is a target for arrest and deportation. Witness the horrifying story of Mario Moreno Lopez, a 14-year-old Chicano youth who was arrested in Santa Ana last February and

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 356

8 June 1984

No Negotiated Sellout—Military Victory to Leftist Rebels!

Salvador Death Squads: Made in U.S.A.

Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

JUNE 4—Reagan is preparing massive U.S. intervention in Central America with war "games" and diplomatic games. While Duarte talks of "dialogue" in San Salvador, having been "elected" by American dollars, several thousand U.S., Honduran and Salvadoran troops are massed along the border, trying to trap leftist guerrillas in a "hammer and anvil" operation. While secretary of state Shultz browbeats Sandinista leaders at Managua airport about "exporting revolution," U.S.-backed mercenaries are blowing up granaries in the north. From Costa Rica to Guatemala, American-financed butchers leave mutilated corpses along the dusty roads of Central America. But the puppet government army is losing in El Salvador and the despised *contra* terrorists are going nowhere in Nicaragua but to their graves. No wonder Reagan is having a hard time selling his dirty war.

Memories of Vietnam are alive and well in the United States. In Indochina the American imperialists were handed a bloody defeat, their drug pushers and torture generals sent fleeing in leaky boats and hanging onto the helicopters. That's what has to happen in Central America, too, where the same U.S. officers and diplomats who "lost" Vietnam, from SouthCom's General Gorman to Ambassador Negroponte in Honduras, are fighting on the next front line of the U.S.' anti-Soviet war drive. All the talk about a "negotiated settlement" of the Salvadoran civil war is really a call for a negotiated *sellout* by the rebels. No "government of broad participation" with the bourgeoisie is going to wipe out the pathological killers. Just like Duarte's election, the death squads are "made in U.S.A." And they are vital to the rule of the bloody landowner-capitalist oligarchy and their military guard dogs. The choice for the workers and peasants of Central America is revolution or death. Literally.

The United States is the cradle of death squad "democracy," and the hand that rocks it is the CIA's. The idea that the Salvadoran regime will clean up its act to please "democratic public opinion" in the U.S. is absurd. Since the bloody work of Washington's butchers can't be hidden, they brought back their Christian Democratic front man. Wasn't Duarte himself a victim of the military? (Once, long ago.) So if he asks for the handout from Congress without the embarrassing "human rights" report

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Michael Kienitz

Washington's bought-and-paid-for butchers have killed over 50,000 workers, peasants and youth in the last five years.

Try the Traitors Sakharov!

AP

Yelena Bonner and Andrei Sakharov.

JUNE 4—The reported hunger strike of Russian "dissident" Andrei Sakharov, said to have begun on May 2, has become the latest anti-Soviet cause célèbre in the U.S. A *New York Times* (25 May) editorial, "The Cold Winter in Gorky," denounced the "ugly," "dangerous" and "vindictive" behavior of the Soviet "tormentors" who have, they say, "cruelly denied medical treatment abroad" to Sakharov's wife Yelena Bonner, and who are allegedly forcing an "aging scientist" on protracted hunger strike to the "ultimate calamity." Ronald Reagan has taken up the case, as has every anti-Communist leader from France's Mitterrand to West Germany's Hans-Dietrich Genscher to Australia's Bill Hayden (the foreign minister, not Karla's mole).

Now the HBO cable network is rushing to broadcast its new TV film *Sakharov*, starring Jason Robards and Glenda Jackson. A network executive crowed, "We do not think that this subject will disappear in a

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Class Struggle Sharpens

Smash Thatcher's Rampage Against British Miners! 5

Detroit Auto: Big Three Bosses Rape America 6

Smash Scabherders in Toledo! 7

"Hardball" Supplement a Big Hit

This country today is experiencing a significant upswing in the tempo of class struggle. And in the past couple of weeks, *Workers Vanguard* subscription teams have visited some of the hot spots. In Toledo, Ohio on Monday, May 21, 4,000 workers had battled the police department to a stand-off in a determined effort to stop the scabbing at the struck AP Parts plant (see article on page 7). The next day, a carload of auto workers and *WV* supporters left Detroit for Toledo, to talk with labor militants there and to give out copies of a special *WV* subscription supplement as part of a national *WV* sub campaign undertaken by the Spartacist League.

The supplement the sub drive teams are distributing is a four-page reprint of *WV*'s front-page article originally published on March 2, headlined "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win." The article lays out how capitalist America's been going to hell and outlines the strategy of a fighting labor movement to turn things around:

> "In Reagan's America it's open season on the unions, on blacks, the poor, the illegal aliens, the radicals—we're all targets of the drive to roll things back to the way they were when the robber barons rode high in the saddle, when the only business of America, said Calvin Coolidge, was business. The biggest growth industry in the U.S. today... it's strikebreaking."

What's needed, the article explains, is some old-time class struggle, the kind that built the unions in the first place. But that's the last thing in the world the fat-cat labor bureaucrats want to see. Tied to the bosses' profit system and tied in particular to the bosses' politicians in the Democratic Party—which provides the racist, labor-hating mayors who run most of America's big cities—the pro-capitalist labor tops keep the unions playing by the bosses' rules. And that's a losing game for labor. "Solidarity is not sending $500 and a valentine," says the "Hardball" supplement. Real solidarity is backing up the elementary principle that "picket lines mean don't cross"—backing it up with tactics like secondary boycotts, plant occupations and mass picket lines to face down scabs and their cop protectors.

These basic questions are posed urgently in Toledo, where a few hundred AP Parts workers have just seen in action that massive and united labor action is the key to picket lines that stop scabs. They are posed in Arizona where copper miners are now entering the twelfth month of a bitter strike against Phelps Dodge Corporation. They are posed everywhere that working people are trying to fight back against give-backs and union-busting, and maybe even get a little something for themselves and their families out of the present economic "recovery."

The "Hardball" supplement is an argument for a new, fighting leadership of labor willing to fight politically and committed to a program capable of rallying the working people and their allies—the unemployed, the doubly oppressed minorities—in support of the brothers and sisters on the picket lines. It underlines that the racist, pro-capitalist union tops are an obstacle to class unity in struggle. "To organize the open-shop South, for example, will mean pitched battles with the Ku Klux Klan and cracker sheriffs. Can anyone imagine the AFL-CIO tops involved in, much less leading, this kind of fight?" The article insists that every major workers' struggle becomes a political fight requiring class-struggle leadership, and raises the call to break with the Democrats and build a fighting workers party.

The *WV* supporters from Detroit, Chicago and Cleveland who took the "Hardball" supplement to Toledo were vividly aware of the historic labor confrontation there 50 years ago, against scabs, cops and the National Guard. To win union recognition at Toledo Auto-Lite in 1934, it took massive militant support from other unionists and from a militant organization of unemployed workers; ultimately, it took the threat of a general strike. The struggle at Toledo Auto-Lite, when workers fought the National Guard for over a week, was one of the three great labor battles of 1934 (along with the Minneapolis Teamsters strike and the dock strike in San Francisco) which paved the way for the founding of the CIO two years later. All three of these landmark struggles for industrial unionism were led by avowed socialists.

To get a copy of the "Hardball" supplement, just send us your name and address. And while we're on the subject, how about arranging to distribute some to your co-workers, neighbors or friends. WV is the "collective organizer" of the Spartacist League, the paper that tells the truth to the working people and puts forward the program needed to win. We need all the help we can get; why not get in touch with us and find out what you can do.

WV Gets a Good Reception

The *WV* teams in Toledo began by introducing themselves to picketers at AP Parts and giving out copies of *WV* and the "Hardball" supplement. On Wednesday, May 23, supplements were distributed at GM HydraMatic, Willis Jeep AMC, Champion Sparkplug and Teledyne. Our comrades visited the picket line at Sun Oil and gave out about 1,300 supplements in the black neighborhood around Detroit and Monroe Streets, where many of the people we met said they had relatives or friends among the AP Parts strikers. Over the rest of the week, the comrades went back to the same locations to sell and distribute single copies of *WV*, sell subscriptions and talk.

Many of the workers we met were intrigued by our material and glad of our support for their struggle; many said they saw no alternative to supporting the Democrats but were open to arguing about it. At Jeep, we met a worker who told us he remembered Spartacist supporters from when he'd worked at Dodge Main in Detroit, where he'd been impressed by our perspective of sit-down strikes against plant closures. After Dodge Main shut down, he told us, he'd gone to try to get a job out at Honda, but they found out he was a union man.

During the week and weekend, according to our undoubtedly incomplete figures, a total of 7,600 supplements were given out in Toledo, while 433 copies of *WV* were sold and distributed. Seven full-year subscriptions and 25 introductory subs to *WV* were sold on this trip, as well as five subs to *Young Spartacus* and one to *Women and Revolution*.

WV Photo

A slogan from Kentucky coal miners is picked up by a picket line militant in Arizona Phelps Dodge copper strike.

Right about the same time that Midwest comrades and friends were heading for Toledo, another team went from Los Angeles to distribute supplements and sell subs to the embattled copper miners in Arizona. On our second day in town, we came back to the picket line and saw that one woman had hand-lettered a picket sign which paraphrased a coal miners' poster shown in a photograph on the supplement's front page (see photo). A member of the *WV* team told us that

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Class Struggle Will Decide

TROTSKY

LENIN

James P. Cannon, America's foremost communist politician, joined the Wobblies (IWW) and Socialist Party in the first decade of this century. He was a founder of the Communist Party and founded and led the Trotskyist movement in the U.S. In a 1942 lecture, Cannon explained the principles of proletarian class struggle which imbued the Trotskyist-led Minneapolis general strike of 1934.

Our people didn't believe in anybody or anything but the policy of the class struggle and the ability of the workers to prevail by their mass strength and solidarity. Consequently, they expected from the start that the union would have to fight for its right to exist; that the bosses would not yield any recognition to the union, would not yield any increase of wages or reduction of the scandalous hours without some pressure being brought to bear. Therefore they prepared everything from the point of view of class war. They knew that power, not diplomacy, would decide the issue. Bluffs don't work in fundamental things, only in incidental ones. In such things as the conflict of class interests one must be prepared to fight.

—James P. Cannon, *The History of American Trotskyism* (1944)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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U.S. Imperialism Fuels...

Persian Gulf Inferno

AMENA

JUNE 1—As the Big Oil tankers went up in flames in the Persian Gulf and the U.S. rushed a second aircraft carrier to the scene, you could almost hear the cocking of the U.S. nuclear trigger. This is the region which Jimmy Carter vowed in his January 1980 State of the Union speech to hold on to by "any means necessary," including the first use of "tactical" nuclear weapons. Indeed, the whole rationale for Carter/Reagan's 300,000-strong Rapid Deployment Force is to protect Big Oil interests and threaten the Soviet Union, whose economic and military power stands as a chief obstacle to unrestrained imperialist domination of the world. Thus the squalid, senseless and unbelievably bloody war between the reactionary regimes of Iran and Iraq threatens to become a nuclear sinkhole for the world.

Pavlovsky/Sygma

Iranian soldiers lie in trench as Iraqi village burns in background. One of the bloodiest, most senseless wars of our times.

So long as the oil flowed, Western imperialism cared little about the four-year slaughter taking place on the Iran/Iraq border. The Iranians had tried to make up for their shortage of tanks and aircraft by sending human waves, including young boys, into the front lines. The better equipped Iraqi army made up for its ineptness at offensive operations by staying entrenched in fixed positions. The result has been a stalemate as the war settled down to static trench warfare reminiscent of World War I. Over and over tens of thousands of Iraqis and Iranians slaughtered each other in a day or two of battle for a mile or two of no man's land.

Latest reports indicate that *half a million* Iranians are now poised on the Iraqi border for yet another "final offensive" to cut the key Baghdad-to-Basra road and bring down the Ba'athist Hussein regime. With its much smaller population, Iraq can less afford a war of attrition, and the Iraqi government has taken to hanging deserters on public bridges and shooting them on busy streets. Now both countries are desperately escalating the war in an effort to find a quick and decisive victory.

In February, Iraq declared a "war zone" around Kharg Island, Iran's major oil terminal in the Gulf, and began to attack tankers in the area. As the squeeze on Iran increased, especially with the help of French Super Etendard bombers with their deadly accurate Exocet missiles, Iran's president Rafsanjani threatened, "if the Kharg Island route is not safeguarded, then no other routes in the Persian Gulf will be secure." The mad Shi'ite ayatollahs are prepared to blow up every oil field and oil tanker in the region. And they may be able to do it.

The West was surprised to find that the Iranian air force was still able to launch attacks with its remaining American-made F-4 jets (sent during the shah's reign) and the war escalated in May when the Iranians knocked out Saudi and Kuwaiti tankers in the so-called "neutral" western part of the Gulf. (Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have so far provided $35 *billion* for the Iraqi war effort. Some "neutrals"!) Insurance rates quickly doubled and tripled for ships going to the northern part of the Gulf, and pretty soon Saudi sheiks were muttering that the oil flow would be cut not by bombs but by Lloyd's of London. The Persian Gulf region now looks something like the Balkans in the summer of 1914.

The Ayatollahs and U.S. Imperialism

Amidst the tangle of conflicting and shifting bloody conflicts in the Near East, U.S. imperialism has consistently maintained one overriding goal: to put together and arm an alliance of reactionary pro-American regimes against the Soviet Union. But somehow such regimes always come to a bad end. Under the Pahlevis Iran, which shares a long border with the USSR, had been a linchpin in this anti-Soviet alliance. But the shah's fall in early 1979 at the hands of the Islamic fanatic Khomeini threw a monkey wrench into Washington's strategic plans. Nevertheless, the Khomeinites' recent campaign to annihilate the pro-Moscow Tudeh party has renewed imperialist hopes of winning Iran again to an anti-Soviet "strategic consensus" in the Near East. In fact, Washington has looked the other way as some U.S. arms have been smuggled to Iran by third parties (such as Israel, which befriends anyone who kills Arabs).

Far right-wing columnist Patrick Buchanan, arguing against a U.S. attack on Iran, maintains:

> "Taking the long view, the U.S. has no strategic quarrel with Iran, and many concurrent interests.... Tehran's long-term interests lie in association with the U.S....
>
> "Second, if there are any pro-American elements silent now inside revolutionary Iran, they are likely in the officers corps, particularly the air force. How do we maintain these assets by shooting the tiny Iranian air force out of the sky...?"

Buchanan further argues that "a military debacle could bring about the dismemberment of Iran, with the Soviets moving in to pick up the pieces" (*New York Post*, 31 May).

For the present, though, Washington fears that an Iranian victory would destabilize its other allies in the region, notably the feudal oildoms of the Arabian peninsula. At the same time, the U.S. does not want an Iraqi victory either, since in the Reaganite mind any country which receives MIGs and Soviet missiles must be an agent of world Communism. Actually the Baghdad Ba'athists are as fiercely anti-Communist as the Teheran ayatollahs and have bloodily suppressed the Iraqi Communist Party. For all its tough talk, the Reagan White House would prefer not to get directly involved in the war—especially in an election year—and would rather see Iran and Iraq wear each other down, "so that no one wins" as the *New York Times* (22 May) fervently hoped in a recent editorial. To this end the U.S. has now made a certain tilt toward Iraq facing the menacing Iranian offensive.

Saudi Monarchy Built on Sand

Meanwhile the U.S. hopes that Saudi Arabia can protect Big Oil interests with the help of 400 Stinger anti-aircraft missiles and 62 American-supplied F-15 jets, the latter kept aloft by midair refueling with KC-10 tankers supplied by the Pentagon. As former Pentagon chief James Schlesinger commented on the David Brinkley talk show, "let the Saudis, let the Gulf Arabs take the first blow." U.S. rulers remember what happened to their soldiers in Lebanon.

The problem for American imperialism is that its current anti-Soviet linchpin in the Persian Gulf, the House of Saud, also remembers what happened to the U.S. in Lebanon and has no stomach for an armed confrontation with Iran. The Saudi regime, despite its enormous oil wealth and billions of dollars in Western arms, is built on sand. It is a tiny feudal kingdom of perhaps 7,000 royal family members, existing on the exploitation of a sea of foreign contract labor. It is estimated that *one-third to one-half* of the population of about 10 million are foreigners—over a million Yemenites employed in manual labor, over 400,000 Egyptians in various capacities, Indians, Pakistanis and radicalized Palestinians, and many others. Even the U.S.-supplied fighter planes are piloted by Taiwanese mercenaries! Who will give up his life for the Saudi monarchy? And then there are an estimated 300,000 oppressed Shi'ite Muslims in the oil-producing northeast province. No wonder King Fahd and his luxury-loving brothers don't want to get into any kind of war, especially with the fanatical Shi'ite ayatollahs of Iran. This regime could blow away even more easily and quickly than the shah's did.

And that makes the situation all the more dangerous. "Saudi Arabia we will not permit to be an Iran," Reagan vowed in October 1981. Despite all of the Pentagon's arms and military

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Persian Gulf war escalates as Iraq and Iran target oil tankers.

El Salvador...

(continued from page 1)

card, the *New York Times* editorializes, let Duarte "try it his way." His inaugural speech, groveling before the military, is billed as a "promise" to "curb abuses." Don't hold your breath. But the Democrats dutifully vote the dollars for death.

Leftists are not the only targets of the CIA hit squads. Edén Pastora, "Contra Zero," blamed the American intelligence agency for the bomb intended to kill him at his jungle headquarters on May 30. The "democratic" counterrevolutionary was explaining to journalists his refusal to merge with explicitly Somozaist *contras* based in Honduras: "For several months, the C.I.A. has been preparing the ground...saying I am the only obstacle to unification.... This attack is punishment for not yielding" (*New York Times*, 2 June). The CIA felt obliged to answer with one of those "denials" that are practically an open admission of guilt: "We don't assassinate people. We don't plant bombs and blow people up. There's an executive order that prohibits us from that." Oh yeah? Tell it to Diem, or Trujillo, or Lumumba or Castro. And what about those "homemade" CIA mines in Nicaraguan harbors?

If you believe this one, then perhaps you will also believe that U.S. secretary of state Shultz was in Nicaragua on a "good will" trip last week. Shultz's surprise visit to Managua was the first time a high-ranking Washington official has met with the Sandinistas since General Haig was "in charge." Reagan will doubtless use this "let's talk" gesture to collect the $21 million he's seeking from Congress for his overt "covert" war on Nicaragua. But on the Sandinistas' part, such talks may involve more than gestures. NBC reports that Nicaragua has told the Salvadoran guerrillas of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) they will have to get out if there's an agreement with the U.S. Such a stab in the back would be criminally stupid opportunism, threatening the survival of the Nicaraguan revolution as well. Only a fight for workers revolution throughout the isthmus can defeat the Yankee interventionists and their kill-crazy puppets. Military victory to Salvadoran leftist rebels! Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan revolution!

American Guns Kill American Nuns...and a Lot More

First they claimed that "democrat" Duarte would "crack down" on the death squads. When that was denied, a commission was created to "investigate" the more murderous massacres, with the investigators trained by the FBI, the U.S.' anti-communist secret police. Sure, like the investigations of the 1961 attacks on freedom rider buses in Alabama, the 1963 Birmingham church bombing and the 1965 assassination of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo—racist terror attacks all of which were instigated by the FBI's people! The most notorious death squad murder is the hideous 1980 rape/murder of four American nuns. For three and a half years the "investigation" stagnated. Then last week five National Guardsmen were tried in one day for this crime, the verdict delivered in one hour. The key question—who gave the orders?—was never asked, for the local Guard commander was a cousin of Defense Minister Vides Casanova. Duarte (who was president of the junta when the nuns were murdered) confirmed the minister of death in his post and yesterday announced there would be no investigation of the case. A few triggermen were sacrificed, but the apparatus of the murder machine remains intact.

The direct U.S. role in the creation of the bloody death squads has been exposed in an exclusive report by Allan Nairn in the May issue of *The Progressive* magazine. According to Nairn, officials of the State Department, the CIA and the U.S. military have:

- "conceived and organized ORDEN, the rural paramilitary and intelligence network," precursor of the death squads;
- "conceived and organized ANSESAL," the Salvadoran National Security Agency, an elite secret police unit;
- put key security officials, such as General José Medrano, a former senior National Guard officer and founder of ORDEN and ANSESAL, on the CIA payroll;
- "supplied ANSESAL, the security forces, and the general staff with electronic, photographic, and personal surveillance of individuals who were later assassinated by Death Squads";
- "instructed Salvadoran intelligence operatives in the use of investigative techniques" that employed "physical and psychological torture."

UPI

FMLN guerrillas capture the town of San Francisco Javier, January 1983. No negotiated sellout! Leftist rebels: Go for military victory!

Additional revelations of U.S. complicity in the death squads abound: on March 3 the *New York Times* reported that a former ranking Salvadoran military officer "had direct knowledge of the participation of Mr. d'Aubuisson, General García and Colonel Carranza in the process of selecting death squad victims, many of whom have been trade unionists, student leaders, peasant organizers and others considered potentially sympathetic to the left." It also reported "Colonel Casanova's involvement in the killing of the churchwomen." And on March 22 the *Times* revealed that Colonel Carranza, head of the murderous Treasury Police, "had received more than $90,000 a year from the C.I.A. as an informant for the last five or six years." General García is the former war minister, since replaced by Vides Casanova. D'Aubuisson, the former deputy chief of ANSESAL, is president of the Constituent Assembly. Thus the heads of the death squads are one and the same as the heads of the armed forces, and the whole bloody network is intimately connected with the U.S. government.

The program to systematize repression and destroy political opposition was launched by the Democratic Kennedy administration's Alliance for Progress. In response to the Cuban Revolution, the "Alliance" attempted to combine increased government repression and stepped-up capitalist development in order to pre-empt social revolution in Latin America. As the director of the AID Public Safety Program wrote in an internal memo in 1967 describing the program's objectives, the United States was "developing within the civil security forces...an investigative capability for detecting criminal and/or subversive individuals and organizations and neutralizing their activities." And JFK himself declared that "Governments of the civil-military type of El Salvador are the most effective in containing communist penetration in Latin America." Thus together with Washington's penchant for junta rule went the creation of the death squads.

Washington has projected this "anti-subversive" alliance throughout Central America, using the fascistic National Liberation Movement (MLN) in Guatemala as a model. Created by the U.S. as marionettes for the CIA's 1954 overthrow of liberal reformer Jacobo Arbenz, the MLN became the "party of organized violence" that has visited a 30-year reign of terror on the Guatemalan working masses. According to Amnesty International, in the decade between 1966 and 1976 paramilitary squads in Guatemala were responsible for the assassination of 21,000 victims. And when it was felt that similar death squads were necessary in neighboring El Salvador, D'Aubuisson was dispatched to Guatemala for some quick "hands-on" training. A close collaboration between Guatemalan and Salvadoran death squads continues to this day.

Key to setting up this Murder, Inc. in El Salvador was General Medrano, who established ORDEN (Spanish for "Order") as a spy network of anti-communist *orejas* (ears) throughout the countryside. As for the individuals fingered by ORDEN, Medrano was clear: "They don't have the rights of Geneva. They are traitors to the country. What can the troops do? When they find them, they kill them." A former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador explained that the *Mano Blanco* (White Hand) death squad "was an offshoot of ORDEN, and the same people in ORDEN were to some extent the same people in the *Mano Blanco*." In recognition of Medrano's value to the United States, Lyndon Johnson presented the death squad chief with a silver presidential medal for "exceptionally meritorious service."

It was during 1980-82 that Roberto D'Aubuisson, a Medrano protégé, came into prominence. "Major Blowtorch," so named for his favorite torture technique, began as an officer of the National Guard intelligence section. However, when reform-minded officers came to the fore after the October 1979 "human rights" coup, D'Aubuisson was assigned to organize a counteroffensive. Armed with information supplied by the CIA, D'Aubuisson made a series of video recordings for TV broadcast giving names and pictures of "subversives." One of his associates disingenuously remarked, "Unfortunately, when we mentioned a person, *poom*, they'd shoot them. Then they started linking us with the Death Squads" (*Progressive*, May 1984). Among the victims assassinated after being fingered on television were leading Christian Democrat Mario Zamora and Archbishop Romero. Later a briefcase belonging to D'Aubuisson was recovered containing a hit list and details of the murder of Romero. This information was in the possession of then junta president Duarte and the U.S. embassy as early as May 1980.

For Workers Revolution!

More than 50,000 Salvadorans have been murdered by the military and the various death squads (Mano Blanco, General Maximiliano Hernández Brigade, Anti-Communist Secret Army, etc.) since the October 1979 coup. The victims—leftists, peasants and workers—include the entire original leadership of the opposition Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), then headed by dissident coffee scion Alvarez Córdova, annihilated in November 1980. Even American CIA agents working with the land reform office have been executed by these paid killers. Yet they enjoy protection up to the highest levels of the regime. The *New York Times* (3 June) has noted that "the Salvadoran Government has never investigated or prosecuted a military officer." Why should they start now?

So how can the killing be stopped? During the recent election, bought and paid for by the U.S. (not only the $2.1 million funneled into Duarte's campaign but another $10 million to pay for the computerized voter lists, ballot boxes, etc.), Christian Democrat Duarte was portrayed as the candidate of "moderation." Once "elected," however, he dropped all talk of wiping out the death squads and now talks of "mending fences" with the military. Yet last week the FDR called, on Radio Venceremos, for the Duarte government to investigate the murder of Archbishop Romero. What a farce! Duarte had proof of D'Aubuisson's guilt four years ago and did nothing. FDR spokesman Rubén Zamora, whose own brother Mario was a victim of the death squads, recently offered to "negotiate" the issue: "The question of whether there would be trials, or even the question of who would be tried and who would not, could be the subject of mutual agreement" (*New York Times*, 30 May).

The petty-bourgeois nationalists seek to keep the struggle of the Central American working masses safely within the limits of capitalism. By "mutual agreement" they mean capitulation before the class enemy, setting the workers and peasants up for a bloodbath. Here in the United States the reformist left echoes the FDR/FMLN call for "negotiations" with the imperialists and their agents. "Defeat Reagan" proclaims CISPES' *El Salvador Alert* (June 1984), meaning "elect Democrats in November." Yet the Democrats—who voted for the Salvador war budget, who accepted Reagan's "human rights" certifications of the Salvadoran junta—only have *tactical* differences with Reagan's Central American policies. They want to promote war on the Soviets by *buying off* Sandinista and FDR "moderates."

The Spartacist League fights for leftist insurgents to win the war in El Salvador through decisive victory on the field of battle, to open the road to socialist revolution. Workers and peasants governments in Central America would unleash agrarian revolution, expropriate the bourgeoisie, the bankrollers of the death squads, and smash the officer corps which directs the mass killings. Revolutionary tribunals would mete out proletarian justice to the death squad scum.

The Salvadoran death squads, like the gangster regime of Batista in pre-revolutionary Cuba, are the scum of the earth. The Cuban *gusanos* in the U.S., well depicted in the movie *Scarface*, have become all-purpose imperialist hit men, from drug pushers and Watergate burglars to the murderers of Chilean Socialist Orlando Letelier. Every decent working person should want to see these sadistic criminals and their imperialist masters get what they deserve. American working people have a direct stake in the victory of revolution in Central America. The fight for military victory to Salvadoran leftist rebels, and for defense of the Nicaraguan revolution, strikes a blow against the anti-Soviet war drive and domestic repression. Thus the Spartacist League calls for labor boycotts to stop death cargos to Central American dictators, and for workers strikes against full-scale U.S. intervention. The copper miners' fight in Arizona and the auto workers' struggle in Toledo are part and parcel of the fight for proletarian revolution throughout the Americas. The only real solidarity with the struggle in Central America is to wage class war in the belly of the imperialist beast. ■

Miners Must Not Stand Alone!

Smash Thatcher's Rampage Against British Miners!

The British coal miners strike is at a crucial point. The miners and their families have fought for 13 weeks, forced to live on £20 ($28) a week. Thousands have been arrested and one picketer killed. Emboldened by smashing the printers and (at the CIA's behest) the civil service union at Britain's Cheltenham spy center, the Thatcher government has precipitated the sharpest and most deepgoing conflict of British labor since the turn of the century. The "Iron Lady" is waging preventive civil war. Her aim: to cripple for a long time the trade unions' capacity to struggle. The strike must be spread *now* to defeat this deadly threat to all British labor!

McPhee/The Guardian

Orgreave, South Yorkshire, May 29—Mounted police charge repeatedly into picket lines as militant miners battle back.

Last week Thatcher took the war to South Yorkshire, a center of miners' militancy and home base of National Union of Miners (NUM) president Arthur Scargill. When pickets massed at Orgreave cokeworks in an attempt to stop the flow of coke to the nearby Scunthorpe steel plant, thousands of cops were mobilized—not only with the riot gear and police dogs so familiar to Irish Catholics in the Bogside and to blacks and Asians in Brixton, but with cossacks on horseback trampling down pickets fleeing from the police truncheons.

On Tuesday, May 29 more than 7,000 pickets massed at Orgreave, but brutal charges by 2,000 police permitted the truck convoys loaded with coke to pass. In the fighting, 41 cops were injured, along with 28 picketers, including one with a fractured skull. In the early morning of the 30th, NUM leader Scargill was arrested in a calculated provocation. More than 3,000 pickets fought a pitched battle with the police that day. Telephone poles were used as battering rams, stone block barricades were built across roadways, a mobile police command post was overturned and set on fire. Again on Thursday and Friday thousands of South Yorkshire miners kept up the fight at Orgreave. But through the running battle which lasted all week, the vicious police charges allowed scab convoys to pass.

The murderous British ruling class is reliving the days of the Indian "Raj," but this time it's here in "Little England." As Arthur Scargill remarked, "What you have now in South Yorkshire is an actual police state tantamount to something you are used to seeing in Chile and Bolivia." National Coal Board (NCB) chairman Ian MacGregor thinks himself a little Pinochet who can slash tens of thousands of miners' jobs with his austerity ax with impunity. Indeed, the Tory government announced last week it was launching exercises codenamed "Lionheart" to expand the role of their Territorial Army and train it for strikebreaking.

The determined coal miners have beaten back a treacherous campaign for a national strike ballot. They have dispatched flying pickets to the scab collieries of Nottinghamshire as well as to power stations, docks and steel works. But Scargill has shackled their militancy, limiting the pickets to stopping coal instead of bringing out the workers in related industries and extending the strike into a class-wide action. The Tories' vindictive attempts to starve women and children as ransom against the miners' militancy has steeled entire communities in a magnificent display of working-class solidarity. Thousands of strikers' wives have taken their place on the picket lines, facing down scabs and cops and braving arrest as Ann Scargill did on May 14. But hardnosed go-it-alone determination is not enough. If the Trades Union Council (TUC) bureaucrats and Labour Party tops succeed in isolating the miners, the result will be bloody disaster.

The British coal strike has been criminally stabbed in the back by the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy, which in order to gain some hard currency to pay off the Frankfurt bankers continues to ship coal to Britain. Attempting to hide their own treachery, TUC leader Len Murray, Labour "left" Tony Benn and various fake-Trotskyist Labourite satellites heap vitriol on the Warsaw bureaucracy while embracing Solidarność, the only "trade union" beloved by Reagan and Thatcher. A revolutionary workers government in Poland would cancel the imperialist debt and provide real international solidarity with their class brothers fighting the Western capitalists.

The outcome of this decisive class confrontation will shape the destiny of British labor for years. Only the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League/Britain have fought for elementary working-class solidarity, nationally and internationally, which is key to victory. SL supporters at British Leyland's Rovers Solihull plant and in London Transport have fought to mobilize their unions in joint strike action alongside the miners. And after the Orgreave cop rampage a militant Sheffield bus driver addressed a mass meeting of 2,000 calling for mass mobilization to defend labor against Thatcher's war. Thatcher is one of Reagan's closest allies in Europe. American workers have a direct interest in a victory by British miners which must bring down the "Iron Lady," thereby weakening Reagan's union-busting campaign and anti-Soviet war drive. We reprint below a leaflet distributed last week by the SL/B at the height of the miners' battle in South Yorkshire.

Spartacist League/Britain Leaflet

They're out to *kill* the miners! From the picket line murder of young militant David Jones the first week of this bitter three-month-old strike to the bloodthirsty Cossack charges at Orgreave in South Yorkshire, Thatcher and MacGregor have made their stand clear. They don't just want to close down some pits, they want to close down this whole goddamn union, and they want some militant miners' scalps as souvenirs. The Tories are waging full-scale civil war against Britain's workers with the same bloodlust the Iron Lady displayed against the 500 young men on the *Belgrano*.

No union, however militant, can take on the power of the capitalist state alone. The bosses' press is crowing about the miners' isolation. It is the treachery of the trade union misleaders, who have allowed the miners to fight alone, which emboldens the Tories and their cops to ever more provocative assaults on the NUM: the charges of riotous assembly after Mansfield, the imprisonment of Kent area president Malcolm Pitt, the arrest of Arthur Scargill and the scarcely veiled promise of more picket line killings by the Police Federation chairman. All it took was a dozen signalmen to shut down rail service in South Yorks on the day of action. It was the mobilisation of tens of thousands of engineering and other workers who downed tools that made Saltley Gates a success against massive police presence.

And right now, tens upon tens of thousands of workers from every union should be converging upon Orgreave in a mass labour mobilisation to shut down Orgreave, stop coke going to Scunthorpe and to put a stop to the cop rampage *before* another miner dies. Scunthorpe—and every other steel factory—should be shut down through strike action. Bill Sirs' scabbing hasn't saved one steel job, either in 1980 or since. Scab deals which allow continued steel production in Ravenscraig, Port Talbot and Scunthorpe, are stabbing miners in the back. The Yorkshire and Humberside Regional TUC should be calling every union in the region out on strike—and not just for a day. Militant strikers must not be allowed to get

continued on page 11

Spartacist Britain

Miners lobby union delegates conference in Sheffield, April 19. Spartacist League/Britain says: Rail, steel, power, docks—Join the strike now!

Profit-Gouging Enrages Auto Workers

Big Three Bosses Rape America

DETROIT—There is no mistaking the grunts and squeals coming from the corporate headquarters of GM, Ford and Chrysler. It is the sound of auto executives lining up at the trough to collect their "fair share" of the $3 billion in first-quarter profits raked in by the auto companies. In a blatant display of corporate greed, the auto bosses decided to get while the getting's good, collecting hundreds of millions in salary raises, honuses and stock options. GM distributed over $180 million to executives, with chairman Roger Smith leading the pack with $1.5 million. Ford's Philip Caldwell collected about the same, while Lee Iacocca—corporate America's leading egomaniac—modestly restricted himself to a 30 percent pay hike, since he has $8 million in stock options waiting in the wings.

Iacocca defended the profits and bonuses, denouncing the "war dance" of criticism from government officials and hypocritical United Auto Workers (UAW) tops. A few years ago Chrysler was on the edge of bankruptcy, and Iacocca now presents himself as the "superman" of American capitalism. But what are his super feats? Chrysler's $700 million profit during the first quarter amounted to *$7,000 profit per worker*—surplus value extracted by means of wage cuts, speed-up and grueling forced overtime. Chrysler's "comeback" was initially financed by a $1.5 billion government bailout at taxpayers' expense. That's "free market" capitalism for you. The bailout was made conditional on tearing up union contracts, amounting to givebacks of another $1.5 billion, and throwing tens of thousands of workers onto the streets, all with the aid of the treacherous UAW bureaucrats who conspired with the company—then-president Doug Fraser got a seat on the Chrysler board—to cram givebacks down the workers' throats. The Chrysler bailout set the stage for massive givebacks at GM and Ford. All told, the UAW bureaucrats have given away over *$5 billion* in union wages and benefits since 1979.

Now the labor traitors in Solidarity House are sputtering in fake outrage over the executives' honuses, hoping the workers will forget who it was that sold the givebacks which made these profits possible. UAW president Owen Bieber blustered: "If these executives who are providing so well for themselves think for one minute that they can convince workers to do without an up-front raise this summer, they'd better think again" (*Time*, 7 May). And his predecessor Doug Fraser remarked that the profits and bonuses "will make negotiations more difficult this fall." For whom? Fraser's been on the Chrysler board of directors, and Bieber wants on. Fraser has the gall to demand his UAW pension in addition to the money he's gotten from Chrysler.

Facing the expiration of the GM and Ford contracts in September, the UAW bureaucrats are worried sick that things might get out of hand. And they're not the only ones. One of the reasons that the big business press has generally disapproved of the auto bosses' honuses is that they know this can only infuriate the UAW ranks and make them all the more determined to win back the givebacks and then some. Angry workers are already exacting retributions for concessions by turning local UAW officials out of office left and right. And now that the bosses are reaping and pocketing the benefits of billions in concessions, the Solidarity House pie-cards try to pretend it's somebody else's fault. What's the matter, didn't they read the contracts before they forced them on the membership? Of course they did. They see their job to ensure labor peace and profits for the capitalists. Their present displays of anger are due to the fact that they're sitting on a powder keg.

The new UAW president Owen Bieber may be forced to lead a strike this fall to, in the words of one industry analyst, "prove that he's on the workers' side." Certainly *now* is the time to strike. Everyone knows the current "auto boom" isn't likely to last much longer—even Iacocca predicts that "there will be a cyclical downturn very shortly"—so the robber barons of Detroit are stuffing their pockets like there's no tomorrow. The last thing the auto bosses want is a stoppage of production at this time. But despite the favorable economic situation and the anger and determination of the ranks, the wretchedly defeatist UAW tops could pull a token strike and a sellout. To prevent such a sellout, the ranks must form strike committees, electing militants with a class-struggle program for victory. And none of this "apache strategy" business. Shut down the Big Three—for a nationwide auto strike! Take back all the givebacks and then some! Wipe the smirk off Lee Iacocca's pasty face!

WV Photo

Militant black workers take the lead in Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue plant wildcat, September 1982.

Despite all the givebacks and sellouts in recent years, the United Auto Workers—especially in the black, proletarian center of Detroit—is not like the air traffic controllers or even long-distance bus drivers. The UAW is at the core of industrial unionism in this country. If the Big Three bosses are insane enough to try to pull a PATCO or Greyhound through massive use of scabs, then answer them with mass picket lines and union defense guards. Fighting class struggle—that was the reply by UAW militants to blatant union-busting at AP Parts in Toledo, Ohio.

Even with massive unemployment in the city's ghettos, it would not be easy to recruit scabs among Detroit's jobless black workers and youth. Practically every black in this town has a close relative or friend in the UAW. Despite the racist policies of the Solidarity House gang, there remains a deep sense that this is a union town and that the auto bosses are the real enemies of the people, especially the black people. And this sense has just been enormously reinforced by the Big Three executives' obscene salary increases amid the desperate poverty of Detroit's ghetto hellholes.

UPI

Lee Iacocca (left) rewards then UAW president Douglas Fraser for giveback contracts with a seat on Chrysler board of directors.

As in the 1930s, when the UAW was built, labor must mobilize the unemployed and champion the oppressed, now fighting for demands such as a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to reduce unemployment; for unlimited union recall rights; for unlimited and unconditional unemployment compensation, welfare, disability and old-age benefits at a union wage scale with full COLA. Key to successful class struggle and ultimately workers revolution in this racist, capitalist country is linking the ghetto to the factory in struggle. Detroit's black proletariat will be in the vanguard of a nationwide auto strike.

The UAW tops do *not* want a strike this fall because it would make things hot for the Democrats and their man Mondale in November. For this reason the fight to take back the givebacks through a nationwide auto strike is integrally tied to breaking the unions from the Democratic Party and building a workers party on a class-struggle program.

Not Chauvinist Protectionism, But Socialist Planning

The present "comeback" in auto is based in good part on protectionist quotas against superior Japanese competition. And the Solidarity House gang is if anything even more rabidly protectionist and anti-Japanese than the auto bosses. Indeed, the UAW tops along with the rest of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy are working overtime to elect Democrat Walter Mondale whose *only* answer to Reaganomics is economic war against the Japanese. The climate in Detroit around this issue is so poisonous that two years ago a Chinese American, Vincent Chin, was bludgeoned to death by a racist auto foreman.

The hysterical "Buy America" campaign feeds into the flag-waving jingoism that is part of a mobilization for war against the Soviet Union. Anti-import protectionism, which pits U.S. workers against their class brothers in Japan and Europe, "protects" only the banks and stockholders while auto workers at plants like Chrysler Jefferson and Ford Rouge slave 56 to 60 hours a week without even a pretense of a union defense on the shop floor. And why should American working people pay more for their cars just to listen to Lee Iacocca's big mouth on television?

While Iacocca and his friends are celebrating the auto boom and wallowing in their profits, for the hungry and unemployed of the Motor City there isn't much of a difference any more between an upturn and a downturn. The recent boom has meant that local unemployment fell from 22 to 15 percent, while an average of 34 percent of the city's population existed on public assistance during 1983. The decay of the capitalist system is obvious in Detroit, a place where today's good times looks like yesterday's depression. U.S. bosses can't save their dying system, so they grab all the loot they can carry in between ever more frequent depressions. But for the hundreds of thousands of workers thrown on the scrap heap there is no future under capitalism.

Remember how we were all taught in high school civics that Karl Marx was "obviously wrong" when he predicted the increasing gap between the poverty of the working masses and the immense wealth of the capitalists? Well, a Ford worker who compares his measly $400 "profit-sharing" check with Philip Caldwell's $1.5 million doesn't have to be a communist to know that Marx was right. But it helps to be a communist to know what to do about it: build a workers party to destroy this rotting capitalist system and replace it with a workers government to administer a rationally planned socialist economy. ■

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Detroit/Toledo Labor: Mass Pickets Now!

Smash Scabherders in Toledo!

Toledo labor exploded on May 21, and won an inspiring picket line battle—over cops, hired gun thugs and scabs. But now the strikers of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 14 in Toledo are at a critical point in their struggle against the AP Parts company. Some 230 scabs—a full pre-strike workforce—are in the plant. Union leaders are kowtowing to a court order limiting pickets to four per gate. Truck shipments leave daily. Yet in the past two weeks, no one among the local, regional and International UAW officials has called for mass picketing to stop the scabs.

It was a militant force of united Toledo labor which won the battle of Matzinger Road. Local 14 militants were backed up by 4,000 unionists—from Jeep and Champion, from the struck Sun Oil refinery, from the building trades and the Teamsters, from CWA Local 4319. They faced the bosses' cops and they won. This is the fighting spirit needed now. Busloads and car caravans of pickets, working-class fighters from Detroit, Akron, Cleveland should be pouring in. If the cops try to bust the union and workers' heads, then this kind of labor force can pull everyhody out in a general strike!

To beat GM in 1937, it took sit-down strikes by auto workers and mass picketing by coal miners, rubber and steel workers who converged on Flint. That's how the UAW was born. It took class-struggle tactics then and it'll take class-struggle tactics today. Take it home to Detroit and link this struggle up with those of the heavily black working class in the stronghold of the UAW's power! Such a struggle will be felt in every factory, every union hall and on every picket line in America.

The day after the Toledo workers battled the cops and drove out the scabs. *Workers Vanguard* reporters visited Local 14's picket lines. In the next few days we passed out over 8,000 copies of our special supplement, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win." In Toledo, they know it. Holding up the last issue of *WV* with the article on Toledo, some workers complained to union officials, "Why the hell didn't you guys put this out?" And they told us their story.

Rip Up the Injunction!

Report from Toledo

Tuesday, May 22, at 6 p.m. we left Ford's River Rouge plant in Dearhorn to begin the 50-mile trip to Toledo where it had been flashed on the news that 4,000 workers had battled the Toledo police department to a stand-off in an effort to stop the scabbing at AP Parts, an auto supply shop.

Midnight and raining outside the AP plant. We approached the picket line where eight to ten guys were standing around a fire burning in a trash can. The road is strewn with rocks, pieces of pavement, and the remains of glass from smashed windshields. It's a battlefield. One sign on a makeshift table says, "Goon Squad: A threat to your life, liberty & pursuit of happiness."

We told them we are from Detroit. Two guys from Ford's and two from *Workers Vanguard*, the paper that fights for working people. "You got to play hardball to win," and you've been playing hardhall and you won. The pickets are very pissed at the cowardly security guards who hide behind not one hut two chain link fences. Both were built special for the strike.

Things were peaceful on Monday until the cops started in on tear gassing the demonstrators. Even hitting people in the head with tear gas canisters fired from their guns. Then there were the wooden bullets, fired from guns similar to the tear gas guns. This was the first we had heard of it—there was no mention in the bourgeois press about any wooden bullets being fired. They leave huge welts where you get hit. In Northern Ireland the cops have killed people using rubber bullets.

The strikers here know about how Ray Phillips was murdered on the picket line during the Greyhound strike. And they remember the 1934 strike in Toledo, where for a week the workers battled the National Guard in the streets and won.

There are less than a dozen pickets, and they suggest that we go look at

Toledo Union Journal

Jeep transport—a "workers' tank"—blocks Toledo AP Parts plant gate as strikers battle scabherding cops.

something they are all especially proud of. An 8x8 railroad tie through the windshield of one of Nuckols' trucks. Two cop cars arrive. They try to intimidate the pickets, but there is only contempt for the scabs in blue. The cops lost on Monday.

We get some buttons that support AP strikers. At every plant in the city there are workers wearing this button. The AP workforce is overwhelmingly white, mostly older. Many guys have 25, 26, 28 years in the plant—even one with 29 years and 10 months seniority. And the company wants to do away with 30 and out! The company pushed these guys beyond endurance. They worked for two months without a contract. They didn't want to strike. The workers even went back with a *35 percent* pay cut—*$5.84 an hour* in wages and benefits lost. But the company kept pushing. Putnam and Deming, the AP bosses, laid off a hunch, then tried to beat them out of their unemployment money. Finally the AP workers took to the streets, and then it was something else.

The company was ready for a strike. They had food and cots brought in for preparation. The bosses want to bust the union, period. So they brought in Nuckols, Inc. These rent-a-cops in their black windbreakers have broken strikes from Tennessee to Michigan. As Leon Trotsky wrote 50 years ago, the capitalists' private armies of armed goons are the nucleus of fascist bands. And these thugs are doing their best to imitate the infamous Black Legions, hired killers backed hy the likes of Henry Ford, who were responsible for the deaths of over 50 union organizers during 1933-36. In the late '30s, the UAW's Flying Squads ran the fascists out of town. Nuckols, Inc. deserves the same fate today.

On the news there is the announcement of a mayor's task force to put an end to the strike. The mayor, Donna Owens, is a Republican. Many workers in Toledo have Mondale buttons or bumper stickers. These guys ought to talk to the coal miners about the way Carter and Mondale used Taft-Hartley to go after the miners during the coal strike of '78. The miners ignored the federal injunctions, the marshals, and kept their picket lines. But the Democrats' main weapon is that they have the labor fakers in their pocket. And that's going to be the big political problem in Toledo, too.

Downtown on Tuesday night is another rally, this one for construction workers. One hundred fifty workers attend. Last Wednesday was a mass picket at the Sun Oil refinery: 200 pickets. By Friday, the judge limited picketing to six pickets at only three of the eleven gates. At Sun, they had scabs stay inside to operate the plant. All over Toledo are little strikes. The workers are tired of being pushed around. "They think they are being smart going after the unions," one worker said. "But they are making the unions into one fist."

Eighteen of the 41 people arrested were from Jeep. Workers at the Jeep plant had known for several days that the solidarity march was going to happen. Monday comes and mysteriously the first shift on the CJ line at Jeep is sent home early at 1:30 p.m. Immediately the word went out: It's "Operation Grah-A-Scab," are you going? We're playing a game of ball with the scabs up at AP, everyone bring your bats. The same process seems to have taken place at the other plants. Workers at General Motors HydraMatic Division got the call a half hour later, and soon just about every factory in Toledo knew about the demonstration. At Teledyne they had a phone tree.

People began to arrive at AP around 3 o'clock. At first there were no cops, only the Nuckols guards who immediately scurried for cover. They were behind their two fences, with several video cameras, special listening microphones and the watchtower on the roof. Plus a helicopter which Deming seems to get his jollies off by riding around in. By 3:45 p.m. there was a large congregation of workers shouting at the scabs and milling around. Then someone commandeered three Jeep semis which are used for transporting cars to the storage area.

One truck came driving up with two others behind held in reserve. The strikers are ready. They want to go inside and rout the scabs. At first no one knows which side the rig is on. Maybe it's a scab truck to run them over. But when the strikers realize it's theirs, 30-50 workers pile on and the truck charges up to the front gate...and then stalls! The workers began rocking the truck. They were literally inches from busting open the way to a plant occupation, to drive the scabs and goons out. But there was no class-struggle leadership.

Now the situation changes. The plant must he blockaded to stop the scabs from coming out. So the workers *picked up the truck* and moved it eight feet to block the entrance. Then at about 4:15 p.m., "Bang!" Suddenly the tear gas goes off and the cops attack. They tried to split the workers. Some were hit in the head with the tear gas canisters and it

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WV Photos

Nuckols, Inc. goons (right) find scabherding dangerous to their health. At left: Railroad tie smashes Nuckols van.

Down With the Ayatollahs! Down With the Ba'athists!

For Revolutionary Defeatism in Iran/Iraq War!

The four-year-old Iran/Iraq war has become one of the bloodiest arenas of mutual slaughter in our times: 250,000 killed on the Iranian side and 100,000 Iraqis. This is equivalent to 1.5 million Americans killed. It is estimated that every family in Iraq has lost at least one man. In Iran, too, millions of children have lost their fathers, wives their husbands and mothers their sons in this catastrophe inflicted upon them by their reactionary rulers.

As the war drags on interminably, both the Imam Khomeini and the Ba'athist colonel Saddam Hussein have resorted to ever more barbaric practices. The Iranians have used young boys, some only eleven, in human wave assaults on entrenched Iraqi positions and also to clear minefields. "We have so few tanks," one Iranian officer explained. These boys are roped together to prevent them from deserting. For its part, the Iraqis are using mustard gas and the Nazi-invented Tabun nerve gas against the human wave assaults. This is the first known use of this nerve gas, and the first use of mustard gas since Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia in the 1930s.

The horrors of war are also the breeding ground for social revolution. And if ever two bloody regimes deserve to be swept away by their own people, it is Ba'athist Iraq and Khomeini's Iran. Yet at the outbreak of this war the main organizations of the Iranian left—the Islamic "populist" Mujahedin, the petty-bourgeois radical Fedayeen and the pro-Moscow Stalinist Tudeh party—*supported* their "own" reactionary rulers. Likewise, the Western left generally supported Khomeini's Iran against Ba'athist Iraq. This represented a continuation and deepening of their enthusiasm for the "Islamic revolution." When the Ayatollah Khomeini overthrew the butcher shah in February 1979, virtually the entire left in Iran and internationally hailed his clerical-reactionary regime as "progressive" or even "revolutionary."

The international Spartacist tendency (iSt) uniquely warned *at the time* that the mullahs in power would seek to reimpose the veil, restore barbaric punishments (e.g., flogging, amputations), suppress the national minorities and crush the workers movement and left as ruthlessly as did the shah. Our slogan was "Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs!" and our perspective was "For Proletarian Revolution in Iran!" There was nothing abstract or utopian about this line. Had Iran's combative and historically pro-Communist proletariat, especially the strategic oil workers, come forward *independently*, challenging the mullahs' claim to be "the opposition" to the shah's bloody rule, it could have united behind it all the oppressed and exploited of Iranian society. What prevented a revolutionary dynamic from emerging from the massive and many-sided opposition to the shah in 1978-79 was above all the Iranian left's prostration before the Khomeini-led "mass movement."

Of course, when the Khomeini fanatics won and began to massacre Kurdish villagers, smash Arab oil workers strikes, bloody the left and stone to death so-called "sinners," even some of the more enthusiastic partisans of the Islamic Republic began belatedly to distance themselves from the mullah dictatorship. In 1981 the Khomeini regime crushed the Mujahedin and its Fedayeen allies. And last year the ayatollacracy moved to annihilate even the slavishly loyal Tudeh. So today some of the same Iranian leftists abroad, who in 1978-79 broke up Spartacist meetings chanting "Long Live Khomeini!", are now chanting "Death to Khomeini!" and "Khomeini Is the New Shah!"

The signal exception is Jack Barnes' idiosyncratic Socialist Workers Party (SWP), now the last of the mullah lovers. Cindy Jaquith's article on the "U.S. left and the Iraq-Iran war" (*Intercontinental Press*, 14 May) begins with one of the few truthful statements to be found in the SWP press recently: "The *Militant* is virtually the only paper in the U.S. workers movement that defends Iran...." In fact, the Iranian and Western left has quietly shifted from supporting Iran in the war with Iraq to pacifistic neutralism, calling for "a just peace." For example, the organ of the Iranian Students Association in the U.S., which supports the Fedayeen, writes:

> "We ask all freedom loving and humanitarian people of the world to show their solidarity with the people of both Iran and Iraq by protesting against the continuation of this unjust war and by condemning the military aid and the sending of arms for these reactionary governments....
> "Therefore, it is our united protest and efforts which can force these governments to stop this unjust war."
> —*Iran in Resistance*,
> May-June 1984

As if Khomeini and Hussein can be influenced by humanitarian protest! We stand for *revolutionary defeatism*, not pacifism nor above-the-battle neutralism. The task of revolutionaries is *not* to pressure these reactionary governments to conclude a "just peace" but to *utilize the war*—the masses' desperation for peace, the disruption of the normal functioning of society, the destruction of the bourgeois military cadre, the possibilities of mutinies in the army—to overthrow their own capitalist state. As we wrote a few months after the outbreak of this squalid, senseless and unbelievably bloody war:

> "A defeat for either side could open revolutionary possibilities for the Iranian and Iraqi proletariat not seen in years. Given the Communists' historic strength among the strategic Iraqi oil workers, a humiliating outcome for Hussein's great military gamble could well produce a proletarian-centered popular explosion. As for Iran, a military defeat would give a revolutionary proletarian vanguard an exceptional opportunity to break the laboring masses from the chauvinism and obscurantism of the Shi'ite clergy. This is why revolutionary defeatism is not simply an internationalist obligation but the key to the liberation of the Iranian and Iraqi masses."
> —"Iran Left and the Test of War," *WV* No. 271, 2 January 1981 ■

Persian Gulf ...

(continued from page 3)

training, these backward and degenerate regimes of the Arabian peninsula cannot defend themselves. And that leaves only the U.S. armed forces to shore them up. The Soviet Union has made it clear that the direct intervention of U.S. combat forces in the Persian Gulf region, so close to the southern border of the USSR, would have "dangerous consequences."

Tripwire for WW III

In short, because of imperialist designs, the Persian Gulf region has become a taut nuclear tripwire for World War III. It is not so much a sudden cutoff of oil à la 1973 which now worries Washington and its allies. There is currently an oil glut and many countries (including the U.S. and Japan) hold large reserves. But in Washington's strategic viewpoint, dominated by war preparations against the Soviet Union, it is vital to have "friendly" regimes in the Persian Gulf region.

To ensure this the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force (RDF) stands waiting with nuclear arms in hand. The British-owned island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean now serves as base for the RDF. Washington is angling to get the strategic deep-water port of Trincomalee in Sri Lanka as well as a base in Saudi Arabia itself. A military expert for the Federation of American Scientists, Christopher Paine, described the role of the RDF in U.S. plans for nuclear war against the Soviet Union:

> "The RDF has at its disposal some portion of the roughly 17,000 tactical nuclear warheads that are part of the entire US force structure....
> "There is a very great risk, in other words, of US military intervention [in the Persian Gulf] leading to confrontation with the Soviet Union which quickly threatens to become nuclear. Prevailing military logic dictates that a threat to begin the process of nuclear escalation must be made 'credible' by regional and ultimately intercontinental capacity to destroy preemptively an opponent's nuclear arsenal....
> "This bizarre and apocalyptic vision provides an all-too-plausible linkage between the prospective stability of the House of Saud and the Reagan administration's decision to produce and deploy the MX missile."

Thus Paine concludes that "US military planners have, in effect, wired up the Saudi throne, and those of the other ruling families in the area, to a nuclear tripwire" (*MERIP Reports*, January 1983). Should the Persian Gulf war escalate into an imperialist attack on the USSR, all class-conscious workers must defend the Soviet Union.

For its part, the Soviet government has rightly warned against "the amassment of U.S. warships and warplanes in the Persian Gulf area" (*New York Times*, 8 March). Yet the Kremlin's cynical efforts to buy friends and allies among the reactionary and mutually hostile bourgeois regimes in the region have *increased* the danger of a wider war. In this way the Stalinist bureaucracy undermines the defense of the Soviet Union, which continues to embody the social gains of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution.

While publicly denouncing the "senseless war" between Iran and Iraq, Moscow has supplied arms to Iraq, while its ally North Korea has armed Iran. Everything from MIGs to accurate SS-21 ground-to-ground missiles have been given to the Baghdad Ba'athists even though they bloodily suppressed the Iraqi Communist Party, a mass party based on the strategically important oil workers. In Iran the pro-Moscow Tudeh party tried to woo Khomeini and his "Islamic revolution," going so far as to actively support the suppression of the leftist Fedayeen. This did not prevent the ayatollahs from executing top Tudeh leaders last year or from arming (along with the CIA) the Afghan feudalists fighting the Soviet army.

The only progressive solution to the escalating Persian Gulf war is proletarian revolution, from Iran to Iraq and Saudi Arabia, sweeping away the ayatollahs, sultans, princes, kings and Ba'athist colonels to create a Socialist Federation of the Near East. Only in this framework can there be the liberation of the toiling masses and national justice for the many oppressed nationalities in the region. This requires the building of Trotskyist parties in this region, sections of a reborn Fourth International. Such a perspective is interlocked with proletarian socialist revolution in the imperialist centers of the United States, West Europe and Japan which can remove the danger of nuclear holocaust facing mankind and provide the industrial base for a world socialist economy. All class-conscious workers and enemies of imperialism must demand: U.S. hands off the Persian Gulf! ■

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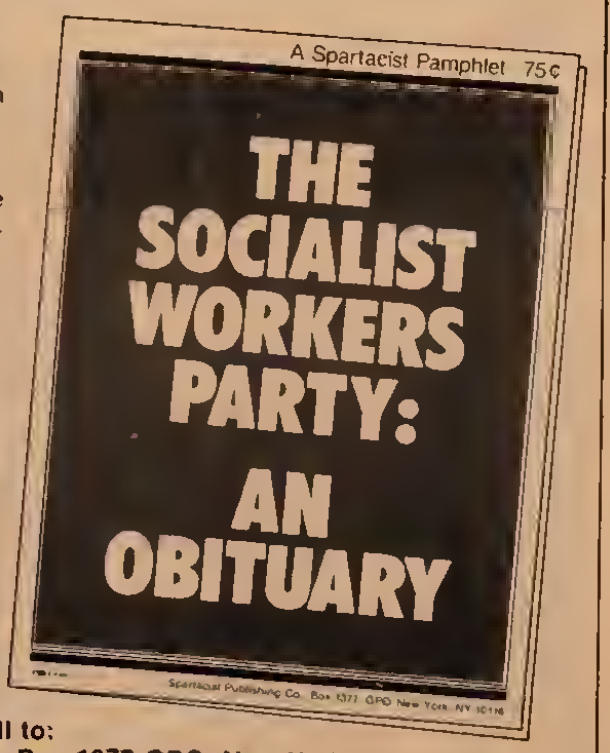

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Traitors Sakharov...

(continued from page 1)

day, no matter what happens to Sakharov." The bourgeois press has begun printing rumors that he has died, and indeed, Sakharov could be worth even more to the West dead, as a supposed martyr of "Soviet totalitarianism." This "free world" hullahaloo over the Sakharovs is a patent attempt not only to defame the Soviet Union but to blackmail Moscow into handing over to the West the father of the Soviet H-bomb, who may well have knowledge of vital military secrets.

The imperialists are not screaming for the freedom of Nelson Mandela, the black South African liberation fighter locked up for more than a quarter of a century in the Robben Island prison fortress, whose wife Winnie Mandela is banished to an impoverished rural "bantustan" and forbidden to speak publicly. No, these "democrats" brandish economic threats in the case of a Sakharov, who is a *traitor* to his country and the October Revolution. He performed great services to the Soviet Union, developing its capacity to defend itself against the imperialists' nuclear domination, for which he was duly rewarded. But today he actively campaigns for the U.S. to develop nuclear first-strike weapons and to blackmail the Soviet people with grain boycotts. We say: Try the traitors Sakharov!

The Sakharov Plot

While the U.S. claims that Sakharov is starving himself to death to press demands for medical treatment in the West for his wife, the statements have not specified exactly what is wrong with Ms. Bonner, alluding only vaguely to a heart condition, nor where it is she wants to go. (The Soviets insist that Ms. Bonner has no need to seek medical treatment in the West as she has access to the best clinics of Gorky and to the central clinical hospital of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.) And a May 30 TASS statement denied Sakharov was on a hunger strike, claiming he "takes regular meals and leads an active way of life." Ms. Bonner, they added, is not hospitalized and "does housework and types a lot on her typewriter," adding sardonically that her writings go straight to the U.S. embassy in Moscow.

The Soviet statement reiterated earlier charges that the whole business had nothing to do with her health, but was part of a plot cooked up in the American embassy where Bonner would take "asylum" while Sakharov began his hunger strike. U.S. officials at first screamed the Sakharov plot story was a total fabrication. But on May 18 Washington admitted that copies of letters to the U.S. ambassador from Yelena Bonner detailing plans for the hunger strike and Bonner's temporary asylum had been left in an embassy car. It was also confirmed that American embassy officials had regularly kept in touch with Bonner, and that on April 12 when the letters were found, American diplomats had driven her to a railroad station in Moscow where she caught a train for Gorky.

Behind the smokescreen about Ms. Bonner's health, for the past year the Sakharovs have been trying to defect to the West. A *New York Times* article of 12 May 1983 reported that Yelena Bonner had told Western reporters that the couple was prepared to emigrate to end the "nightmarish existence" they had been living since Sakharov was banished to Gorky in 1980. But TASS said at the time:

> "It has been repeatedly pointed out in the Soviet press that, by virtue of his scientific activity, Sakharov is a person possessing important state and military secrets. For this reason and in the interests of national security, he is deprived of the possibility to go abroad. This ban stems from Soviet legislation and is the sovereign right of any state."

Just imagine what would happen, by way of comparison, if an eminent Israeli physicist working on their nuclear weapons tried to obtain asylum in Syria! And when American atomic scientists Alfred Savant and Joel Barr left the U.S. at the height of the Rosenberg witchhunt hysteria, they were labeled spies by the U.S. on the basis of no evidence at all. In addition to Sakharov's specific knowledge of military secrets, his intimate familiarity with Soviet defenses, based on 20 years' work at the highest levels of Soviet military industry, would be of incalculable aid to imperialism. Even the *New York Times* admitted that Sakharov has knowledge that "would probably still be of major value to foreign governments."

Nuclear Blackmail

The anti-Soviet propaganda mills like to present Sakharov's appeals to the liberal intelligentsia of the West. In 1975 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. This, of course, has nothing whatsoever to do with peace, but was in fact an award for contributions to the anti-Soviet war drive, as shown by its award two years earlier to imperialist mass murderer Henry Kissinger. The bourgeois media preferred Sakharov, having had certain difficulty selling an open worshipper of the tsar like Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, a man who thinks houses should be no more than two stories high, who praises the anti-Semitic Black Hundreds and denounces the "decadent West." In fact, however, in recent years Sakharov has become so reactionary that his views are as anti-Soviet as those who want to return to the days of the obscurantism of the Russian Orthodox Church when the knout of the tsarist autocracy reigned supreme.

AP

In 1977 Sakharov flaunts letter from U.S. imperialist chief Jimmy Carter, an opening shot in the anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign.

Andrei Sakharov has long been the U.S. imperialists' favored anti-Soviet "dissident." Just weeks after Jimmy Carter took office in 1976, Sakharov became the linchpin of the Democrats' anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade. Blustering State Department warnings were followed by a well-publicized "private" Carter letter to Sakharov. In January 1980 Sakharov really emerged as the imperialists' darling as he called for an Olympic boycott and for the West to take steps to force Russia to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan. A Western correspondent reported the Sakharovs lamenting the "weakness" of U.S. "resolve in the face of Soviet totalitarianism." It was then that the Kremlin, complaining that Sakharov had blabbed military secrets in his innumerable chitchats with Western correspondents, stripped him of his various medals and sent him into internal exile in Gorky.

TASS

Soviet military power has prevented U.S. imperialism from igniting nuclear holocaust. Sakharov, father of Soviet H-bomb, would gladly spill military secrets to Pentagon and CIA.

But it was Sakharov's open letter in the Summer 1983 issue of *Foreign Affairs* magazine which really showed this counterrevolutionary's traitorous perfidy. Here Sakharov came out for Reagan's plans to build the MX missile, the first-strike weapon against the USSR, as well as for U.S. deployment of Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Europe! This places him to the right of the capitalist Democratic Party mainstream. "If it is necessary to spend a few billion dollars on MX missiles to alter this situation, then perhaps this is what the West must do," he wrote, arguing the imperialists should continue the arms race for "ten or fifteen years." *This is concrete aid to the enemy.* Reagan used the Sakharov article to whip up support in Congress for the MX, whose purpose is to give the Americans the capability to engage in nuclear blackmail, annihilate Soviet cities, and pose the destruction of the Soviet state itself. The Sakharovs should be tried as traitors!

The mass bloodletting of the Stalin regime is a thing of the past; today's political opponents are now frequently confined in the straitjacket and tranquilizer nightmare world of the mental hospital. Some, such as pre-eminent Soviet historian Roy Medvedev, are kept in isolation from the outside world, with a 24-hour guard posted outside their door. As Trotskyists, whose forebears were the prime target of Stalin's campaign of slander, suppression and murder, we know full well that the Kremlin bureaucracy knows only the methods of frame-ups, mindless intimidation, anti-Semitic slander and similar sledgehammer techniques. But our communist opposition to the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Union is based on unflinching defense of the gains of the October Revolution. We insist that the USSR has the right to take measures to defend itself. At bottom it is the bureaucracy itself—with its conciliation of imperialism and commitment to "peaceful coexistence"—which has historically posed the greatest danger to the defense of the Russian Revolution.

The Stalinists frequently portray all dissenters as agents of imperialism. Indeed, with rare exceptions, the current generation of dissidents have become increasingly and blatantly pro-imperialist, that is to say, counterrevolutionary. They even go so far as to pass on state secrets, as was the case with Anatoly Shcharansky, the Zionist computer programmer found guilty of treason in July 1978. While the liberals shrieked in outrage at our headline, "Shcharansky Is Guilty as Hell!" (*WV* No. 212, 28 July 1978), we insisted that was literally the case, even attested to by bourgeois journalists who reported Shcharansky had passed on plans of secret defense plants. But for the rest of such Soviet dissidents, no matter how reactionary and anti-socialist their political views, as long as they are not actively engaged in attempting to overthrow the gains of the revolution, we would as a norm uphold their freedom of expression. These Trojan horses for Reaganite imperialism inside the Soviet bloc should be fought *politically*.

The Sakharovs have been treated with kid gloves. Far from being confined in the cellars of Lubianka or the frozen *gulag*, their movements have been limited to the city of Gorky which is, while off limits to foreigners, no Siberian tundra but a thriving metropolis of one million, 250 miles east of Moscow. Here they have a four-room apartment, and with Sakharov's membership in the Soviet Academy of Sciences, access to all the special stores. Despite Sakharov's penchant for hunger strikes for personal ends, Moscow has, if anything, been rather flexible in this case. In 1981 the Kremlin even relented to their demands to allow Yelena Bonner's daughter to emigrate and join her husband-by-proxy in the U.S., where he was a graduate student at Brandeis. And this while Sakharov has been beating the drums for Reagan's war drive, and Bonner hobnobbing endlessly with Western "correspondents," who almost to a man are connected with the CIA, MI5, or what have you.

All this hue and cry is part of an imperialist propaganda barrage against what Reagan calls the Soviet "evil empire." Headlines proclaim "Sakharov's Kin Urge West to Act for His Freedom." *Extortion*, not freedom, is their aim. Compare this to the reception accorded the great Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky when he was booted out of the Soviet Union by Stalin. He was confined to a Turkish island, his requests for asylum, a historic democratic tradition, turned down by virtually every Western "democracy." Even requests to visit Germany for medical treatment were turned down. "I could appreciate the full advantages of democracy only as a corpse," wrote Trotsky in the last chapter ("The Planet Without a Visa") of his 1929 autobiography, *My Life*. In contrast, he noted, the toppled shah of Persia and the king of Afghanistan had no difficulties obtaining asylum from the crowned heads of Europe. Nor would the "dissident" Sakharov.

It is perfectly clear that Dr. Sakharov would blab everything he knows to the West. Even today he has valuable secrets which haven't necessarily decayed with time. And we have a modest proposal. Since the Reaganites claim their only concern is "humanitarian" and not strategic-military, the Kremlin might suggest a simple trade of "aging" scientists: Sakharov in exchange for Edward Teller, the father of the American hydrogen bomb and now a prime mover of Reagan's plans for the "Star Wars" program to annihilate the Soviets from space. ■

Reinstate Anti-Fascist Postal Workers!

Beat Back McCarthyite Purge in Canadian Union!

This stinks! Last month seven Toronto postal workers were *expelled* from the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) for defending their union and the labor movement against William Lau Richardson, Canada's most notorious union-busting fascist and agent provocateur. At the same time Richardson, the self-declared "intelligence director" of the Canadian Ku Klux Klan, and his Nazi sidekick George Graham are trying to put two of these postal militants, Paul Schneider and Michael Mares, behind bars for defending a labor-endorsed abortion rights demonstration from these two fascists.

Labor support has poured in across Canada for the anti-fascist unionists. Ten union locals, 86 labor officials and more than 300 individual unionists have endorsed the demand of the Committee to Defend Anti-Fascist Unionists for dropping all charges against Schneider and Mares. Recent endorsements have included the Toronto and Vancouver locals of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), the Vancouver local of LCUC, Scarborough GM UAW Local 303, Iron Workers Local 721, and the president of Local 721 and vice president of the Ontario Federation of Labour, John Donaldson.

Scandalously, however, the national president of the Letter Carriers, Robert McGarry, not only sabotaged LCUC support for this vital case but threw Mares, Schneider and five fellow unionists who supported their case out of the union! Such an undisguised McCarthyite purge hasn't been seen in Canadian labor since the Cold War red scares. An April 10 leaflet distributed by the seven to their local explained what was behind this witchhunt:

> "...we put out a leaflet asking if there could be any relation to the fact that McGarry's brothers, Daniel and John McGarry, were the owners of Centurion Investigation Ltd. that hired Richardson to make bombs that were planted in the car of a UAW union official and a union organizer, to beat up organizers for the textile workers union. McGarry's answer: to put Schneider, Mares and the rest of us on trial two days before Richardson's trial of Schneider and Mares in the bosses' courts."

Testifying before his own kangaroo court Robert McGarry claimed he has no knowledge of the union-busting terror carried out by his brothers—despite headlines in the bourgeois press—and the fact that Daniel McGarry was jailed for his part in Centurion's dirty work and both Daniel and John McGarry received heavy fines. McGarry proceeded to testify that he would accept William Lau Richardson, Centurion's murderous union-busting bomb-maker and fascist mercenary, as a member of the LCUC!

McGarry is hell-bent on creating a union whose only "good" members are fascists and scabs, and where militant defenders of labor are chucked out. In their own local Schneider and Mares have had to combat open defenders of Richardson and other fascist causes like the Canadian Anti-Soviet Action Committee, which encompasses the now defunct fascist Western Guard and the Nazis. Recently an outraged membership had to vote down the attempt of the Toronto LCUC bureaucrats to readmit an expelled scab who had tried to run over a shop steward on a picket line! But when the seven union militants came out to the May 17 meeting of their local, as was their right under the union constitution which mandates the right of appeal before expulsion, goons sent out by the Toronto Local 1 picards kept them out.

It's no coincidence that the same day the witchhunting conviction expelling these militants came down Robert McGarry pulled a Doug Fraser and announced he was taking a seat on the Canada Post Corporation board of directors. The LCUC chief has made a career out of servile collaboration with postal management. The LCUC national executive even made a movie about it entitled "The Other Way"! The LCUC witchhunters went after the seven Toronto militants *because* they fought to defend the union against union-busting and fascist terror by mobilizing the power of labor in its own defense, and because several of these militants are well-known supporters of the Trotskyist League of Canada, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency. Now, like Fraser on the Chrysler board, McGarry sits as an open company cop policing the union for the postal bosses. This was not lost on the rabid labor-haters and red-baiters of the *Toronto Sun*, which gloated in a May 16 column: "Those who crave postal peace should applaud" McGarry's appointment. Two days later another *Sun* columnist wrote:

> "Even the old trouble spots (Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto) are far less cranky and volatile. The relatively small number of Trotskyites who made class-warfare chatter the lingo of the post office as workplace haven't disappeared but they're more muted and seem to have less influence on the rank and file."

McGarry's witchhunt and Richardson's frame-up are not going unopposed either within the LCUC or in the Canadian labor movement as a whole. When McGarry tried to stop Vancouver LCUC Local 12 from defending Schneider and Mares, they told him to shove it and endorsed the demand to drop the charges against these two anti-fascist unionists. Five Local 12 executive board members sent an urgent protest to the national trial board denouncing the "lack of national [LCUC] support for Bros. Schneider and Mares—who regardless of their political views deserve our support in defending themselves against the likes of William Lau Richardson at a labor-sanctioned demonstration. We feel that this trial board hearing is unwarranted and that the timing is unfortunate considering that these Brothers have a civil suit pending."

On the eve of the national convention of the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC, the national union federation), the Toronto CUPW local passed a motion condemning McGarry's despicable conduct (see box). The Toronto CUPW motion and the original leaflet exposing the relationship between the McGarrys and fascist union-buster Richardson were distributed to more than half the 2,300 delegates at the CLC national convention held in Montreal this past week. Many delegates and officials at the convention, outraged by McGarry's scandalous McCarthyite witchhunt, endorsed the Schneider and Mares case and took bundles of leaflets and copies of the Toronto CUPW motion to raise these issues in their locals.

Overturn the expulsions! Reinstate the LCUC Seven! Stop union-busting fascist Richardson! Drop the charges against Schneider and Mares! Toronto LCUC members need a fighting leadership, not a sellout artist who fronts for the worst enemies of the working people. ■

Spartacist Canada

Rally in Toronto defends postal worker militants victimized for defending labor-backed demonstration against fascist provocation.

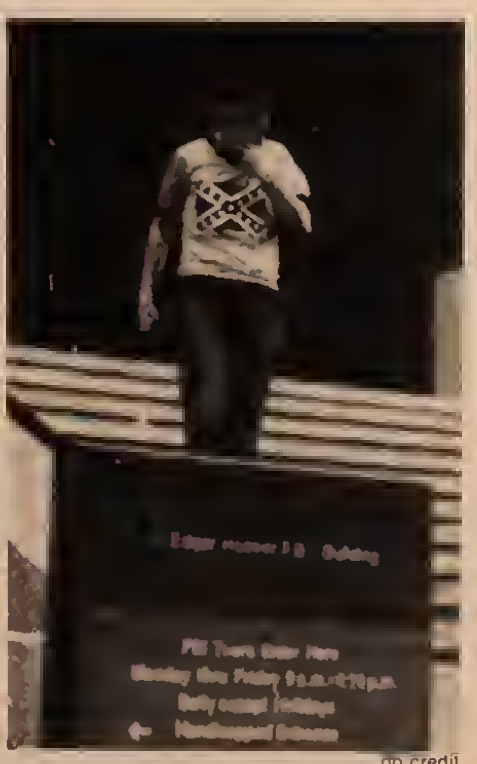
Motion Passed by Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Toronto Local, 27 May

WHEREAS:
LCUC national president Robert McGarry has had seven LCUC Local 1 members expelled from the LCUC because they fought to defend their union and the labor movement against the dangerous KKK union-buster William Lau Richardson by building labor support for LCUC members Paul Schneider and Mike Mares who are threatened with ten years in jail on frame-up charges brought by Richardson;

WHEREAS:
the expulsion of Schneider, Mares and five other LCUC Local 1 members weakens all of labor in the fight against our most deadly enemies like Richardson;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:
that the CUPW Toronto local
a) demands the immediate reinstatement of these brothers and sisters (Paul Schneider, Mike Mares, John Agius, Audrey Minton, Gerry Docherty, Jane Kirby, Ron Gaudet) as members of the LCUC;
b) recognizes that Robert McGarry's conduct both in expelling these unionists and in regard to the deadly union-busting Centurion Investigation Ltd., owned by his two brothers, is incompatible with the elementary principles of decency and labor militancy.

Dangerous Fascist



no credit

Canadian Nazi hoodlum George Graham wears Confederate flag T-shirt walking out of FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C.

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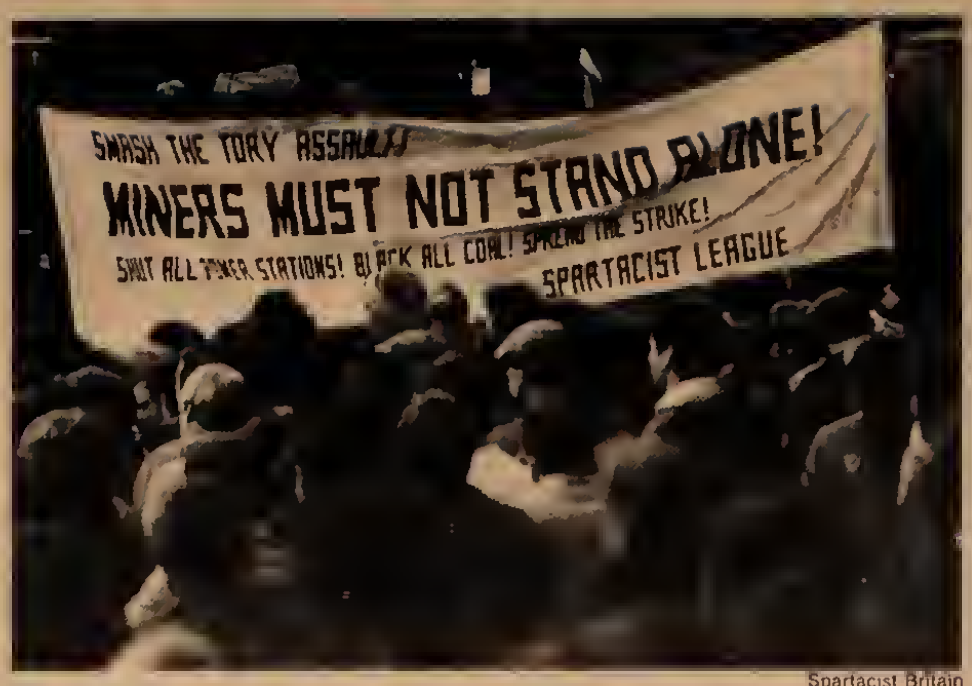
British Miners...

(continued from page 5)

picked off in isolation hy a vicious, well-armed police force. It is absolutely necessary to organise disciplined trade union defence guards as part of the mass mobilisations of union power. Militant miners must seek to initiate elected strike committees in every locality and at every level—drawing in militants who want to spread the strike from other unions, from the women's support committees, from the minority communities which have years of brutal experience at the hands of racist police terror.

Why isn't it happening? The reformist misleaders of the labour movement would rather trample on the most elementary dictates of trade union solidarity than confront the capitalist state whose arse they lick. Len Murray *openly* denounces even the token day of action called by Yorkshire and Humberside and by South Wales Regional TUCs. CIA-loving anti-communists Eric Hammond and Alastair Graham attack the miners in the language of the Tory front bench. Neil Kinnock and the Labour Party leadership spend all their time trying to force the NUM into sellout negotiations with the NCB—when they're not busy ballot-mongering and denouncing strikers' "violence."

And the vaunted "lefts" do not even make a pretence of covering their tracks anymore. "Left" MPs like Tony Benn have not uttered a word of opposition to the Labour leadership's ballot-mongering and violence-baiting. And for all their words of "solidarity" the TUC "lefts" act in practice no differently than right wingers like the ISTC's [steel union] Sirs. Jimmy Knapp and Ray Buckton shove British Rail's insulting 4.9 percent wage offer down the throats of railworkers in a desperate attempt to avoid any industrial action alongside the miners. Scottish T&G [Transport and General Workers] leaders scuttle the threat of a Scottish dock strike against blacklegs unloading scab coal in their ports while denying it has anything to do with the miners strike. BL Longbridge convenor Jack Adams, a prominent Communist Party supporter, makes no bones about supervising a scab operation in coking coal.



Spartacist Britain

Spartacist League/Britain calls for expanding the strike as miners mass outside union delegate conference in Sheffield, April 19.

The labour misleaders would do anything rather than rely on the power we have, the organised might of the labour movement. Lobbies of Parliament like the one proposed for June 7 are no answer to anything. Who are we going to lobby—the Tories? the SDP? open strikebreaker Peter Shore? Let those Labour MPs who want to stand with the miners come out to Orgreave and call other workers out! And while the cops bash heads and the MPs make speeches, rumours fly of a "compromise" with the NCB. Why are the negotiations taking place *in secret*? Every striker must know what discussions are taking place about the future of their jobs, their union and their communities. Scargill's perspective of pressuring Parliament (through another Labour government) and relying on protectionist import controls and subsidies to "save" the coal industry (the "Plan for Coal") is a dead-end. The only way to defend jobs and stop closures under capitalism is through class struggle, for a shorter working week at no loss in pay. And British industry can only be saved when it is ripped out of the hands of this corrupt capitalist class through workers revolution. Thatcher/MacGregor have a "Plan for Coal"—it's called breaking the NUM!

The ruling class is intent on a bloody victory designed to set the labour movement back by decades. If they're prepared to plunge the whole world into thermonuclear holocaust to "roll back Communism," of course they'll plunge the coalfields into a police reign of terror to roll back the workers' gains at home. This is a struggle to defend the very existence of effective trade unionism. *The miners must not continue to stand alone!* Railworkers: tear up Knapp/Buckton's sellout deal! Steelworkers: dump Sirs' backstabbing—the way to save steel jobs is on the picket line! Dockers: shut down the scab operations at your ports! If the chief battalions of the trade union movement come out in joint strike action alongside the miners, they can still spearhead a counteroffensive which turns the Tory rampage into a humiliating rout. Dump the class traitors! Defend the unions! Rail, steel, power, docks—join the strike now! Build massive mobilisations of labour and minorities to smash the cop/strikebreaking terror! Bring the Iron Lady to her knees!

Spartacist League
31 May 1984

"Hardball" A Big Hit...

(continued from page 2)

"when the guys found out we were leaving Friday morning they tried every argument they could think of to get us to stay, including making up all kinds of 'big actions' planned for the weekend which we would just kick ourselves for missing. We said we'd be sure to make it back for a demonstration July 1, the one-year anniversary of the strike, and they invited *WV* to come back then with enough people to enter the baseball team playoffs."

The *WV* team's visit to the Arizona copper strikers even got us a mention in the *New York Times* (3 June); the article, surprisingly sympathetic to the copper strikers, noted that:

> "Another echo of the copper union's stormy past has been the appearance here of representatives from left-wing political groups such as the Spartacist League and the Socialists Workers Party, bringing with them the fiery language of class struggle and workers' democracy."

The team sold 13 full-year subs.

Our comrades were heartened by the warm response we got from the copper miners in Arizona. When an older Spartacist comrade heard the stories from the returning sub team, he observed that it's the message of "that old-time class struggle" now coming full circle. Our "Hardball" article is neither new nor particularly creative; it's a restatement of some crucial lessons of the class struggle in this country, lessons learned in sweat and blood by our predecessors of the revolutionary workers movement, and particularly the revolutionary syndicalists of the IWW (Industrial Workers of the World), the old "Wobblies."

The Wobblies occupy a place of honor as the pioneering industrial unionists and working-class revolutionists. Their understanding of union struggle as a class war between labor and capital attracted the best militants of their generation and was carried into the communist movement by men like James P. Cannon. And the metal miners in the West, in places like Bisbee, Arizona, were a stronghold for the Wobblies. Jim Cannon, a founder of the Communist Party and then the founding leader of the Socialist Workers Party, which was for many years the Trotskyist organization in this country, learned in the Wobbly school of class struggle crucial lessons which have been passed along to us, the Trotskyists of today. This experience is what we sought to capture in the "Hardball" article. We seek to be the revolutionary memory of the working class, to forge the indispensable revolutionary leadership which carries the lessons of working-class struggles forward to win final victory over capitalist exploitation and oppression. ■

Toledo...

(continued from page 7)

burns like a son of a hitch. Canisters were thrown back at the cops. Then the wooden bullets come out and the cops began firing on the workers who have never seen such things before. The cops wade in to take away the workers who were on the semi.

The police came up to workers and told them they were arrested. But hundreds of workers surrounded the cops and chanted "set him free." Several workers were released. The crowd began to chant, "Union, union, union!" The workers were hot. They made sure that there were no AP strikers in sight: an elementary measure of precaution for those who are most vulnerable. The cops ignited the crowd with their tear gas, and "from then it was spontaneous combustion." The rocks were flying, over one, two sets of fences. A javelin smashed through the windshield of a Nuckols station wagon.

It's a stand-off. The crowd thins, and the cops pick up more workers for arrest because they do not move fast enough down the road. But they're afraid to move the scabs out and the cops and goons keep them locked inside until the next morning. Toledo workers know they won this round. On Tuesday there were contingents of workers dressed in their gear and lined up in gas stations along Detroit Ave. and in the suburbs waiting for the word to go back down to Matzinger Road. But the word never came.

The next day there were only four official pickets. The sergeant tells the picket captain that 12 management are going to come in. One picket, Charles Greenwade, a black man, is the only person walking the picket line. He is frustrated because he can't stop the scabs. But he can at least walk the line. So the cops jump and choke him. The deal was that no scabs would go in on Wednesday. But then ten squad cars arrive, and another 40-plus cars with at least 122 scabs! Some "deal"! They *all* have to be stopped to win this strike. That is what is posed now in Toledo. ■

Toledo cops choke auto worker in explosive AP Parts strike.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

S.F. Confederate Flag Trial Ends in Hung Jury

Hail Richard Bradley!

We print below the Spartacist League press release issued in San Francisco on June 4.

Today in SF Municipal Court, the trial of Richard Bradley—the black Spartacist candidate for Board of Supervisors in 1982, who twice in April tore down the Confederate flag in the Civic Center and then put up the Union battle flag of Fort Sumter—ended in a hung jury (8 to 4 for acquittal). Bradley, who was charged with "vandalism," said the trial vindicated him in exposing real racist crimes of Mayor Dianne Feinstein's administration: flying the flag of slavery and Ku Klux Klan terror for years over our city, and personally ordering the removal of the flag of victory over the slaveocracy—the Fort Sumter flag—and ripping it to shreds.

Bradley said, "I have welcomed this trial all along, and if the prosecutor wants a new trial, let's have it!" Tomorrow Bradley has another court date on more charges stemming from putting up the Fort Sumter flag.

The Spartacist League had said they would use the trial to show that "Dixie" Dianne Feinstein's pledge of allegiance to the Confederate flag was an act of conscious racism and an insult to every decent person in the city. And the trial did expose an attempt to cover up a racist conspiracy.

- Deputy mayor Rotea Gilford testified that the Fort Sumter garrison flag was taken down at the express order of Mayor Feinstein, and brought to the mayor's office. Trial evidence proved that the Union flag was shredded and thrown away.
- Under cross-examination, Tom Malloy, Recreation and Parks general manager, revealed that the city flew the Dixie flag in violation of its own policy not to fly the Confederate battle flag, a policy established by the Parks Commission in 1964 after a civil rights march had pulled the flag down.
- Witnesses testified to the use of the Confederate flag as an incitement to racist terror, not a historical artifact. Along with the swastika, the Confederate flag is used by the fascistic fringe of the anti-Soviet war drive, the KKK and the Nazis. Bradley's attorney, Partisan Defense Committee staff counsel Valeric West, tried to introduce into evidence the videotape of the 1979 Greensboro Massacre which shows the Klan and Nazis acting under these banners when they murdered five civil rights activists and leftists in cold blood. Judge Timothy A. Reardon denied the Greensboro film on the grounds it was "too good" and would "prejudice" the jury.
- The trial testimony showed that the Confederate flag is still a burning issue in the Bay Area. Bradley testified that race-baiting white police officers at the Northern Station where he was booked have posted up a picture of the notorious Richmond Police Department's racist "cowboys," clad in Western garb, carrying weapons and sporting the Dixie flag. The posting of this "cowboy" picture on the wall of the SF police station shows that for the SF police, the brutal racist "cowboys" are models. As Bradley's lawyer remarked in her summation, "One thing the 'cowboys' are not—they are not a historical society."
- Bradley testified that what he did was part of a fight against race-terror. "I don't think what I did was wrong.... I stopped San Francisco from becoming another Greensboro, or another Chattanooga, Tennessee, 1980, where Klansmen shot four black women just because they were black!"
- The D.A. failed in his effort to trivialize Bradley's act—openly and proudly proclaimed in court—as "vandalism." In her opening statement to the jury, attorney West explained that Bradley and the Spartacist League "acted because they understood that it was necessary that someone speak dramatically, that this flag so deeply offensive to many people should not fly in San Francisco because it is an incitement to racist terror." And she added that Ritchie "had to speak in the same way Rosa Parks had to speak when she sat in the front of the bus in Montgomery, Alabama. And he is no more guilty of the crime of vandalism."

The District Attorney and Mayor Feinstein had brought to trial more than Richard Bradley and the Marxist Spartacist League. In taking up the lost cause of the Confederate flag against the Union flag they had made an enemy of the whole course of American history. And in the end it was they who were on trial.

Important testimony came from an expert witness on the Civil War and black history, Mr. Joseph Hann, who spoke on the bloody history of the Confederate flag, banner of the slave-owners and of the Ku Klux Klan race-terrorists to this day. Other witnesses included Peter Woolston, General Executive Board member of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 6, who burned the Confederate flag Bradley tore down on April 15; Diana Coleman, who ran together with Bradley as Spartacist candidates for SF Board of Supervisors in 1982, making the flying of the Dixie flag at the Civic Center a major issue in their campaign; and Jeff Higgins, steering committee member of the Labor Black League for Social Defense, which acted together with the labor/socialist Spartacist League in removing the Confederate flag from the Civic Center.

On the stand, Bradley recounted early childhood experiences in segregated South Carolina, his involvement in the first class of black students who integrated the University of South Carolina, and his ten-year history as an activist and militant in the United Auto Workers. Bradley explained his past as a fighter for all workers and stated his belief that the promise of black equality, unfulfilled by the Civil War, will require integrated class struggle leading to a third American Revolution, a workers revolution, to bring about socialism. ■

Finish the Civil War!

WV Photos

Dixie flag no longer flies over S.F. Civic Center: Richard Bradley clad in the uniform of a Union soldier rips down the Confederate flag for the first time on April 15.

We Tore Down the Flag of Slavery!

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 357 22 June 1984

Labor Must Smash Phelps Dodge Union-Busting!

Class War in Arizona Copper Mines

Break With the Democrats—We Need a Workers Party!

CLIFTON, Arizona—There's a war being fought in the copper fields of Arizona. A war between the owners of the mines and "their" wage slaves, a war between capital and labor. It's a class war, and the bosses are fighting it with the same cold-blooded viciousness that led to the Ludlow massacre and the jailings of over 1,000 Bisbee miners in a desert concentration camp 70 years ago. At times, when the sky over Clifton/Morenci fills with helicopters ferrying in National Guard troops, it even looks like Vietnam. It's up to the workers movement throughout the country to bust the Phelps Dodge union-busters. We say: Labor—don't handle scab copper! Union supporters must flood into the area to build and defend mass picket lines that *nobody* crosses. The Phelps Dodge strikers must not stand alone!

Strikers at Morenci, Ajo, Douglas

continued on page 6

UPI

Clifton, Arizona, May 5—Striking copper miners and supporters hold off attack by scabherding state police for hours.

D-Day Was a Sideshow

The Russians Crushed Nazi Germany

Try as he might, Reagan has not managed to shake off the "Vietnam syndrome" in his efforts to whip up the American people for war against the Soviet Union. So early this month Reagan tried basking in the glory of the U.S. victory in World War II by returning to the Normandy beaches where American troops landed on D-Day, 6 June 1944. This was the *last* popular war for American imperialism, and it was popular because it was advertised as a "war against fascism," against Nazi Germany—a genuinely evil empire which turned Europe into a totalitarian nightmare, exterminated the Jewish people, millions of Slavs and other peoples, strangled all working-class organizations and threatened to destroy the Soviet Union, the world's first workers state. Reagan would dearly like to revive the crusade atmosphere of World War II to mobilize for war against Communism.

So for the 40th anniversary of D-Day the American news media cranked up the old wartime propaganda machine. The *New York Times* hauled out Drew Middleton, who had covered the Allied landings in Normandy, and he churned out a daily memorabilia column glorifying the exploits of Omaha and Utah beaches. On TV they rebroadcast the old wartime film clips, and for the umpteenth time American reporters bragged unashamedly that D-Day was "the longest day in the history of the modern world."

Once again the American ruling class was trying to claim credit for "defeating fascism." It was a lie then, and it's still a lie. *It was the Russians who crushed Nazi Germany.* In a column entitled "Chernenko Deserves To Be at Normandy," an anti-fascist liberal, Allan A. Ryan, Jr., pointed out:

> "In July 1943, the battle of Kursk broke Hitler's back in the East—an estimated 70,000 Nazis died and 5,000 tanks, planes and artillery were destroyed. Had the outcome been different, there almost certainly would have been no Allied landing in June 1944 and the swastika might have flown in Europe until 1950."
>
> —*New York Times*, 5 June

In fact, during most of the war in Europe there *was no* Western front to speak of—nearly 95 percent of all German troops were engaged against the Russians until the 1944 invasion as Soviet Marshal Ustinov noted bitterly last week.

But even as Reagan paid lip service tribute to the *20 million* Soviet citizens who died in the war (the U.S. lost 292,000), he managed to turn the ceremony into an anti-Soviet demonstration. "Some liberated countries were lost," Reagan complained in his

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Sensational Admission from Britain

Yes, KAL 007 Was on U.S. Spy Mission

JUNE 18—An authoritative British military magazine has finally cracked the wall of silence in the American news media by publishing revealing new evidence exposing Korean Air Lines Flight 007's spy mission last August 31. As CNN News reported yesterday from London, "The article, written under the pseudonym of a 'P.Q. Mann' suggests the [KAL 007] jet traveled into Soviet airspace to trigger Russian radar and electronic signals that could be picked up by the just-launched space shuttle *Challenger* and an orbiting Ferret spy satellite." The editor of *Defence Attaché*, the magazine in which the detailed eight-page article appeared, says the author (who is "well known" to him) used a pseudonym "for professional reasons." The writer was clearly privy to top-level classified information about the U.S. space shuttle and electronic intelligence satellites. In fact, the exposé has all the earmarks of a "witting" leak, and it is being treated with utmost seriousness by such establishment organs as the conservative *Economist*. Is this article the revenge of the British communications technicians for the CIA-ordered union-busting at Cheltenham spy center?

Within days after the 747 aircraft was shot down off the Soviet island of Sakhalin, after passing over the USSR's most sensitive military installations, *Workers Vanguard* exposed Reagan's murderous "mission provocation" in which more than 200 innocent civilians died. Articles from *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus* were collected in the Spartacist pamphlet, *KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation* (October 1983), which unraveled the imperialists' tissue of lies and vigorously fought the Cold War propaganda barrage. *WV* documented the close coordination between the doomed jetliner and U.S. Ferret spy satellites in our follow-up article, based entirely on publicly available sources, "Ferreting Out the Truth—Reagan's KAL 007 Plot Unravels" (*WV* No. 350, 16 March). We were able to dig out the truth about this controversial affair because Trotskyists are not blinded by the anti-Soviet ideology of the ruling class—and (unlike much of the left) we're not muzzled by fear of "the Russian question."

According to the *Economist*, the latest article "raised some disturbing new questions." Even Reagan was forced to admit an American RC-135 spy plane was in the vicinity, and the Russians pointed to the spy-in-the-sky satellite in a 20 September 1983 *Pravda* article (ignored by the bourgeois press but carefully analyzed in *WV*). The new piece of evidence concerns the role of the U.S. space shuttle in the KAL 007 spy mission. After the civilian airliner rendezvoused with the U.S. military intelligence plane off Soviet Kamchatka, in what Mann calls a "dummy-selling tactic" designed to alert Soviet defense systems, the resulting Soviet radar signals could be picked up by the orbiting Ferret-D and relayed to the *Challenger*. The *Defence Attaché* article demonstrates by matching the paths of plane, Ferret satellite and shuttle that the shuttle was in position to play a "command, control, and communications role in the conducting of the extended intelligence operation...."

The remarkably detailed information makes it clear that the author is in a position to know what he is writing about. So does the Pentagon's initial refusal to comment, followed by U.S. war minister Weinberger's "non-denial denial," claiming the plane was not engaged in spying but keeping mum about a provocation aimed at testing Soviet air defenses. In reviewing published reports on Shuttle Mission 8 we find further evidence to corroborate the thesis of "P.Q. Mann." One of the prime missions of STS-8 was an "experiment" with a newly repositioned Tracking and Data Relay Satellite (TDRS), one of whose purposes is to eliminate the need for politically sensitive foreign ground stations (such as the U.S. spy station at Pine Gap, Australia) to pick up data from the Ferrets. According to *Aviation Week & Space Technology* (4 July 1983), known to aficionados as "Aviation Leak," the first TDRS-A was rushed into operational duty on an "accelerated" schedule, with "no system checkout" by the CIA-connected TRW Corporation, in order to coordinate with space shuttle Mission 8. KAL 007, it seems, was the "experiment," and we now know (some of) the results.

Meanwhile the German air controllers' magazine, *Der Flugleiter* (March 1984), notes that KAL 007 had a crew of *27* (compared to a normal complement of 14 for similar Boeing 747-Bs) whose names have *never* been revealed; and it notes that the Soviets, far from being "trigger-happy," waited until the last possible moment to shoot down the intruding aircraft. We express extreme bitterness on behalf of the 200-plus innocent passengers whose "crime" was to buy a cheap airline ticket—and on behalf of the Soviet air force generals and pilots who did their duty and subsequently found out that the U.S.' provocation plane was filled with civilians.

As we have said from the beginning, "Reagan's Story Stinks!" P.Q. Mann concludes: "If there has been a failure in the West, it is on the part of investigative journalism which has not pursued the enquiry with anything like the vigour that might be expected.... It is in the U.S. itself that the free press should take up the challenge." In the United States the "free," "responsible" capitalist press has carefully obeyed its *class* interests. It falls to the *revolutionary* press to expose the deadly machinations of the U.S. imperialists, part of the pattern of anti-Soviet war provocation and war propaganda. From first-strike MX missiles in the U.S. and Pershings in Europe to Yankee war moves against Central America and the Caribbean, the "free world" madmen drive toward nuclear war vaporizing all of us. Reagan is war-crazy—Defend the legacy of the October Revolution! ■

Stan Gow Badly Injured

June 12, 1984

Stan Gow has been a longshoreman for twenty-five years. During these years he has been one of the best rank and file unionists in the industry, and is widely respected in the labor movement.

While working on Saturday, June 2, Stan was badly injured in a horrible accident. Although the details cannot be discussed, we can say that his back has been wrecked.

Stan will probably never be able to work again. As a result of this accident, the ILWU has lost one of its best militants.

For many years Stan has had a special interest in biochemistry and has been one of the people most concerned with industrial safety. Now he has been badly hurt himself.

Stan is now in Alta Bates Hospital, recovering from major surgery. We know he would appreciate receiving cards or letters from the many brothers and sisters he has worked with and fought for in his long years of service in the labor movement.

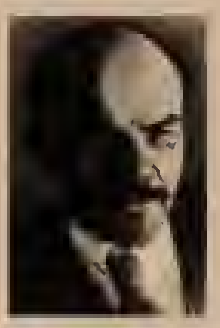
Write to: Stan Gow, Alta Bates Hospital, 3001 Colby St., Berkeley, CA 94705.

The Militant Caucus
Stan's friends in
the Spartacist League
Other friends

TROTSKY

Wobblies Played Hardball

The Wobblies, members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), were America's pioneer industrial unionists and working-class revolutionists. Their understanding of the relation between labor and capital as class war attracted the best militants of their generation and was carried into the communist movement by men like James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, who wrote of the Wobbly heritage:



LENIN

Radicals, rebels and revolutionists started the IWW, as they have started every other progressive movement in the history of this country.

In these days when labor leaders try their best to talk like probationary members of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, it is refreshing to turn back to the reports of men who spoke a different language. Debs, Haywood and De Leon, and those who stood with them, did not believe in the partnership of capital and labor, as preached by Gompers and Co. at the time. Such talk, they said in the famous "Preamble" to the Constitution of the IWW, "misleads the workers." They spoke out in advance against the idea of the permanent "co-existence" of labor unions and the private ownership of industry, as championed by the CIO leaders of the present time.

The men who founded the IWW were pioneer industrial unionists, and the great industrial unions of today stem directly from them. But they aimed far beyond industrial unionism as a bargaining agency recognizing the private ownership of industry as right and unchangeable. They saw the relations of capital and labor as a state of war.

—James P. Cannon, *The First Ten Years of American Communism* (1962)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 357 **22 June 1984**

A Notice to Our Readers

Regular readers of WV *will notice in our editorial box this issue the departure of Charles Burroughs, a long-time member of the* WV *Editorial Board. We print below his letter of resignation from the Spartacist League and also his letter to Jim Robertson, Spartacist League National Chairman.*

13 June 1984

To the Political Bureau and
New York Local SL/U.S.:

I resign from the Spartacist League: from the International Executive Committee of the international Spartacist tendency, the SL/US Central Committee, and *Workers Vanguard* editorial board.

In the ongoing, stormy fight over *Workers Vanguard* editor I have reached the conclusion that I can no longer carry out party responsibilities. A small communist organization is both more and less than its line: you have to be able to live in it. And that, I find, I cannot do.

It is well known that I have been a dissenting voice on a number of questions of policy and personnel. My differences generally shaded to the right within the spectrum of Spartacist politics. I want to make it clear that my rights were at all times protected scrupulously according to the norms of Leninist democratic centralism.

Although I have become increasingly skeptical about the chances of the SL breaking out of isolation to lead the working class to victory, I believe the SL to be the embodiment of the line of Trotskyism in the U.S.—the revolutionary Marxism of our time. I hope the SL will permit me to be a friend of the party despite these contradictory attitudes. Some sharp, widespread, deep-going class struggle in this country will change everything, including the Spartacist League.

With no regrets for twelve years in the revolutionary Trotskyist movement.
Charles Burroughs

• • • • •

13 June 1984

Jim:

I set a high value on our discussion yesterday, and I appreciate your attitude on the party and its press. But my mind is made up. I cannot at this time foresee a qualitative change in what I regard as a real mess of things.

Charlie

NYC Transit Union Must Whip "Jefferson" Davis

New York City's racist mayor Edward Koch, who relishes closing down hospitals and schools in black neighborhoods and breaking strikes, shares many of the attitudes and goals of a KKK grand dragon. In his campaign to bust NYC's most powerful union, the 33,000-strong Transport Workers Union (TWU), Koch and his henchmen in the Transit Authority (TA) have adopted another symbol of chattel slavery, the *bullwhip*.

To smash the TWU, Koch and "friend of labor" Democratic New York governor Cuomo have hired a team of $100,000-plus professional transit union-busters headed by Vietnam era CIA bigshot Robert Kiley as czar of the Metropolitan Transit Authority (parent of the TA) and David "hired" Gunn as TA president. They unleashed their first fusillade against the TWU at one of its strongholds: the 207th Street subway repair shop which represents the single largest concentration of transit workers and is a traditional center of TWU militancy. Gunn brought with him from Philadelphia, where he was transit boss, Ronald "Jefferson" Davis to be "overseer" at the 207th Street "plantation."

As we prepare to go to press, another whip-cracking operation against the conductors by state and city officials has been announced. WINS radio news reported June 18 that State Comptroller Regan is going after subway platform conductors, absurdly claiming $5 million a year in "wasted" wages. Regan has demanded and received assurances of disciplinary measures against the conductors by the TA.

Davis hung a bullwhip around an American flag in his office and in his first six weeks disciplined more than 350 workers, even putting elected union officials—including the shop chairman—in the street. The TWU Lawe bureaucracy, however, did less than nothing about "Jefferson" Davis' bullwhip or his bullwhip tactics. An overtime ban and slowdown launched by workers at the 207th Street shop, which spread system-wide, was sabotaged and effectively called off by Lawe's pronouncement at an Executive Board meeting upholding the TA's "right" to assign overtime.

But the sensational publication in the labor-hating *New York Post* (5 June) of a huge picture of "Jefferson" Davis brandishing his bullwhip generated such outrage among transit workers and every decent NYC resident that even Democratic politician Carol Bellamy, president of the city council, MTA board member and mayoral aspirant, had to say that if the whip didn't go, Davis had to. Kiley and Gunn think they can rebuild NYC's antiquated and rundown subway system the way the pharoahs built the pyramids. Even the *Post* admitted that under Davis' bullwhip, subway car repairs at the 207th Street shop had fallen 33 percent. But the real motive for the *Post* photo display of a bullwhip-wielding Davis was revealed in a companion editorial in the same edition hailing Gunn's plan to give the 5,000-member transit supervisors' association the "PATCO treatment" as prelude to busting the TWU and turning the entire transit system into an antebellum cotton plantation.

To head off the fury sweeping the TWU ranks, Lawe called token lunchtime rallies for June 14 at two subway repair shops and at the TA's Brooklyn headquarters. At the 207th Street shop less than half the workforce participated as the bureaucrats tried to turn the protest into a Flag Day celebration. But as transit workers poured back into the shop, they angrily surrounded Davis' glass-walled office with Davis inside and chanted "Take the whip!" and "Bust the union-busters!"

Schwartz/NY Post

Would-be NYC transit slave driver Ronald Davis flaunts bullwhip. In 207th Street shop workers surround Davis' office, chanting "Bust the union-busters!"

WV Photo

The class-struggle Committee for a Fighting TWU participated in the 207th Street demonstration and one of their placards read "Dump Racist Davis! Smash Slave Labor! Finish the Civil War!" And the TWU ought to see to it that the same thing happens to Davis' bullwhip as happened to Mayor Dianne Feinstein's Confederate flag in San Francisco.

The fact is that "Jefferson" Davis' flag-adorned bullwhip perfectly symbolizes the oppression of blacks and exploitation of workers in Reagan's America and Koch's New York. Another sign carried by the Committee for a Fighting TWU at the 207th Street shop demonstration was "Vengeance for Michael Stewart!" Last September this black man, 135-pound Michael Stewart, the son of a retired TWU member, was

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Asylum for Refugees from "Baby Doc's" Terror Island!

Coast Guard Drowns Haitians

Bob East

Desperate Haitians flee starvation wages, state terror.

On June 6 a U.S. Coast Guard patrol drowned at least seven Haitian refugees seeking to escape the hellhole of the U.S.-backed Jean-Claude Duvalier dictatorship. According to news reports, 63 survivors were rescued with anywhere from a dozen to three dozen passengers still reported missing. Moreover, this murderous act of piracy reportedly occurred only 20 miles off Haiti's coast! The Coast Guard claims that the cutter *Hamilton* pulled alongside a 30-foot wooden boat which capsized when passengers ran to one side. Other reports, however, talk of the cutter ramming the leaky refugee boat (*Haïti Progrès*, 13 June). And since U.S. ships are provocatively ramming Soviet subs from the Bermuda Triangle to the Sea of Japan, what's to stop them from deliberately sinking a boatload of defenseless black refugees?

The Haitian Migration Interdiction Operation, set up under a 1981 agreement, has turned the U.S. Coast Guard into prison guards for Duvalier. Twelve hours after the *Hamilton*'s prisoners were dropped off in Port-au-Prince, to be subjected to the tender mercies of "Baby Doc" Duvalier's Tontons Macoutes murderous thugs, the Coast Guard ship stopped two more boatloads of refugees in the same area, took the passengers into custody and *burned the boats*. Since the "tired, poor, huddled masses yearning to breathe free" continue to flee Duvalier's Haitian hell, it seems that the U.S. has decided to discourage them with a few bloody examples.

While the Coast Guard is drowning Haitians off the coasts, Duvalier's troops are shooting them in the streets. On May 21 riots exploded in the town of Gonaïves when the secret police beat to death a pregnant woman who was trying to prevent them from "disappearing" her husband. In response angry neighbors and residents poured into the streets and marched on the police barracks. The regime sent in seven truckloads of troops to stop the protests which continued for four days. The protests soon spread to the country's second largest city, Cap-Haïtien, on the north coast. There, angry crowds attacked several CARE foundation trucks transporting pig feed imported from the U.S. While hundreds of thousands of human beings suffer from acute hunger, CARE shipments go to feed farm animals or are sold by corrupt government officials. The crowds chanted, "Down with hunger! Down with poverty! Down with Duvalier!" Uniformed government killers gunned down at least 50 civilians in six towns as the hunger riots spread.

The Haitian protests are not isolated. Next door in the Dominican Republic over 60 were killed in April and thousands arrested in outbursts protesting the starvation policies of that international bankers' cartel, the IMF. And while the U.S. Coast Guard acts as prison guards on behalf of President-for-Life Duvalier, Washington also acts to eliminate political opposition. At the end of May, 13 Haitian dissidents were arrested in New Orleans for plotting to

continued on page 10

Avenge the Murder of Pham Thi Luu!

Death Squad Killers Gun Down Vietnamese Patriots in S.F.

SAN FRANCISCO—On May 28 an elderly Vietnamese couple, Nguyen Van Luy and his wife Pham Thi Luu, were gunned down outside their San Francisco home. A group of Vietnamese *gusano* scum, the "Vietnamese Organization to Exterminate Communists and Restore the Nation," claimed responsibility for the cold-blooded murder of Pham Thi Luu and for critically wounding Nguyen Van Luy. At last report Van Luy, 72 years old, is in intensive care at the San Francisco General Hospital under police guard. The couple was well known in the Bay Area for their support to the Vietnamese Revolution and Van Luy's political history as an ardent nationalist and patriot covers some 50 years.

Nguyen Van Luy was critically wounded and his wife Pham Thi Luu was killed by terrorist assassins.

Campaign for Justice for Pham Thi Luu and Nguyen Van Luy

The *Nguoi Viet*, an anti-Communist paper published in Santa Ana, received the communiqué claiming responsibility for the murderous assault, which called it an act of "punishment" and labeled Nguyen Van Luy a "special agent for Vietnamese communism." The paper's editor, while claiming he was "horrified" by the murder, said "Most refugees hear of this and say, 'Oh, one more communist dead'." While the FBI claims to have no information on the group, it is known in the Vietnamese community—and feared. According to Vietnamese diplomat Tin Luong, second secretary to Vietnam's Permanent Mission to the UN, "They are terrorists. It is made up of refugees in the United States who are reactionaries...and are trying to gather their forces against the government of Vietnam" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 5 June).

For all the hysteria being manufactured around supposed "violence" at the Democratic convention and the Olympics, this brutal act of political assassination and terror has received little more than perfunctory notice from the media, government officials and police. That's because the killers are the American ruling class' *own* terrorists: the counterrevolutionary scum of the earth driven from their countries by the just hatred of the victorious workers and peasants. The U.S. imperialists have stood by their butchers, torturers, drug-pushers, pimps and black marketeers, welcoming them by the boatload—although not without a good dose of cynicism and racism—as grist for the anti-Soviet propaganda mill, and as cadres for counterrevolutionary terror at home and abroad.

These corrupt former U.S. puppets include the likes of Hitler-lover Nguyen Cao Ky, ex-premier of South Vietnam, who fled with millions in gold and is now a "businessman" in Southern California. According to a 1979 memorandum by the organized crime unit supervisor of the Arizona Drug Control District Narcotics Strike Force (reprinted in *Paso del Norte*, September 1983), "Since 1975, Nguyen Cao Ky has reestablished in the United States his South Vietnamese Government.... This Mafia-type organization, or what is known in the Vietnamese circles as 'The Association'...is national and international in scope, is involved in extortion, drugs, loansharking, gambling, prostitution, smuggling, welfare fraud, assault and murder." And of course they learned everything they know from the CIA.

Hit men and thugs from Batista's Cuba and Somoza's Nicaragua are given free rein too—former Somoza National Guards and torturers train openly for counterrevolution in Florida and Southern California. And the sinister right-wing cult around Sun Myung Moon of South Korea seeks to broker unity between these terrorist groups. At the same time, black Haitians, refugees from the insanely sadistic "Baby Doc," are tossed into concentration camps here. Salvadoran refugees from death squad terror are hounded and deported, many to their deaths. And everywhere *la migra* Gestapo-style raids spread terror in the Hispanic neighborhoods.

Several years ago a liberal Vietnamese newspaper publisher was gunned down by Vietnamese reactionaries in Texas. In 1981 27-year-old Lam Trong Duong, a San Francisco social worker also known for his support for the Vietnamese Revolution, was similarly assassinated. Responsibility for his murder was taken by the same group of terrorists. Yet three years later Duong's murder remains unsolved. Charges against the main suspect were dropped after a key prosecution witness claimed he had misidentified the suspect. According to San Francisco homicide inspector Earl Saunders, who is investigating both cases, "we think he changed his story under pressure" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 4 June). The Duong case underlines the futility of relying on the police, much less the FBI, who are nothing less than the "godfathers" of these anti-Communist vigilantes. In fact, an FBI agent told the *Examiner* (3 June) that Nguyen Van Luy had already been under surveillance for his political activities! What's needed to defend against these scum is massive labor and minority action and self-defense.

Nguyen Van Luy's biography reveals a long and dedicated history of struggle for the liberation of his homeland Vietnam from the chains of imperialism. According to information distributed by the Association of Vietnamese in the U.S., of which Van Luy was a founder and is currently honorary president, he was born in Haiphong on 10 March 1912. From a poor family, he hired on to a French merchant ship as a "coolie" laborer. In 1930, Nguyen went to France, then colonial master of Indochina. Van Luy joined the Indochinese Union in Marseilles, through which he learned to read and write Vietnamese and French. When the People's Front of Léon Blum came to power in 1936 with a massive wave of workers' strikes many Vietnamese saw hopes for liberation. But the French "Socialists" and "Communists" in the People's Front government undermined workers' struggles at home by tying the proletariat to the bourgeois Radicals, while maintaining "French order" in Indochina. The People's Front collapsed, opening the way to Marshal Pétain, Vichy and Nazi occupation.

Nguyen Van Luy was forced to go to sea again, landing in New York City on 22 April 1940, where in a racist atrocity the police promptly jailed him, taking him for Japanese. He was released when the "mistake" was discovered and went to work for the War Department as a translator, believing Roosevelt's promises to free the colonies after World War II. On 2 September 1945 Vietnam declared its independence after having defeated the occupying Japanese army. But soon after, the U.S. dropped its pretense of support for Vietnamese independence and helped France recolonize Vietnam. Van Luy resigned from the War Department and once again went back to sea as a ship's cook. In 1954 he received his "green card" and in 1960 became a U.S. citizen. He was a member of Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local 2 in San Francisco and was well known as an antiwar activist during the American Vietnam War.

In her will, Pham Thi Luu, 66 at the time of her murder, bequeathed most of her property to Vietnam's Permanent Mission to the United Nations. Her will specifies that their home in San Francisco's Sunset District is to be her husband's until his death, when it will be held in trust until the "normalization" between Vietnam and the United States takes place. But the U.S. imperialists will not soon forgive nor forget the stunning defeat handed to them by the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants and seek every opportunity to teach Vietnam a "bloody lesson." Against the liberals and "sadder but wiser" radicals who today say "no more Vietnams," we say "Vietnam Was a Victory! Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism!" And certainly the future workers government of the U.S. will be honored to carry out Pham Thi Luu's bequest. Avenge the murder of Pham Thi Luu! One of the secondary, but not unimportant, reasons for proletarian revolution in America is to terminate for all time the kind of fascist filth that carried out this hideous crime. ■

Thousands of British Miners Battle Cops

JUNE 18—In the biggest clash yet in the biggest labor struggle challenging Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, more than 3,000 cops, some on horseback, today fought a running battle for two and a half hours with 7,000 striking coal miners from all over Britain. The strikers had converged on Orgreave depot in South Yorkshire to block trucks carrying coking coal to the nearby steel mill of Scunthorpe.

Seventy-five miners were arrested and 26 injured, including National Union of Miners president Arthur Scargill, who was hospitalized. Police claimed that Scargill "accidentally" fell and received head injuries. Despite massive police violence, the miners at Orgreave have won this round. The state-run British Steel Corporation announced today that it was suspending coke shipments to Scunthorpe "in view of the serious disturbances which have occurred at Orgreave."

The miners, on strike now for 15 weeks, must not stand alone! This is a fight for the very existence of effective trade unionism in Britain. Tens of thousands of militant workers from *every* union should picket steel mills and power stations to prevent the use of scab coal. Spread the strike! Steel, rail, power, docks: Out now! Build massive mobilizations of labor and minorities to crush vicious Tory/cop strikebreaking terror! Bring "Iron Lady" Thatcher to her knees!

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Down with Common Market of NATO Europe!

Hill/DPA

Two hundred thousand West German auto workers are on strike or locked out in major industrial conflict over 35-hour workweek.

Auto Strikers Shake West Germany

For a Sliding Scale of Wages and Hours! No Illusions in the SPD! For a Workers Government!

"Arnold Lutseh says he has been pushed past the breaking point.
"For four years his real take-home pay has dwindled. Many of his friends have lost their johs. He lives in fear that his job will be taken by a robot.
"'I'm not going to end up in the garbage ean without a fight,' he says."

—*Wall Street Journal*, 30 May

So said a militant German metal worker at a big Mereedes-Benz plant. In mid-May when the metal workers in the region of Baden-Württemberg voted over 80 percent to go out, they hroke into eheering and sang the Internationale. Sinee then the conflict has steadily escalated. Close to half a million workers are on strike or locked out in what are already the longest strikes since the Federal Republic of Germany was founded in 1949. Last week Ford, the only auto manufaeturer still operating, shut down. Auto—one of the most important braneh es of West German industry—is at a virtual standstill, from Bremen in the north to Munieh in the south, from Worth in the Rhineland to Wolfsburg in Lower Saxony. West Germany, long regarded as the stable eore of NATO Europe, could well be on the verge of the biggest elass battle in its 35-year history.

It is already the most violent lahor conflict in decades. In several cities including Hamburg, Stuttgart, Cologne and Koblenz, seahs backed up by the cops have attacked striking printers, sending several to the hospital. In Stuttgart a scab delivery truck smashed into the picket line of a struek printing plant, running over a union official. Angry printers and also metal workers from all over the city rushed to this plant to prevent further strikebreaking.

The West German working class understands instinctively that this is a fight not only against the employers but also the right-wing Christian Democratic (CDU) Kohl/Strauss government. On May 28 a reported 200,000 trade unionists marched on Bonn demanding a 35-hour workweek and unemployment eompensation for those workers locked out. A week later 30,000 workers from all major unions and plants in the northern part of West Germany responded to a call for a solidarity mareh with the embattled metal workers and printers. On June 16, 20,000 airline, newspaper and retail workers staged a one-day warning strike, demanding higher pay and shorter hours. When the employers threatened a loekout of metal workers in Bavaria, the eenter of the armaments and related electronies industries, the social-democratie (SPD) dominated DGB trade-union federation raised the spectre of a general strike. The hosses haeked down, and the Kohl regime, whieh had earlier eneouraged the loekouts, is now *publicly* appealing to the employers *not* to extend the lockouts.

This explosive situation threatens to eseape the control of the social-democratie tops of the metal workers union, IG Metall, the largest union in the eapitalist world. In mid-May they began a seleetive strike of auto parts plants in the heavily industrial Baden-Württemberg region as a pressure tactic for a shorter workweek. As one IG Metall spokesman explained, "We deliberately began the strike small in order to give the employers the chance to keep the damages small through negotiations" (*Der Spiegel*, 21 May). But the best-laid plans of mice and wily reformist bureauerats often go awry. During the recent world depression the West German auto industry adopted the Japanese system of maintaining almost no parts inventory. So after a few days auto plants throughout the country ran out of supplies, and soon began elosing down.

The CDU government directly supported this mass lockout, and the Federal Lahor Office refused to give auto workers the unemployment and short-time compensation to whieh they are legally entitled. One IG Metall burcauerat expressed indignation that the government's aetion is "a clear violation of neutrality at the expense of the union." Only a German social democrat could believe that the capitalist state would finance a major work stoppage. A serious fight with the bosses demands sacrifices. The German workers know this and are prepared for it.

With the mass lockout in auto and the provocation by the Kohl/Strauss government, German bosses ought to be met with a general strike. The Trotzkistisehe Liga Deutschlands (TLD, German seetion of the international Spartacist tendency) has called for factory occupations to win a 30-hour workweek for 40 hours pay. The entire 2,500,000-strong membership of IG Metall must join the striking auto workers and printers. The strike must be extended to other key sectors hit with mass layoffs: coal, steel, shipyards. Eleeted strike committees must take the place of the bureaucratic leaders, and union-organized defense guards must proteet the pieket lines. Seize the plants, lock out the bosses and shut the doors tight! This will hit them in their most sensitive spot, their "saered" ownership of the means of produetion, thereby posing pointblank the question: whieh class shall rule?

German workers must fight for a sliding scale of hours, for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, to share the available jobs among all those seeking work. But this utterly reasonable and necessary demand to abolish unemployment is no more realizable under eapitalism than the abolition of imperialist war. Instead of pressuring to bring baek the SPD, which loyally administers capitalist exploitation, what's needed is revolutionary class struggle for a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie.

The TLD's demand for "30 for 40" has been met enthusiastieally by those workers who constitute the reserve army of the unemployed: foreign workers, women and youth. German capitalism has used these layers as a shoek absorber for its eyelical erises. But the present crisis has now driven strategic sectors of the West German proletariat into the ranks of the permanently unemployed. Internationalist working-elass unity must be forged by fighting ehauvinist attaeks against foreign, especially Turkish workers. The TLD demands full eitizenship rights for all foreign-born workers, recognizing that:

"A mass revolutionary party can be built in West Germany only if it succeeds in organizing the immigrant workers of different nationalities—who constitute about a sixth of the industrial proletariat—and the German workers for common struggle."

Social-Democratic Sellouts Threaten Struggle

This is not the first time the IG Metall bureaueraey has raised the demand for a 35-hour week. In 1979 when West German workers were seething over mass layoffs, the union tops siphoned off the anger into a pressure eampaign for a shorter workweek. That was under an SPD government. No doubt the union tops had something similar in mind this time. But now with the Christian Democrats in power and West German workers faeing mass unemployment for the first time in decades, the mood of the working class has ehanged dramatieally. After the SPD was ousted in a parliamentary eoup in the fall of 1982, hundreds of thousands of workers demonstrated in the streets against the Kohl/Strauss regime. A year later, in September 1983, militant shipbuilding workers facing mass layoffs occupied dockyards in Bremen and Hamburg. Already the metal workers striking for a shorter workweek have forced the burcauerats' hand, going beyond the original plans for pieeemeal actions. And the employers have repeatedly broken off negotiations.

A struggle to widen and deepen this strike is necessarily a struggle against the reformist tops of the union and SPD. Metal workers misleader Mayr has promised the bosses, "IG Metall is not planning wider strike authorization votes to solve the problem by broadening the strike front" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 22 May). Mayr & Co. are in their element not on the picket lines but rather with one hand on the West German eonstitution and the other under the bargaining table. The IG Metall bureauerats would quickly settle for a *token* reduetion of the workweek such as the 39-hour week introduced by the Mitterrand social democrats in France. Moreover, Mayr says the IG Metall demand "does not mean equal wage increases along with the shortened working time." So the bureauerats' plans amount to a swindle involving a wage *cut* with speedup (not to mention the loss in real wages due to inflation)!

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Class War in Arizona Copper Mines

Continued from page 1

and a refinery in El Paso, Texas have their backs to the wall after almost a year of determined struggle. PD set off the strike with its demands for sweeping "givebacks," but what the company is really after is to destroy the copper unions and scatter their members to the four winds. And now Phelps Dodge, having run their mines with scab labor for the past ten months, is moving in for the kill, trying to evict strikers from company-owned housing. At the same time PD management withdrew its previous takeaway "offer" while the other copper giants are demanding reopening of their contracts to further gut union gains won through decades of workers' battles. A national copper strike is urgently necessary *now*, before it's too late!

The PD strikers' fight is a fight for all American labor—a defeat here will embolden Reaganite union-busting throughout the U.S. A thousand-plus predominantly Mexican and Indian strikers and their families are valiantly holding out against one of the top U.S. corporations. Yet the International leadership of the United Steelworkers (USWA), largest in a coalition of 13 striking unions including the Machinists, has hardly lifted a finger to aid the copper strikers, looking instead to Fritz Mondale to pressure PD back to the bargaining table. Fat chance. Phony "friend of labor" Democrats as well as the big business Republicans represent the twin parties of capital. It is Democratic Arizona governor Bruce Babbitt who has repeatedly brought in the National Guard as scabherders for Phelps Dodge. We need a workers party!

WV Photo

"After God had finished the rattlesnake, the toad and vampire, He had some awful substance left with which He made a scab."

—Jack London

Mass Pickets Shut Down Morenci

Late last month a *Workers Vanguard* team spent several days in Clifton and heard firsthand from the Arizona miners about the hell they've been going through. After months on the picket line, betrayed by their own leadership, their town occupied by the Guard and strikers harassed daily by the "Department of Public Safety" (state police), our *WV* supplement, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win," was a welcome sight. With its fighting class-struggle spirit, our supplement, squarely on *their* side of the picket line, opened up doors and introduced us to the rank-and-file miners. Here is what we learned:

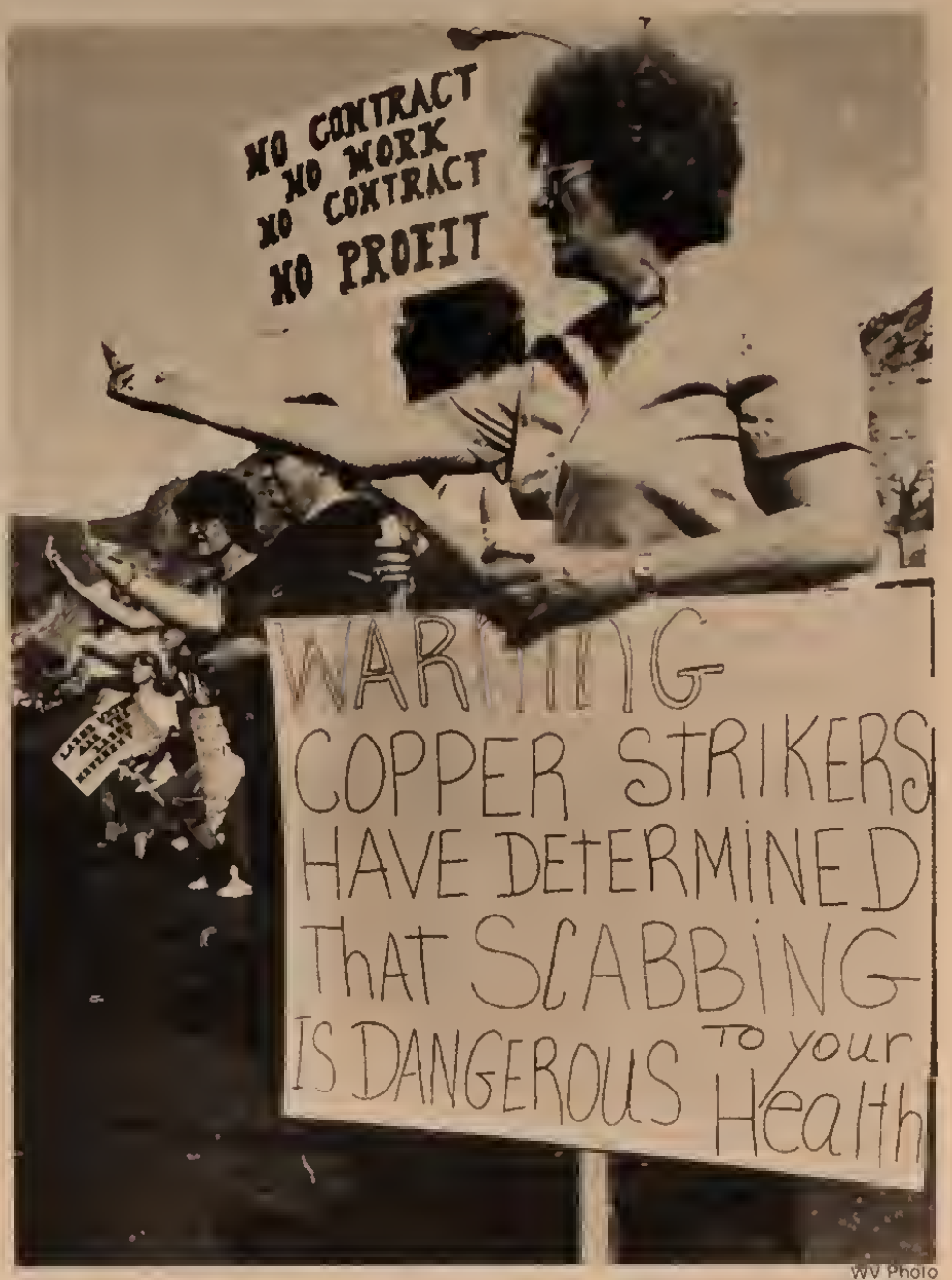
When the unions walked last July 1, production essentially stopped. Phelps Dodge tried to keep their mine running by using supervisory and office personnel and a handful of scabs, but this proved fruitless. So in late July, PD announced they would open their employment office to take applications from scabs. An injunction had been obtained limiting pickets to five per gate, but the miners openly defied it. Strikers told us they were getting close to 1,000 pickets on the line every day. And on the day the company tried to hire scabs, estimates are that between 1,000 and 2,000 picketers turned out.

U.S. Highway 666 passes through Clifton and winds its way up the hill to Morenci's main gate. It's the only way into the office. The strikers had their "legal" five pickets at the two main gates, and then with a slight separation there was a demonstration of hundreds of union supporters on each side of 666 to support their pickets. The scabs would have to pass through this demonstration to get to the gate. The Arizona DPS didn't even attempt to break up this picket line—they were powerless. Picketers on the roadbeds were waving baseball bats at the scabs.

This labor mobilization was so powerful that the state police set up a roadblock a few miles away and held scabs back because they couldn't "guarantee their safety." To the union bureaucracy's tired and cowardly refrain that you can't "violate the law," the Morenci miners replied by turning the bosses' injunction into a worthless scrap of paper. The strikers won a stunning victory that day as the scabs were kept out. Local TV reported that only two would-be strikebreakers made it to the employment office, but wisely decided not to fill out applications. Playing hardball with a 1,000-man team, the strikers faced down the company and their cops, courts and scabs.

Staggered by the shock of having their mine shut down, Phelps Dodge called in Governor Babbitt. "Scabbitt," as he is known to the miners, met separately with the company and union and then announced a ten-day "cooling-off" period during which PD's employment office would be closed. This was a joke: the miners had already shut it down. But this "even-handed" Democrat had many people believing he was going to get Phelps Dodge to the bargaining table and a contract would be forthcoming. The company went through the motions of "negotiating." Silver-tongued federal mediators were brought in to announce on TV each night how "promising" the talks were. But what the "cooling-off" period was all about was getting miners off the picket lines and giving the state time to call up and equip the National Guard.

So on August 19, the day the moratorium expired, a huge military convoy pulled out of Safford (about 50 miles away), and rumbled down Highway 666 to occupy Morenci. Because the mines were open at Ajo and Douglas, the state was able to concentrate all its forces to break the Morenci line. Tanks, armored personnel carriers, helicopters, SWAT teams and the combined force of DPS and National Guardsmen were assembled to protect the scabs. Strikers estimate that about 400 sharpshooters were stationed on a high ridge overlooking the main gate. It was at this moment that the gutless USWA bureaucracy pissed away the miners' initial victory. The union pulled the pickets off the line and left ten lonely strikers to face the state's armed might. A mile-long caravan of scabs poured unmolested across the picket line to reopen the mine.



WV Photo

A slogan from the Kentucky coalfields is taken up in bitter, almost year-long Phelps Dodge strike. Women's Auxiliary has emerged as a militant core of the PD strike.

Most strikers at Morenci think that "the governor betrayed us." *WV* interviewed Cliff Hicks, a Machinist picket captain, who told us, "During that ten-day cooling-off period, we should have stayed our ground right where we were and mobilized Eastern New Mexico, Western California and all of Arizona. Through the numbers we would have closed the plant and started negotiations seriously. But we did trust our governor ...and this is our vital mistake." But Babbitt was just doing the job the bosses hired him for. The traitors are the fakers at union headquarters in Pittsburgh and Washington, D.C. who didn't lift a finger to back the Morenci miners when they needed it most. Hicks told us, "They tell me if we get Mondale in, that he's going to run down here and slap PD on the wrist and bring this thing under control.... Mondale didn't get out of a big motel in Phoenix. Why would he come to an end-of-the-road place like Morenci? He's not going to do anything like this." Damn right! Labor's going to have to do the job, or it won't get done.

War of Attrition

The long, bitter months that followed the occupation by the National Guard have been a war of attrition. In many

Wayne State Labor Archives

Bisbee, Ariz., 1917—1,200 radical copper miners, organized in the IWW, were rounded up, put in cattle cars and left stranded in the desert.

respects the strike has been leaderless. A striker told us there hasn't been an official union meeting since last November. Phelps Dodge has turned every financial screw to either starve the miners out or into submission. Credit was cut off at the company store. Strikers were charged a flat $26 fee to set foot inside the Morenci hospital (owned by PD). These same services have, of course, been extended to the scabs free of charge. The scab bodyguards of the DPS have been permanently housed in the Morenci Inn, also owned by the company.

The blood line is so sharp between strikers and scabs that in Morenci fistfights break out between their kids. Eleven-year-old Jason Knott was expelled from school for using the word "scab"! While in town we learned that the 8th grade graduation would be an "invitation only" affair in order to keep strikers' friends away. Later we heard that following the high school graduation the DPS pulled over 100 or so strikers for alleged drunken driving.

A good example of the vindictive and vicious war against the strikers was the company and state's response to the October flood that ravaged the town of Clifton, where many miners live. Morenci is on high ground, Clifton on low. During our visit we could still see remnants of the damage—seven months later. All the state and PD land-moving equipment was mobilized *not* to dig out the town, but to keep Highway 666 open for scabs to reach the mine. During shift-change time strikers' vehicles were ordered off the streets so the scabs could get through Clifton. Scabs would drive by and jeer and laugh at strikers who had to dig themselves out by hand. That flood and what Phelps Dodge did to them will be remembered by Morenci miners' families for generations to come.

One PD attack, however, gave the strikers a badly needed leader. Dr. Jorge O'Leary. When the company announced that its Morenci hospital would charge strikers fees, Dr. O'Leary brought them in the "back door" to treat them free. When PD put pressure on him, he courageously resisted and came out publicly in support of the strike. And for that Phelps Dodge had him fired. But the company plan backfired. O'Leary got an old store in Clifton and with a lot of volunteer labor they converted it into a clinic so that union families would continue to receive medical care. So the People's Clinic became a symbol of the strikers' resistance, and O'Leary became the public voice of the Morenci strikers.

The other critical element that emerged was the Women's Auxiliary. As time went on, many of the men had to leave town, even leave the state, to find work so they could send money to keep their wives and kids going. So the women have maintained the public presence of the strike. For months now, the Women's Auxiliary has organized daily 3:30 p.m. picket line demonstrations in front of the People's Clinic to harass scabs passing by on 666. These picket lines have attracted the best militants. Phoenix and Tucson press have often described these women as "rowdy" for shouting obscenities at the "workers." The Women's Auxiliary is quite explicit in expressing contempt for scabs, but as one woman told us, after flipping the bird at a strikebreaker, "We're not always like this, just for the past eleven months." These heroic women have manned the picket lines day in and day out.

The anger and determination of the Morenci miners shook up the whole state May 5 when the strikers were met with a cop riot by scabherding state police. Governor Babbitt transported more than 150 National Guardsmen into the vicinity on 17 Huey helicopters. Organized by the Women's Auxiliary, the demonstration had been called for Cinco de Mayo (Mexican Independence Day), a widely celebrated holiday here. On that day, over 1,000 strikers and supporters assembled in Clifton to deliver a strong message that this strike was still alive. At shift change they lined Highway 666 and scared the hell out of the scabs. The crowd was so big the DPS could not "guarantee the safety" of their beloved scabs. They tried to route some through back roads; many got lost while the rest cowered in the plant all night. The evening shift was canceled as once again a taste of the July picket lines struck a blow for the union.

One scab en route began waving a gun at the strikers. No way was this demonstration, on this day, going to tolerate such provocations. The strikers began throwing debris on the road as makeshift barricades. Then the cops attacked. Cliff Hicks was on the bullhorn, warning strikers of the imminent tear gas attack and trying to get the children moved to safety. He was the first arrested, as the cops jumped him from behind and wrestled him into a paddy wagon. Cops grabbed strikers right and left while tear gas choked the narrow streets of Clifton. When the smoke cleared, eight strikers were framed up on felony charges. On Cinco de Mayo the International piecards once again left the strikers out on a limb. The union misleaders are not even defending these militants now facing the Phelps Dodge kangaroo courts. The local USWA leadership refused to endorse the demonstration, locked up their hall, and left town. We say: drop *all* charges against the copper strikers and their supporters!

AP

Largely Chicano and Indian strikers know whose side the armed forces of the state are on.

Militant

Stop the Evictions!

Morenci is not a city or a town, it's a mining camp. There is no mayor, no city council or any city government. There's not even a PTA! The land is 100 percent owned by Phelps Dodge and so is the law. Phelps Dodge likes it that way.

The burning issue of the day is evictions. In Morenci there are about 300 striking families in the sprawling company housing project hanging on for dear life. Union militants have been singled out, framed up on "strike misconduct" charges, fired and ordered to vacate their homes. PD is gearing up for a mass eviction raid to deliver the death blow to this strike. The survival of the union is at stake, which even the USWA bureaucracy knows as it has been paying the rent of striking families to preserve this strategic toehold in the mine.

If the union is driven out of the mine, the social conditions of Morenci/Clifton will be rolled back generations. Prior to the organization of the Phelps Dodge mines by the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, successor to the old Western Federation of Miners, Morenci was rigidly segregated between Anglos and Mexicans. Indians lived in tents. White merchants in Clifton, mainly Mormons, had signs on their establishments saying "No Mexicans Allowed." These racial divisions are already reappearing. The scabs are mostly white and a high percentage Mormon. As *WV* learned in an interview with Clifton mayor Tom Aguilar who joined Mine, Mill and Smelter in 1947, the struggle to break the color line in Morenci was the union's fight for a bidding system—that is, seniority. Prior to this union gain, Mexicans and Indians were relegated to a life in the labor gangs. If the union is broken—and the plant full of Anglos led by Mormons—these conditions will return.

May 31 was the latest eviction

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WV: The Paper That Fights for the Working People

The State and the Strike: No Neutrals Here!

An on-the-spot account of the Phelps Dodge strike which appeared in the *New York Times* (3 June) reported: "Another echo of the copper union's stormy past has been the appearance here of representatives from left-wing political groups such as the Spartacist League and the Socialist Workers Party, bringing with them the fiery language of class struggle and workers' democracy."

The fiery language of the class struggle clearly came from the Spartacist League. In our *WV* supplement "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win" we called for a return to the kind of militant workers' action that built the unions: "Potential strikebreakers should be educated to understand that you can't cross a picket line on two broken legs, and county hospitals are rotten places.... Then we can talk about *winning* some battles for a change." In particular, we pointed out that "labor's weapons are inherent in its collective organization: the picket line, solidarity strike, secondary boycott. The capitalists' arsenal is their state: courts, cops, and ultimately the army."

The insipid Socialist Workers Party and its misnamed *Militant* sing a very different tune. While the *WV* team was in Clifton/Morenci, SWP vice presidential candidate Andrea Gonzalez showed up gladhanding for votes. The *Arizona Republic* (31 May) reported her remarks at a press conference in which she "accused state government of not being 'an objective observer' in the strike." Later, according to the article, "Gonzalez called on government officials to 'protect the strikers, not the "scabs".'" This is once again the suicidal reformist notion that the state is neutral, and can be pressured to support the working class against the capitalists. It was this treacherous program that led the unions to demobilize the mass pickets at Morenci during the "cooling-off" period ordered by Democratic governor Babbitt last August.

Every strike, from Harlan County to Phelps Dodge, demonstrates that the state, far from being "above classes," is precisely what Marx called it in the *Communist Manifesto*, the executive committee of the bourgeoisie. The reformists and pseudo-socialists want to seduce the state, sending telegrams to Governor "Scabbitt" or looking to Congressional committees for salvation as the Communist Party does in *Labor Today*. The SWP/CP policy is: empty "solidarity" in words, but no to class struggle. And the sinister political bandits of the "Workers League" call on the likes of AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland, a certified Rockefeller/CIA creature and racist *patrón* of a plantation in the Dominican Republic, to form a "labor party."

But any PD striker who looks beyond the cops' curtain of tear gas can see that the "Department of Public Safety" only serves to make Arizona safe for the Phelps Dodges, that their clubs, guns, tanks and helicopters are not "neutral" but weapons in the hands of the capitalists. As we wrote in "Hardball":

> "No decisive gain of labor was ever won in a courtroom or by an act of Congress. Everything the workers movement has won of value has been achieved by mobilizing the ranks of labor in hard-fought struggle.... What counts is power."

Union militants who are fighting to *win* must learn the lessons of past battles and link their fight to the class struggle nationally and internationally. They will want to subscribe to *Workers Vanguard*, the paper that fights for the working people, as 14 Phelps Dodge strikers did during our recent tour. You should, too.

Class War in Arizona...

(continued from page 7)

deadline for 30 strikers' families in Morenci. PD strikers know that as the one year anniversary of their strike approaches on July 1 under the cloud of these eviction threats, they must once again gear up for major battle. As Dr. O'Leary told a rank-and-file meeting May 30, "We will be ready for the evictions...and we will resist them." Calling for a mass rally in defense of the copper strikers O'Leary said, "We are going to have such a big rally that the National Guard is going to call out the Marines." The strikers responded with a rousing ovation and chants of "Union, union."

The PD strikers of today stand in the tradition of generations of Western copper miners who had to continually fight for a decent life. Phelps Dodge amassed its initial capital by extracting barbarous profits from the 19th century slave trade. The early attempts to organize unions were ruthlessly smashed by the blood-soaked copper magnates. The Bisbee 1917 mass eviction was directed against the old "Wobbly" militants of the IWW who dared to strike imperialism's copper mines prior to the entry of the U.S. into World War I. Today, the giant copper corporations maintain overseas operations with the blessings of racist and labor-hating governments like South Africa, Chile and El Salvador. Meanwhile everyone from the copper bosses to Democrat Walter Mondale, the union tops and even steel "dissident" Ron Wiesen calls for protectionist trade barriers, setting worker against worker and laying the basis for imperialist war.

After eleven months of hard class battle, the strikers at Phelps Dodge welcomed the *WV* reporting/sales team with our supplement, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win." We said what had to be done—labor has to build mass picket lines, plant occupations, to mobilize the tremendous power which grows out of its numbers, militancy, organization and discipline, its ability to shut down the wheels of production of this racist capitalist society. But labor's power has not been brought to bear because labor skates like new Steelworkers president Lynn Williams and Frank McKee, in charge of USWA's copper unions, want to play by the bosses' rules. When McKee was interviewed once by a Phoenix TV station and asked about the situation in Morenci he replied, "I wish it wasn't there." That's certainly how he's been acting!

Now Phelps Dodge's union-busting drive against the miners is spreading to other companies. Kennecott, Magma, Inspirational Consolidated and others want to reopen the USWA contract and extort even more concessions from the union ranks. But what is an ominous threat from the copper bosses can be turned into a big opportunity—to bring out the rest of the country's copper miners in powerful joint action with the Phelps Dodge strikers. The PD strike must be spread to the entire industry now! If 1,000-man picket lines are built at every copper mine in the Southwest, the National Guard won't even know where to land their Huey helicopters! Rail workers and truckers must not move one ingot of copper! Hot cargo scab goods and the bosses' Taft-Hartley laws against "secondary boycotts" be damned! And the next time the National Guard is mobilized against the USWA in Morenci, their union brothers better hit the streets in Chicago, Pittsburgh, Cleveland—in the heart of steel union power. That's the kind of militant labor action that can bring PD to its knees, and knock Reagan off his high horse!

WV Photo

SL's "Hardball" supplement big hit with Phelps Dodge strikers.

For 20 years a strike has been standard in copper at contract time. But the Phelps Dodge strike is more than just one more fight against a hardnosed company. The depressed state of the industry is due to the worldwide capitalist economic crisis. As recently as 1982 unemployment in Greenlee County (Clifton-Morenci) was 67 percent—the highest in the country—when PD shut down its local operations. This is the climate in which the union-busters hope to recruit armies of strikebreakers to work at substandard wages. (The scabs at PD are earning $2-$3 less per hour than what union workers were getting before the strike.) And the powerful copper companies, who in 1973 helped overthrow the leftist Allende government in Chile in the bloody Pinochet coup, aren't exactly playing softball. But instead of putting up a solid front of resistance against these ruthless bloodsuckers, the union tops negotiated a wage-freezing contract loaded with concessions to the companies, and left Phelps Dodge workers turning slowly in the wind. Now the companies smell blood and they're coming back for more.

The battle at Phelps Dodge is a political fight. As every miner knows, copper prices only really go up in wartime. Yet the Bisbee miners who struck in 1917 knew that imperialist war abroad means war on the workers at home. Today, PD's war on the copper miners is a reflection of the American ruling class' drive for war on the Soviet Union. The bosses want to wipe out the heritage and historic achievements of the October Revolution, just as they want to get rid of the unions and anything that stands in the way of their profits. As the IWW said in its founding statement:

> "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life."

The reformists and the labor fakers want to turn everything into a fight against "Reaganism"—in other words, to elect a Democrat in November. But the enemy isn't just Reaganism, it's capitalism. Reagan destroyed PATCO, all right, without a peep of protest from the Democratic-controlled Congress. And when they were in the White House, Carter and Mondale tried to break the coal miners strike with Taft-Hartley injunctions. To win the class war, from the Arizona desert to the industrial heartland of the Midwest and the Northern ghettos, we must build a workers party. And this means a fight to oust the union misleaders who want to set up voter registration tables instead of mass picket lines. We need a class-struggle party to mobilize labor at the head of all the oppressed, leading the black and Latino masses in a fight for a workers government, to put an end to the tyrannical rule of the little Pinochets at Phelps Dodge along with the rest of the capitalist predators.

The Spartacist League calls on labor to: Shut down the entire copper industry—take back the "givebacks"! Don't touch scab copper—too hot to handle! Build mass picket lines to drive the scabs out! For mass labor action to stop government strikebreaking—send the National Guard packing! Victory to the Phelps Dodge strike! ■

West Germany...

(continued from page 5)

But a sellout along these lines may not be so easy to arrange. The campaign for a 35-hour workweek with no loss in pay has tapped the German working class' hatred for the Kohl/Strauss regime and deep-seated fears of mass unemployment. At the same time, the 35-hour workweek, which the reformist bureaucrats present as a cure-all for unemployment, is entirely inadequate for the situation facing the West German working class. According to the most optimistic reformist propaganda, 700,000 future layoffs could be prevented and 700,000 new jobs created. That means in the *best case* there will still be over two million unemployed!

For a Socialist United States of Europe!

The capitalists can be forced to grant the 35-hour week, not to speak of a sliding scale of hours and wages, only when the working class poses the question of *power*. In Italy, for example, it was the "hot autumn" of 1969—when workers took over factories throughout the industrial belt, creating an explosive pre-revolutionary situation—which won the *scala mobile*, automatically linking wages to the cost of living. Of course, under capitalism such gains won in battle are always reversible. And today the NATO Socialist Craxi regime is trying to dismantle wage indexing.

In West Germany, as well as in the rest of capitalist Europe, the depression of the early 1980s produced conditions not seen since the terrible hardships of the early postwar years. Today, after a year or so of modest recovery, unemployment in West Germany is still over 9 percent, a level not experienced since the devastation and chaos of 1945-48. Spurred on by fears of another cyclical downturn and determined to get back what they've lost while business is on the upswing, the working class throughout West Europe is in a fighting mood. This has been a "hot spring" of class struggle in *all* the major Common Market countries—the metal workers and printers strikes in West Germany, the explosive resistance of French steel and auto workers to Mitterrand's austerity policies, the militant coal miners strike in Thatcher's Britain and battles to defend the *scala mobile* in Italy. What is needed is international proletarian unity in struggle—especially strike solidarity actions across national borders—against the Common Market of NATO Europe!

The need for international working-class struggle, as well as the destructive irrationality of capitalism, is nowhere clearer than in the steel industry. For years steel has suffered from worldwide overproduction and overcapacity. As a result, entire industrial regions based on coal and steel production—the Saarland and Ruhr in West Germany, Lorraine in France, South Wales in Britain—have been devastated. The lives of countless steel workers and their families have been destroyed. The protectionist Common Market has ordered the wholesale dismantling of the West European steel industry. Yet the only answer of the reformist politicians and union bureaucrats—whether Mayr in West Germany, Chevènement in France or Benn in Britain—is even greater national protectionism, trying to get the steel workers of West Europe at each other's throats. There can be no progressive solution to the steel crisis, including the retraining and the relocation of workers not needed in the industry, short of a planned socialist economy on a Europe-wide scale.

Nor can there be a progressive solution to the capitalist crisis in West Europe separated from the "other" Europe, the bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc. The building of Volkswagen motors in East Germany as well as the Soviet gas pipeline deal show the underlying economic unity of Europe, indicating the possibility for a planned socialist economy in *all* Europe. Despite the mismanagement of the Stalinist bureaucracy, for the workers of East Europe the spectre of mass unemployment is a thing of the past. The planned socialized economy of the Soviet bloc arose from the historic victory of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and its extension to East Europe, albeit from above, after the Red Army defeated Nazi Germany in World War II. Today the imperialist bourgeoisies—including Hitler's heirs in the ministries of Bonn, banking houses of Frankfurt and the Bundeswehr—are determined to reconquer East Europe and the USSR for capitalism...and are prepared to destroy the world in the effort. All class-conscious workers must unconditionally militarily defend the Soviet Union against NATO imperialism.

It is here that the counterrevolutionary nature of West European social democracy is most sharply revealed. François Mitterrand, whose program for the French working people is austerity, austerity and more austerity, is also the sergeant major in Europe for Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. In the 1970s the Social Democratic regime in Bonn built the Bundeswehr into the second most powerful army in NATO. It was SPD chancellor Helmut Schmidt who in 1979 *first* demanded that NATO deploy new medium-range nuclear missiles (the Pershing 2s) in West Germany just eight to ten minutes flying time from major Soviet cities.

There can be no socialist revolution in West Germany—the industrial core of capitalist Europe—without breaking the working class from its traditional ties to social democracy. As the TLD has written in a special supplement for the metal workers and printers strikes:

> "The key is a revolutionary leadership in the tradition of the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky, whose task it is to split the bourgeois workers party, the SPD, along class lines and thus break the reformist hegemony over the working class. The SPD—'in German interests'—is the deadly enemy of proletarian internationalism."

If today German social democracy is more détente-minded than their counterparts in Mitterrand's Paris, not to speak of their allies in Reagan's Washington, it is *not* because they have given up their counterrevolutionary plans toward the Soviet bloc. As the agent of German imperialism in the workers movement, the SPD aims to economically undermine and politically subvert the deformed workers states of East Europe, first and foremost East Germany and Poland. The Social Democrats aim to take back East Germany for capitalism. Trotskyists work for the revolutionary reunification of Germany as part of the Socialist United States of Europe, through socialist revolution in the West and proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy in the East. Victory to the West German metal workers strike! ■

D-Day...

(continued from page 1)

speech near Omaha Beach. Lost for whom? "The great sadness of this loss echoes down to our own time in the streets of Warsaw, Prague and East Berlin. The Soviet troops that came to the center of this continent did not leave when peace came," he said. That complaint is really what the D-Day ceremony was all about.

For the U.S. and British imperialists, World War II was not about smashing fascism but about redividing the booty of capitalist profits, and for this "cause" they dearly wish that Hitler had broken the power of the Soviet Union. As Senator (and later President) Harry Truman put it in June 1941, the day after Hitler invaded the Soviet Union: "If we see that Germany is winning the war we ought to help Russia, and if Russia is winning we ought to help Germany and in that way let them kill as many as possible" (quoted in John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment* [1982]). Thus D-Day was repeatedly delayed by the U.S. and Britain in the hopes that Nazi Germany would bleed Russia (and vice versa).

However, Russia defeated Germany on its own and carried out an anti-capitalist social revolution, albeit bureaucratically deformed and from above, in Eastern and Central Europe. Shortly after World War II ended, Western imperialism launched the Cold War to "roll back" Communism. No imperialist politician is as fanatically committed to that aim as Ronald Reagan.

Operation Barbarossa Sealed Hitler's Doom

The assertion that D-Day was the "turning point" of the war is a total myth. Although the Normandy landings were the largest amphibious operation ever launched, the guts of the German army had *already* been destroyed on the Eastern Front, especially in the decisive battles of Stalingrad and Kursk in 1943. The Eastern Front, and this front *only*, saw the titanic struggle between fascism, the most barbaric expression of capitalism's death agony, and the Soviet state which originated in the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

The Russian people paid a terrible price for their victory over Nazism. When Hitler first launched Operation Barbarossa against the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941, the German army swept across the country on a devastating thousand-mile front. In the first three months alone, Soviet losses (those killed and taken prisoner) were *three million!* By the end of 1941 the German armies stood at the gates of Leningrad, where the Bolshevik Revolution was born, and of Moscow, the Soviet capital.

Hitler's blitzkrieg almost succeeded because the defense of the Soviet Union had been undermined and sabotaged as a result of a political counterrevolution—the rise of Stalin's bureaucracy usurping political power from the working class. Stalin consolidated his bureaucratic regime in the 1930s through bloody purges in which many of the Red Army's best officers were killed, including Marshal Tukhachevsky, the most brilliant general in the civil war of 1917-21. Leon Trotsky, the commander of the Red Army during the civil war, was driven into exile in the late 1920s and finally murdered by a Stalinist agent in Mexico in 1940.

Stalin relied on the paper promises of the 1939 Nazi-Soviet pact to avoid war. Even when Operation Barbarossa was clearly imminent, he tried to stave off attack by ordering his armed forces not to fire at German planes, not to approach the frontiers, not to provoke the Germans at all costs. Chief Marshal of Artillery N.N. Voronov later recalled:

> "My heart was very troubled. The war was drawing closer with every hour....
>
> But at the People's Commissariat of Defense little attention was paid to the danger signals....
> "It was clear that the General Staff did not believe that there would be war in 1941. This point of view emanated from Stalin."
>
> —Seweryn Bialer, ed., *Stalin and His Generals* (1969)

Yevgeni Khaldei

May Day 1945, Soviet Red Army liberates Berlin from Nazi rule as hammer and sickle fly over the Reichstag.

What saved the day was the devotion of the Soviet working people to defending the gains of October 1917 *despite* Stalin. In Leningrad the entire city was mobilized for a determined battle to the death. In one typical heroic episode when the giant Izhorsk factory, which produced such critical items as the T-34 and KV-60 tanks, came under fire from German artillery, the workers formed a battalion and went to the front. After the initial German thrust was halted, the city dug in for a siege of 900 days, a true horror which tested the limits of human endurance when starvation ran rampant in the winter of 1941-42. Over 800,000 died within the city, but the Nazis never succeeded in taking it.

The historic turning point of World War II came at Stalingrad, a fact later admitted by even such an arch anti-Communist as Winston Churchill. Here the Soviet army and the city's population fought block by block, house by house, factory by factory. Soviet Marshal Vasili I. Chuikov, who led the inner city defenses, described the monumental struggle years later:

> "The local authorities and thousands of inhabitants in the factory areas were giving the 62nd Army every help they could. For example, at the Tractor factory, right up to the last minute, until October 14 [1942] that is, our tank crews were repairing tanks with the help of the workers, and at the Barrikady works the workers and our artillerymen together were repairing guns."
>
> —Vasili I. Chuikov, *The Battle of Stalingrad* (1963)

Again and again the German army stormed Soviet defenses, and in October 1942 they got within 300 yards of Chuikov's defenses. Finally General Zhukov launched a massive counterattack, and in February 1943 German Field Marshal Friedrich von Paulus surrendered his forces. For the first time in the war an entire German army (some 334,000 men) had been destroyed. The myth of Nazi "invincibility" was smashed, setting the stage for the decisive battle of Kursk five months later.

At Kursk in July 1943 the cream of the German army, the tank corps, was smashed to smithereens in the greatest tank battle ever fought (3,600 Soviet tanks versus 2,700 Nazi tanks). Over 1.33 million Soviet soldiers engaged nearly a million German troops for over a week in a titanic battle which decided the course of the war.

After Stalingrad and Kursk the Red Army began sweeping west as the Germans fell into retreat. By June 1944 most of the Soviet Union had been liberated and the Russians were preparing to enter Nazi-occupied countries from the Balkans to Poland. The defeat of Nazi Germany was in sight. For the Western "democratic" allies, who had let the Soviet Union bear the brunt of the Nazi war machine for three years, the question now arose: "Who gets Berlin?" And therein lies the origins of D-Day—the race for Berlin and Germany, the key to Europe.

The Second Front and the Popular Front

For three long years Stalin pleaded with his Western allies to open up a second front to take the pressure off the Soviet Union. This was part of the "popular front" strategy of relying on the good will of the "democratic" imperialists in Washington and London. In the name of the "war against fascism" the Stalinists of the American Communist Party supported Roosevelt's sending Japanese Americans to concentration camps, opposed *all* strikes (CP leader William Z. Foster tried to lead a back-to-work movement in the 1943 coal miners strike) and denounced efforts to eliminate racism in the armed forces.

But the Stalinists' slavish support to U.S. imperialist militarism did not prevent their hero Franklin D. Roosevelt from seeking to bleed Russia white while preserving American military/industrial power intact. This treacherous policy has been publicly admitted by Averell Harriman, who was U.S. ambassador to Moscow during the war: "I believe he [Roosevelt] had in mind that if the great armies of Russia could stand up to the Germans, this might well make it possible for us to limit our participation largely to naval and air power" (quoted in Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment*). The U.S. ruling class intended to enter the European theater at the very end, as it had in World War I, and dictate its terms to *all* the war-ravaged European powers, its allies no less than the defeated Axis.

It was the Red Army's unexpectedly rapid advance toward Eastern and Central Europe, not any desire to finish Hitler off, which determined the timing of D-Day. The second front was launched not to save the Soviet Union but to save imperialist interests *from* the Soviet Union. In a scholarly work, *Second Front NOW—1943* (1980), Walter Scott Dunn, Jr. extensively analyzes all the resources available to the Allies and Germans—tanks, submarines, landing craft, aircraft, combat soldiers, intelligence, etc.—and concludes that the "timing of the second front was influenced by both political and military considerations." The military requirement for the invasion of France "was met by April 1943." Retired U.S. General A.C. Wedemeyer endorses this view in a foreword to Dunn's book and now laments that the Americans did not get to Berlin before the Russians:

> "They, instead of the Soviets, could have seized and occupied much of Central Europe. Postwar history could then have unfolded under political and economic conditions much more favorable to the interests of the Free World."

U.S. imperialism wanted to dominate *all* of Europe; the Soviet victory prevented that.

While the Stalinists were agitating for an American/British invasion of continental Europe, the Trotskyists recognized that a victory for Roosevelt's America in World War II would enormously strengthen the most powerful imperialist country on earth. In early 1942, shortly after the U.S. entered the war, James P. Cannon, leader of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), stated the revolutionary position on World War II just as Roosevelt was moving to throw him and the other SWP leaders into prison under the Smith Act:

> "The considerations which determined our attitude toward the war up to the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and the Axis powers retain their validity in the new situation. "We considered the war upon the part of all the capitalist powers involved—Germany and France, Italy and Great Britain—as an *imperialist war*.
> "This characterization of the war was determined for us by the character of the state powers involved in it. They were all capitalist states in the epoch of imperialism; themselves imperialist—oppressing other nations or peoples—or satellites of imperialist powers. The extension of the war to the Pacific and the formal entry of the United States and Japan changed nothing in this basic analysis....
> "This characterization of the war does not apply to the war of the Soviet Union against German imperialism. We make a fundamental distinction between the Soviet Union and its 'democratic' allies. We defend the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is a workers' state, although degenerated under the totalitarian political rule of the Kremlin bureaucracy. Only traitors can deny support to the Soviet workers' state in its war against fascist Germany. To defend the Soviet Union, in spite of Stalin and against Stalin, is to defend the nationalized property established by the October revolution. That is a *progressive war*." [emphasis in original]
>
> —"A Statement on the War," *Fourth International*, January 1942

Today, when Reagan's America is planning a nuclear Operation Barbarossa against the Soviet Union, we Trotskyists again stand firmly on the barricades in defense of the gains of October. ■

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NYC Transit Union...

(continued from page 3)

heaten to death hy transit police for allegedly serawling graffiti in a 14th Street subway station. Whipped up hy Reagan/Koch, transit cops rampage the suhway system with drawn guns and attack dogs, harassing, beating up and shooting wildly at anything that moves. Stewart lay comatose on his deathhed during Congressional hearings on police hrutality in NYC where in 1983 alone there were more than 40 murders, mainly of hlacks, hy the killers in hlue.

In a grotesque cover-up of this cop murder, the appropriately-named Dr. Elliot Gross, the Koch-appointed chief medical examiner, ruled that 25-year-old Stewart died of cardiac arrest although when he was admitted comatose to Bellevue Hospital, hound with shackles, surgical tape and handcuffs, there were more than 60 wounds on his body. These wounds were noted hy a family doctor who also observed that Stewart's eyes showed massive hemorrhaging such as is caused hy strangulation. Suhsequently, in a ghoulish addendum to the cover-up, Dr. Gross secretly stole Stewart's eyes from his hody (*Amsterdam News*, 12 May)!

Now, more than seven months later, in an action reminiscent of the slap on the wrist given to the murderers of transit worker Willie Turks, three cops have heen charged with second-degree manslaughter and released without bail despite the fact that eyewitnesses testified before a grand jury they saw eleven TA cops pummeling Stewart.

Put the racist killers of Michael Stewart and Willie Turks in Attica and throw away the key! But real vengeance for Michael Stewart and for all the victims of racist/cop murder is going to take the integrated revolutionary mohilization of American working people for power. Finish the Civil War! ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 12)

"democratic" imperialism to keep its hands clean and impose sanctions against South Africa.

A militant 50-strong Spartacist League contingent marched behind a banner reading: "Black Workers Are Revolutionary Powerhouse—Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution! Smash Reagan/Thatcher/Botha Racist Anti-Soviet War Axis!" Other SL placards linked the police terror against workers and minorities in Britain with Thatcher's welcome to Botha. A Spartacist hanner proclaimed, "Smash the Tory Assault—Miners Must Not Stand Alone!" Another called for "Union/Minority Mohilisations to Smash the Fascist/Cop Terror!" This was particularly urgent given the cop rampage against striking coal miners at Orgreave.

Unlike the liherals and reformists, communists say that the main enemy is at home. Thus the SL contingent chanted against Britain's racist immigration laws, "Labour prepared it, Tories enact it—Smash the Nationality Act!" When we chanted "Solidarność loves apartheid—Smash apartheid, defend the Soviet Union!" and "Defend the ANC against the hutcher Botha! Hail Cuban troops defending black Angola!" it drove the anti-Soviet Socialist Workers Party contingent marching hehind us into a veritahle frenzy. The Cliffites responded with the CIA's call for "Free trade unions, East and West!"

Among those who joined our class-struggle contingent were a number of workers from the heavily minority London Transport workforce and a black miner from South Yorkshire. Our comrades sold 480 pieces of literature, including 64 copies of the SL pamphlet "Black History and the Class Struggle." Our slogans put forward the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution throughout southern Africa, summed up in the chant: "Smash apartheid, this is the hour, black workers have got the power!" ■

Haitians...

(continued from page 3)

overthrow "Baby Doc's" bloody tyranny. As for those who have managed to escape, a Supreme Court decision last week threatens to send many back. It now explicitly restricts the criteria for granting asylum to those who can prove they would be in special personal danger. Cleverly using a case involving an anti-Communist Yugoslav, the decision is really aimed at the hundreds of thousands escaping U.S.-supported dictatorships in Latin America and the Caribbean, notably El Salvador and Haiti.

In New York on June 15 a demonstration of some 70 people protested the Coast Guard killings and Duvalier's repression in front of the UN and marched to the Haitian consulate. Spartacist League demonstrators carried signs saying, "Stop Racist Deportation of Haitian Refugees! Protest Coast Guard Murders!" and "Down with Duvalier! For a Workers and Peasants Government!" Another placard emphasized the connection with the anti-Communist campaign at the core of Washington's foreign policy: "Reagan Welcomes Gusano Scum, Deports Haitian Blacks." While the U.S. Congress debates immigration "reform"—the racist Simpson-Mazzoli bill which offers a limited amnesty as cover for mass deportation and the introduction of a South Africa-style pass card system—the SL demanded, "Full Citizenship Rights for All Foreign-Born Workers! Jobs for All!"

The award winning film *Canne Amère* (*Bitter Cane*) powerfully demonstrates that the Haiti of today is not just the impoverished backwater occupied hy the Marines during 1915-34, and hardly "semifeudal" as various Haitian Stalinists pretend. It is still the poorest country in the Americas with 80 percent unemployment in the countryside and 80 percent illiteracy everywhere. But in the free trade zone of the capital, Port-au-Prince, some 60,000 workers, many of them women, are employed in light manufacture of everything from hrassieres to baseballs at a starvation wage of $2.90 per *day*. Haiti also supplies the hulk of sugar cane cutters in the neighboring Dominican Republic. Just as important, several hundred thousand Haitians have emigrated to the imperialist center of New York along with tens of thousands to Montreal. They constitute a living link between the North American workers revolution and the liberation of the Carihhean.

Dominican workers who "enjoy" a few democratic rights (any form of communism, trade unionism or political opposition is vigorously repressed in Haiti) must struggle to defend their class hrothers next door and struggle for revolution throughout the island of Hispaniola. As Spartacist signs proclaimed at the June 15 NYC protest, "Haitian and Dominican Workers: For Workers Revolution!" In the U.S. it is the urgent duty of the labor movement to demand a halt to the deportations and to fight for freedom for Haitian refugees locked up in Miami's Krome Avenue concentration camps, the federal holding pen at Fort Allen, Puerto Rico, the Brooklyn Navy Yard and the Lake Placid gulag. For internationalist class struggle, from the Carihhean semi-colonies to the imperialist metropolis! For a socialist federation of the Caribbean! *"A bas Duvalier, pouvoir ouvrier!"* ("Down with Duvalier. For workers power!") ■

Richard Bradley...

(continued from page 12)

under the sign of the Confederate flag.

It was in the same SF Civic Center where the Confederate flag lately flew that in April 1979 the SL and hundreds of Bay Area trade unionists mohilized to stop the Nazis from "celehrating" Hitler's hirthday. We stopped the Nazis that day, and they haven't heen hack since. Now the Confederate flag, the flag of Greensboro, the native American equivalent of the swastika, is down—and it's going to stay down.

Mayor Feinstein's attempts to prosecute Bradley turned into a debacle from

SF Examiner

Notorious Richmond, California "cowboy" cops practice racist terror under banner of Confederate flag.

the District Attorney and Democratic administration's point of view, as we noted last issue: "In taking up the lost cause of the Confederate flag against the Union flag they had made an enemy of the whole course of American history." Despite an earlier vow to retry Bradley after the judge declared a mistrial on June 4, the next week the D.A.'s office moved to dismiss *all* charges stemming from Bradley's actions. Indeed, this battle was already won when the city was forced to state that the Confederate flag would no longer fly.

The prospect of going to trial again, this time on charges against Bradley for *putting up* the flag of the Union, the 33-star Fort Sumter flag, was obviously too much for the evasive city officials, who under Feinstein's orders had themselves maliciously and viciously shredded and destroyed that Union flag. No douht she was nervously looking to the upcoming Democratic Party convention in San Francisco, now barely a month away. Partisan Defense Committee staff counsel Valerie C. West, who defended Bradley, called the D.A.'s motion to dismiss "cowardly," stating in court:

> "Richard Bradley has a right to a trial and a verdict by a jury of his peers. Failure to proceed with this trial constitutes an admission that there was an attempt to frame up Richard Bradley and that he has been the victim of false arrests and malicious prosecution.... The first trial of Richard Bradley showed that who ought to be on trial here are those city officials who flew the Confederate flag, the banner of slavery and race-terror, in violation of city policy and who took down and destroyed the Fort Sumter garrison flag."

The entire theme of Bradley's first trial was to raise the unfinished husiness of the Civil War, the fight for hlack emancipation through workers revolution. West's opening remarks laid out these vital issues:

> "The District Attorney has said that this will be...an open and shut case of vandalism. Now we all know what vandalism is and it does not have to do with what has happened in this case.... "The evidence will show that throughout his life, he [Bradley] has struggled for integration and against racist terror. That he became a socialist because he believes that racism—born of slavery, maintained hy capitalism—can and will only be ended by socialism.
>
> "He had to speak in the same way that Rosa Parks had to speak when she sat in the front of the hus in Montgomery, Alabama. And he is no more guilty of the crime of vandalism, than Rosa Parks was guilty of a crime when she sat down in the front of the hus. I believe the evidence will show that San Francisco is a better place for Richard Bradley's act."

The defense repeatedly caught out the D.A.'s only two witnesses in evasive "don't recalls," "don't knows" and outright lying. Recreation and Parks general manager Tom Malloy had to admit finally that the city flew the Dixie hattle flag in violation of its own stated policy not to fly that flag, estahlished in 1964. He also "didn't recall" that that policy was estahlished hecause there was a civil rights demonstration of some 50,000 protesters in July 1964, during the Republican convention, where the Confederate flag was torn down.

One of the key questions hrought out hy defense attorney West was the vindictive racist destruction of the Fort Sumter flag Bradley put up. She asked Deputy Mayor Rotea Gilford who ordered the flag down, and he testified: "It was on the mayor's authority." "On her personal authority?" West asked. "Yes," he replied.

Gilford further testified he was informed by police on duty in the mayor's office that the Fort Sumter flag was in the mayor's office and a representative of the Spartacist League could pick it up. But by the time of the trial, the story had changed: the Fort Sumter flag was "in shreds and thrown away." We had ordered this flag, made to the exact specifications of the other flags in the Civic Center, at a cost of $150 and donated it to the city, after the mayor announced the Confederate flag would no longer be flown. So what vandals shredded it and threw it away? "Dixie Dianne's" revenge, obviously. Indeed, after the trial many jurors said it was the destruction of the Fort Sumter flag that led them to conclude that the city, not Richard Bradley, was guilty of malice.

The Confederate Flag Means the Greensboro Massacre

Bradley stated in court that on the very same day he first tore down the Confederate flag, an all-white jury in Greensboro, North Carolina was acquitting, for the second time, the Nazi/Klan killers who murdered five civil rights and labor organizers in broad daylight:

> "What I didn't want to see happen is what happened in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1979.... The Klan and Nazis got out of their car and walked back to the car trunk, and pulled out their guns and passed them out to the other Klansmen and Nazis that were present. And started shooting these civil rights activists down in cold blood—that's what happened. In fact, when they were on the ground they continued to pump shots into their hodies. And I did not want to see San Francisco become another Greensboro."

West sought to introduce as evidence

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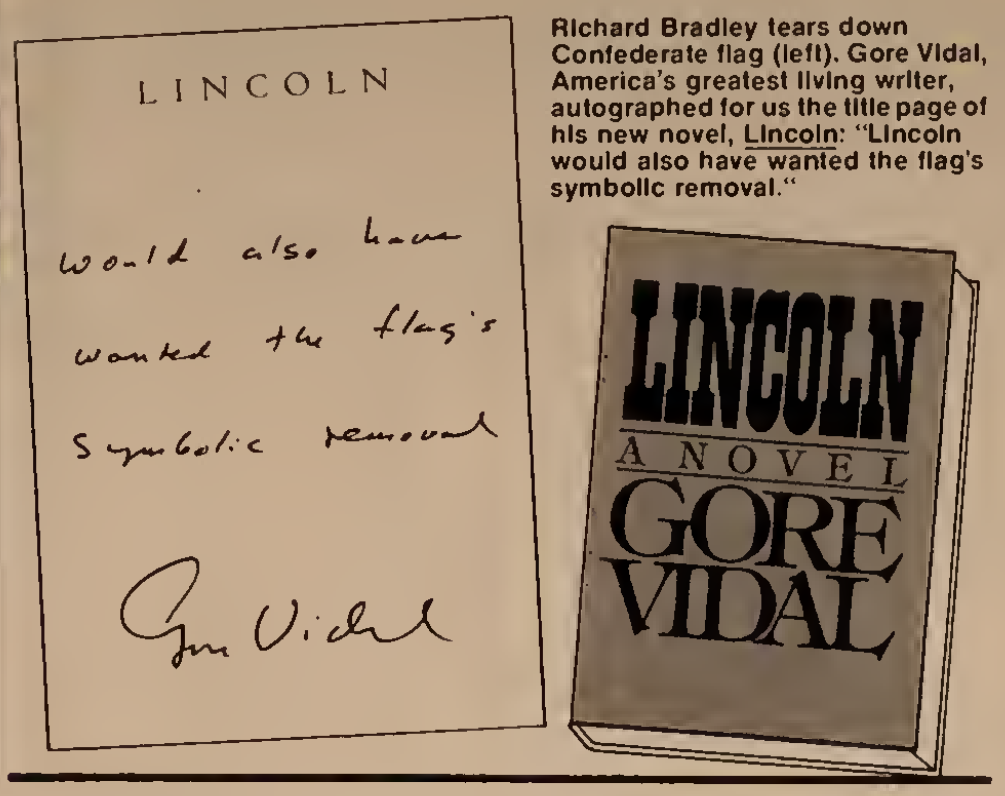

Richard Bradley tears down Confederate flag (left). Gore Vidal, America's greatest living writer, autographed for us the title page of his new novel, Lincoln: "Lincoln would also have wanted the flag's symbolic removal."

the 88-second videotape of the Greensboro massacre, including the segment showing a Confederate flag license plate on the lead car in the Klan/Nazi caravan. But Judge Timothy A. Reardon viewed the tape out of the presence of the jury and refused to allow it, on the grounds it was "too good" for the defense. "I don't want to see him acquitted on that basis," he said, claiming the tape would unduly influence the jury. The judge also refused to allow as evidence a magazine put out by the anti-fascist organization Klanwatch, in which there are grisly photos of the Klan at work: lynchings, bombings, tar and featherings, cross-burnings.

But that's what the Confederate flag means: race-terror, murder, bloody attacks on union organizers. In response to the D.A.'s initial threat of a retrial, West subpoenaed KKK terrorist and virulent racist Tom Metzger to come into court to demonstrate what the Confederate flag means, a living symbol of bloody terrorist suppression of blacks. As well, the attorney had reissued a subpoena for Mayor Dianne Feinstein to get *her* to explain why she defended this hateful symbol of slavery and clawed to shreds the flag of the Union. Of course Feinstein has already got her reward for proving her loyalty to the Dixiecrats: she's just been tapped by Mondale as an official contender for the vice presidency, along with Southern Dixiecrat Lloyd Bentsen! So much for Jesse Jackson's donkey work in bringing in the black vote: the deal will be Northern liberal Mondale and one of the Dixiecrats, of which Feinstein is now a more than honorary member.

The Richmond "Cowboys" and the Confederacy

One photo the defense did get into evidence at the trial is the one Bradley saw on the wall of the SF cops' Northern Station, where he was first booked. It is a photo of the notorious Richmond, California "cowboys," the brutal racist cops that have beaten and killed blacks in that Bay Area town for years. In the picture, the cops are decked out in Western garb, holding various weapons and sporting a Confederate flag. It is this that the Northern Station cops post up as their model.

Bradley testified that Officer Roche, who arrested him, introduced him to the all-white officers in the station: "This is officer so-and-so from Alabama, this is so-and-so from Mississippi, this is so-and-so from Arkansas," etc. The cops know what the Confederate flag means: license to terrorize and kill blacks.

We Did It!

One of the exhibits introduced by the defense was a giant 20 by 24-inch blow-up photo of Bradley, clad in the uniform of a Union soldier, atop the 50-foot flagpole in the act of tearing down the Confederate flag. Yes, Bradley and West emphasized, we did it, we're proud of it and it's no crime. The D.A. tried to get Bradley to admit what he was doing was "unlawful," asking, "Did you have permission to tear that flag into shreds?" Bradley responded:

> "I thought it was illegal for that flag to be flying in Civic Center. It's an insult and it's the flag of the Ku Klux Klans that terrorize blacks and other minorities in this country. I don't think the flag should be flying anywhere."

The judge refused to allow into evidence an 1863 law making it a crime to fly the Confederate flag.

The cops and Klan know what the Confederate flag means. So do Bradley and the Spartacist League, so do blacks throughout America, and so does the labor movement. Another witness for the defense was Peter Woolston, member of the General Executive Board of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 6, who burned the Confederate flag on April 15 after Bradley threw its pieces to the ground. Woolston stated that the city's flying of the Confederate flag became an issue in his union in 1982, when Bradley together with Diana Coleman ran as Spartacist candidates for San Francisco Board of Supervisors and said the first thing they'd do if elected would be to see to it that the Confederate flag was hauled down.

Woolston also stated his union passed a motion demanding that the racist banner come down, and that the city did in fact take it down for a mass labor march and rally in Civic Center to get out the Democratic vote, held on 24 October 1982—but that the flag was back up within a week. Numerous other witnesses testified that the flag was taken down for that day, in an obviously calculated decision—though no city officials at the trial could "recall" anything about it.

West summed up the case for Bradley and against the Confederate flag and its defenders:

> "The change in public policy is a vindication of Richard Bradley's acts. The Confederate flag will no longer fly in San Francisco. In the wake of that decision, a guilty verdict here would be a gross miscarriage of justice."

The jury obviously agreed. As the twelve jurors, only one of whom was black, retired to consider their verdict, they took with them to study the large photo of Bradley cutting down the Confederate flag. It was eight for acquittal. Later, one juror shook Bradley's hand, saying "I would have done it if I had the guts." He donated $20 to the defense and bought a *Workers Vanguard* subscription.

Finish the Civil War!

Our action in tearing down the Confederate flag and the trial raised the great unfinished business of the Civil War. The jury was visibly moved by testimony from retired black educator Joseph Hann, who developed the curriculum for the first black studies course taught in the U.S. at San Francisco State University. Hann explained the Civil War's origins in the inevitable clash of the system of Northern industrial capitalism versus the slave system of the South, and described how the Emancipation Proclamation opened the door to the recruitment of 200,000 black soldiers to the Union, who turned the tide of battle against the Confederacy. He recalled the historic battle of Fort Pillow, where hundreds of black troops were slaughtered after they surrendered, at the command of Confederate general Nathaniel Bedford Forrest, who went on to be the first president of the Ku Klux Klan. He concluded by comparing the Confederate flag to the Nazi swastika.

Our battle to get the flag of slavery and racist terror down, and keep it down, was a big victory for all decent citizens of San Francisco. It is a telling verdict on the capitalist system and the anti-progressive role of the bourgeoisie today that it falls squarely to the communists to uphold the verdict of American history against slavery, while Democrats like "Dixie Dianne" uphold the banner of black oppression. At the trial, the defense introduced the Marxists' historic support to the Union in the Civil War, in the form of a letter from Karl Marx to President Lincoln on his re-election in 1864. The issues raised by Marx in his address are still burning today:

> "If resistance to the Slave Power was the reserved watchword of your first election, the triumphant war cry of your reelection is, Death to Slavery....
> "While the workingmen, the true political powers of the North, allowed slavery to defile their own republic, while before the Negro, mastered and sold without his concurrence, they boasted it the highest prerogative of the white-skinned laborer to sell himself and choose his own master, they were unable to attain the true freedom of labor, or to support their European brethren in their struggle for emancipation, but this barrier to progress has been swept off by the red sea of Civil War."

Just as the Civil War and Emancipation Proclamation thrust blacks into the forefront of social revolution, so today the black proletariat, integrated into American industry albeit at the bottom, will be thrust into the forefront of struggle for the third American revolution. It is the task of the American working class to finish what the Civil War started. As Diana Coleman stated in her trial testimony:

> "We said that it took the first American revolution to kick out the British. It took the second American revolution, that is the Civil War, to get rid of slavery. And it will take a third American revolution to finish the Civil War and to bring real liberation for black people and for all working people." ■

Confederate Flag Is Not "Historical Relic" But Deadly Incitement to Racist Terror

From left: Klan march in Alabama, 1979; Nazi nest in black proletarian stronghold of Detroit; KKK terrorists parade through French Quarter in New Orleans, 1978.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Hail Richard Bradley! Finish the Civil War!

Black Militant Puts Dixie Flag On Trial

WV Photo

Richard Bradley in Union Army uniform after tearing down the flag of slavery in front of San Francisco's city hall.

Curse Mayor Feinstein!

SAN FRANCISCO—We put the Confederate flag on trial, the banner of slavery and race-terror. After Spartacist Richard Bradley's first trial for tearing down the Confederate flag in San Francisco's Civic Center ended June 4 in a hung jury (8 to 4 for acquittal), the squirming Democratic city administration and "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein's District Attorney moved on June 11 to dismiss *all* charges against Bradley, over vigorous objections by Bradley's defense.

Behind Bradley's trial and the "battle of the flags" in San Francisco are great questions of social policy, drenched in blood, that go to the very heart of what the United States has been, is now and will become. At the core of Bradley's defense was the Civil War's still unfulfilled promise of black equality—a promise that will take a third American revolution, a socialist revolution, to make good on.

Twice Bradley ripped down the provocative banner of slavery, and he scaled the 50-foot high flagpole a third time to replace it with the historic Union Fort Sumter garrison flag. These actions expressed the determination of the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense that the KKK and Nazis, paramilitary shock troops of race-terror and union-busting, must not and *will not* spread their murderous tentacles into San Francisco! Bradley's action was also a counterattack on the acquittal, that same day, of the fascists who slaughtered five civil rights activists in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1979

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Thousands Protest Racist South Africa Butcher Botha

Smash Apartheid—Black Workers Have the Power!

LONDON—Twenty thousand people marched through London June 2 in an angry protest against the visit of South African prime minister and apartheid butcher P.W. Botha. Margaret Thatcher's invitation to Botha is a declaration of racist "free world" solidarity with the white supremacist regime and the U.S.-led anti-Soviet war axis in southern Africa. Having succeeded in forcing the black African "front line" states to stab the African National Congress in the back, Botha now wants Thatcher to ban the ANC here as "terrorists." As a Spartacist League/Britain placard at the march said, "British Army in Belfast, Terror Raids in Lesotho—Who Are the Real Terrorists?"

The demonstration reflected the outrage felt in almost all sectors of society at Botha's visit, including not only numerous trade-union and left contingents and a significant representation of minorities, but even Young Liberals and Tory "wets" (moderates). The dominant theme of the march, initiated by the liberal/Stalinist Anti-Apartheid Movement, was a popular-frontist appeal to

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London, June 2—Spartacist League/Britain says black unions key to smashing apartheid.

Spartacist Britain

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 358 6 July 1984

Toledo, Las Vegas, St. Croix, Arizona Mines— Class Battles Flare in Reagan's America

Make the Unions One Big Fist!

Break With the Democrats— Build a Workers Party!

Last year, profits of American businesses soared almost 40 percent, while wages for unionized workers went up only 2.6 percent. These were the absolute lowest labor settlements on record, for the first time even less than what non-unionized workers got. And when inflation is added in, it amounts to an actual wage *cut*. This was the balance sheet of the union misleaders' policy of "sharing the sacrifices" of the depression: the bosses get the money and the workers get the shaft. Now, however, there's an upturn and workers are ready to fight. With the greedy corporations still pushing for union-busting, a giant contradiction is created, rather like two locomotives heading toward each other on the same track. Even the *Wall Street Journal* is worried, saying 1984 will be a "year of reckoning."

The anti-Soviet war drive abroad means war against workers and the oppressed at home. From the MX missile to Cold War politics over the Olympics, Reagan is only implementing what Democrats Carter and Mondale initiated. And precisely because it is tied to the Democratic Party, the present trade-union bureaucracy, forged in the McCarthyite period, is utterly incapable of defending the workers and their allies

UPI/Bettmann Archive

Philadelphia Teamsters came out to defend Greyhound workers against union-busting last winter. We say: No More Greyhounds or PATCOs!

from the domestic consequences of today's "Cold War II." Yet now is the time that resolute struggle could win some victories for working people, for a change.

When the economic crisis first hit, the companies turned to the labor "statesmen" who dutifully agreed to rip up their contracts, giving back one union gain after another. Under Carter, in exchange for Congress bailing out Chrysler and a seat for himself on the board of directors, UAW leader Fraser stole $5 billion from auto workers' pockets to put in the coffers of the Big 3. With labor caving in, Reagan went further and outright destroyed the PATCO union, summarily firing 10,000 air controllers. Not a peep from the Democrats: this was bipartisan union-busting. And the Machinists, Teamsters and pilots unions who could have shut down the airports didn't—including the IAM's Winpisinger, who calls himself a "seat-of-the-pants socialist," presumably because all he does is sit on his hands.

As recently as last December, Greyhound demanded *and got* a huge $13,000-per-worker wage and benefits cut as transport union leaders threw in the towel after four weeks on strike. The company recruited hundreds of scabs and ran down strikers from Boston to Seattle, killing striker Ray Phillips in Ohio. A few weeks later there was another labor martyr on the West Coast, Greg Goohic, run over by a Union Oil scab. Meanwhile the cops are going at it hot and heavy: more than 700 unionists were arrested during the two-month Las Vegas hotel strike. And in the year-old Arizona copper strike against Phelps Dodge, the Democratic governor has twice mobilized the National Guard, tanks and all, against the strikers.

Labor is under the gun legally as well. The Reaganite NLRB and Supreme Court have issued a string of decisions allowing companies to set up non-union "runaway shops" at will, harass workers with impunity for union activity, and throw contracts out the window simply by filing for "reorganization" under the bankruptcy laws. Continental Airlines used this ploy to declare a 50 percent wage cut, provoke a strike and then fire the strikers. Now the company is suing

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Phelps Dodge Strikers Stand Off Cop Assault

It's War in Arizona Mining Town

Eyewitness Report

CLIFTON, Arizona, July 1—In a vicious, premeditated and organized assault, the Arizona "Department of Public Safety" (state police) turned this mining town into a war zone, brutally attacking copper strikers and their supporters, including women and children, who were peacefully gathering after a labor rally yesterday. Tear gas cannisters littered the area and wooden bullets flew as DPS cops pushed the demonstrators back from U.S. Highway 666; the miners responded by grabbing rocks and shouting angry curses at the forces of "law and order" who wantonly brutalized the participants at the rally. After the three-hour tear gas barrage, the state police pulled back and the strikers took over the highway, erecting barricades of tires, debris and railroad ties which burned far into the night.

The June 30 protest marked the one-year anniversary of the bitter copper strike against the Phelps Dodge Corporation's attempt to ram through a sweeping "giveback" contract and bust the 13 copper unions at its mines and smelters in Morenci, Ajo and Douglas in Arizona and El Paso, Texas. Repeatedly

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UPI

Twenty strikers arrested in brutal cop attack.

Oppose Bosses' Control Over Union Dues!

Iowa City, Iowa
15 April 1984

Comrades,

In recent issues of *WV* you reported that the SL-supported caucus in the New York City transit union has come out against dues checkoff. In doing this they have come out in agreement with right-wing anti-union—the so-called right-to-work—forces. I belong to a union which made the transition from hand collection of dues to checkoff while I was a member, albeit many years ago. Therefore I am aware of the pros and cons of the discussion. The argument about having more steward contact has validity, but the point about giving management control of union funds does not strike me as valid. Granted on any given month they could, but then hand collection could be used, and the ranks roused to the attack on them. Once handed over, the funds are the union's. Hand collection reduces stewards to dues collectors in some cases, and creates alienation. The next logical step is to outlaw the union shop. Even if that isn't done, the financial base of a union, strike fund and all, will be seriously undermined. Dues checkoff is an often fought for aspect of union recognition, and in spite of some negative things, *some* of which you mentioned, it makes for a more stable union. I know that Marxists will sometimes find themselves with positions which are similar to the capitalist and petty-bourgeois right (gun control, for example). When this happens we should double-check our reasons, and analyze theirs, but it does happen. While I realize that the call for or against a dues checkoff is a tactical question—you are certainly not coming out against workers organizing—I think that the transit caucus has made a mistake in adopting this stand. It doesn't just attack the bureaucrats as intended, but would hurt the whole union and workers' organizing. It also leaves them open to believable charges of crawling in bed with the worst anti-union groups, real enemies of the working class. I hope that they will reconsider this position. Real working-class leaders don't have to be afraid to admit a mistake, and in the long run, if handled honestly, they will probably emerge the better for it.

In solidarity,
Loren Schutt

WV replies: We do indeed agree with the viewpoint of the Committee for a Fighting TWU, namely: "The dues checkoff makes our union leaders lazy and dependent on [New York transit boss] Kiley. Making the bosses our bankers means entrusting the dues structure to our enemy and ensuring we won't have it when we need it most. We must immediately institute a system of *elected* shop stewards responsible for dues collection!" (from CFTWU leaflet, "Stop Kiley's Union-Busting!", reprinted in *WV* No. 350, 16 March).

Accepting "management control of union funds" assumes class peace in which the union does not fight management. It is worth noting that the dues checkoff was "won" by the Transport Workers Union tops in 1948 in the aftermath of passage of the witchhunting anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act, and as part of the red purge in New York City transit. L.H. Whittemore's biography of Mike Quill, *The Man Who Ran the Subways* (New York, 1968), lays out starkly how this measure was proposed by the bosses in order to strengthen the TWU bureaucracy against the militants:

> "Mayor O'Dwyer nodded his approval of this logic and inquired if Quill could use a dues checkoff by which the Board of Transportation would collect dues from employees' pay checks. This would be a way of obtaining solid rank-and-file support against the Reds at the convention later in the year. Mike simply replied, 'A checkoff wouldn't hurt.'
> "'O.K., you've got it,' returned O'Dwyer, and the shortest labor negotiation in history was finished."

The dues checkoff is an instrument of financial blackmail. This was demonstrated in the 1980 NYC transit strike when it was taken away from the TWU, thereby financially crippling the union in the very heat of battle. Of course, the union could and did organize hand collection, but to do this only in the middle of a strike was at the very least disruptive. The checkoff was later restored after six months for the bureaucrats' "cooperation over productivity," i.e., selling out work and safety standards. Dues collection by elected stewards serves to make the union leadership financially as well as politically accountable to the membership and *prepares the union for combat.*

Dues collection alienates a union membership when they get nothing for their money except an overpaid labor bureaucracy who act as company agents. This is exacerbated when the bosses collect the dues for the bureaucrats. Of course, we defend the dues checkoff against anti-labor assaults like the Taylor Law penalties leveled against the TWU for the 1980 strike. In the aftermath of the sellout of that strike which left the membership paying massive fines, some TWU members refused to pay dues. We oppose such "dues protests" which only further cripple the union, and insist that members pay their dues while fighting for a class-struggle leadership that gives them something for their hard-earned money.

The dues checkoff is a classic example of the tendency for trade unions in the absence of a revolutionary leadership to turn into appendages of the bourgeois state, reflecting the sellout labor bureaucracy's desire to live in "harmony" with the class enemy. It is of a piece with the various "labor courts," boards and capitalist labor legislation generally, which these fakers always count on. And it is particularly true for the dues checkoff in NYC transit where the boss and union treasurer is the state itself. While favoring all legal proceedings defending the interests of the working class, we oppose all capitalist labor laws as instruments to subordinate the workers movement to the capitalist state. As Leon Trotsky emphasized in his 1940 notes, "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay," the primary slogan to turn the unions into instruments of class struggle is the "*complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state.*" ■

TROTSKY

Forge a Class-Struggle Workers Party to Win!

Locked into class war with the bourgeoisie that is master of wealth and political power, workers need their own party to conquer state power and expropriate the bourgeoisie. Addressing this need, America's founding Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon wrote regarding the turbulent struggles of the 1930s:

LENIN

Much has been said about the "backwardness" of the American working class as a justification for a pessimistic outlook, the postponement of the socialist revolution to a remote future, and withdrawal from the struggle. This is a very superficial view of the American workers and their prospects.

It is true that this class, in many respects the most advanced and progressive in the world, has not yet taken the road of independent political action on a mass scale. But this weakness can be swiftly overcome....

In one leap—in a brief decade—the American workers attained trade union consciousness on a higher plane and with mightier organizations than in any other advanced country. In the study and analysis of this great transformation, rather than in vapid ruminations over the "backwardness" of the American workers, one can find the key to prospective future developments. Under the impact of great events and pressing necessities the American workers will advance beyond the limits of trade unionism and acquire political class consciousness and organization in a similar sweeping movement.

—James P. Cannon, "Theses on the American Revolution" (1946)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 358 **6 July 1984**

Australasian Spartacist

Protest Hits Racist Murder of Australian Aborigine

SYDNEY, Australia—Over 50 demonstrators protested on June 1 against the Western Australia Supreme Court's outrageous acquittal of five cops who murdered John Pat, a 17-year-old black Aboriginal youth beaten and kicked to death last September in Roebourne. The protest, initiated by blacks in Wollongong and built jointly with the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, demanded "Avenge the Murder of John Pat!" and "Drop the Charges Against Roebourne Blacks!" An SL/ANZ spokesman stressed the need to link justice for the embattled and marginalised Aboriginal population to a fighting labour movement and a party to sweep away the racist ruling class which opposes Asian immigration and Aboriginal land rights, and called to "establish a planned economy throughout this whole region where blacks, Asians and white people can live together in security and dignity."

Defend the Vietnamese Revolution!

China Spearheads U.S. Aggression Against Vietnam

Thirty years after the historic victory over French colonialism at Dien Bien Phu, almost a decade after the CIA and U.S. ambassador ignominiously fled Saigon, the heroic Vietnamese people are still resisting imperialist-directed aggression. China's recent stepped-up artillery shelling and troop incursions along the northern border of Vietnam, timed to coincide with Reagan's visit to Peking in April, trace in blood the unholy alliance between U.S. imperialism and the Chinese Stalinists against the Soviet Union and its allies. "It's a way of celebrating Reagan's trip. They used to celebrate with firework displays," commented General Dam Quang Trung, Vietnamese army commander of Military Zone I where the Chinese attacks took place.

The Vietnamese report that Chinese artillery shelling has resulted in heavy civilian casualties and destruction of schools, factories and villages. Spreading the conflict along Vietnam's entire defensive perimeter, in May the Chinese extended mortar and artillery fire across their border with Laos. Thai army troops simultaneously crossed the northwestern Laotian/Thai border, raising the Thai flag over three villages and forcing the Laotian population to register with Thai authorities, a conscious provocation opening yet another front in this reactionary offensive. Most ominously, this coincided with large-scale joint U.S.-Thai military exercises in the region (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 7 June).

The battle-hardened Vietnamese remain confident of their capacity to repel the new Chinese attacks. As of mid-June they had retaken three of the six positions within Vietnam occupied recently by up to 20,000 Chinese troops. But the fighting continues and the threat of a full-scale Chinese invasion still looms. China's UN representative recently asserted its "right to teach Vietnam a second lesson," evoking Chinese rhetoric before the 1979 invasion. Should China invade in the service of U.S. imperialism's global war drive against the Soviet Union and its allies, all people everywhere must rally to Vietnam's defense.

The latest attacks by China and Thailand, while ostensibly aimed at getting Vietnam to abandon Kampuchea (Cambodia), are part of Reagan's provocative war drive against the USSR, Vietnam's main ally. The military and economic pressure on Vietnam is designed in part to drive a wedge between Hanoi and Moscow. But this strategem has not succeeded. Soviet aid to Vietnam, while inadequate, has been of vital importance, as our comrades of the Spartacist League of Australia/New Zealand recently noted: "It is indeed fortunate that Vietnam's powerful Soviet ally has considerable sea and air power standing ready at the huge U.S.-built port at Cam Ranh Bay. In the midst of the Chinese shelling Hanoi underlined this point by publicly announcing Soviet commando manoeuvres and training on Vietnam's eastern seaboard" (*Australasian Spartacist*, May-June 1984). These maneuvers were reportedly designed to forestall a possible Chinese amphibious invasion launched from the island of Hai Nan opposite Vietnam.

Reagan's April trip to Peking was closely tied not only to the attacks on Vietnam but to strengthening overall U.S./China military collaboration. The U.S. already has a super-secret electronic spy post in western China near the Soviet border, replacing listening posts lost in Iran after the fall of the shah. Pentagon chief Weinberger's visit to China last fall was followed by sales to China of anti-aircraft and anti-tank missiles, early warning radar and other weapons systems. Just before Reagan's visit, *Aviation Week & Space Technology* reported that Washington and Peking have been exchanging satellite reconnaissance information about the Soviet Union and Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea. It also projected that "after the election" Reagan will probably give China AWACS spy planes and the U.S.' top-of-the-line fighter plane, the F-16A.

Bowie/Time

Heroic Vietnamese soldiers defeated French and American imperialism, now resist U.S.-orchestrated attacks by China and Thailand.

The alliance between Reagan's America and the Peking Stalinists is a terrible danger not only to the Soviet Union and Vietnam but also to the Chinese people themselves, to the social conquests of the 1949 Chinese Revolution. Defense of the gains of the Chinese Revolution is inseparable from the military defense of the Soviet Union, which stands as the principal obstacle to imperialism's global ambitions.

Hail the Rebirth of Kampuchea!

According to the Vietnamese, China's latest attacks are the heaviest since its invasion five years ago. Shortly after Peking strongman Deng Xiaoping made his triumphalist tour of the United States, he vowed to teach Vietnam "a bloody lesson" for ousting the genocidal Pol Pot gang in neighboring Kampuchea, who killed an estimated *two and a half million* of their own people. Six hundred thousand Chinese troops (more than the U.S. or French had in Indochina at the height of their imperialist wars) crossed the northern border of Vietnam in 1979. After a month of fierce fighting the Vietnamese drove them back across the border with 20,000 casualties.

Ever since, China along with Thailand, likewise incited and armed by U.S. imperialism, has maintained constant military pressure and carried out frequent attacks on Vietnam. The diplomatic pretext for the Washington-orchestrated aggression is "self-determination" for "poor little Kampuchea." But Vietnam *saved* the Khmer people from the hell that was Pol Pot's gruesome "Democratic Kampuchea." The Cambodian people have clearly welcomed the Vietnamese presence which has brought them food, schools, hospitals, libraries; physical survival and the beginnings of economic and social reconstruction. Even a former U.S. ambassador to Cambodia, Emory Swank, recognized that "the Vietnamese, who occupied a totally disorganised, almost destitute land, have provided assistance of all sorts.... Practically starting from scratch, Cambodia has made an astonishing and remarkable recovery" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 17 March 1983).

It should also be recognized that the Vietnamese people are making great sacrifices to aid Kampuchea. Vietnam is a nation that has been at war for *40 years*—against the Japanese, the French and then the Americans. Nor did the war end for the Vietnamese people with the fall of Saigon in 1975. There followed a bloody border war with the Pol Pot anti-Vietnamese chauvinists, the 1979 Chinese invasion and repeated attacks by China and Thailand since. Vietnam today is one of the poorest nations on earth, still ravaged by decades of imperialist mass destruction. To defend Indochina, half a million young Vietnamese must be kept under arms, consuming rather than producing. Given the devastation of continual war, it is a remarkable feat that last year Vietnam managed to achieve self-sufficiency in food production for the first time since the fall of Saigon.

Defend Vietnam Through Proletarian Internationalism!

Defense of the Vietnamese Revolution against U.S./Chinese aggression requires not only military capacity and resoluteness, of which the Vietnamese are past masters, but a *political* counterattack as well. A revolutionary internationalist government in Hanoi would appeal to Chinese workers, peasants and soldiers, and to the ranks and cadre of the Chinese Communist Party, to rebel against their rulers' obscene alliance with Reagan and the Pentagon. The danger of China's counterrevolutionary anti-Soviet aggression will not end until revolutionary Chinese workers drive the Maoist/Stalinist bureaucracy out of the Forbidden City, until the long-suppressed legacy of Chinese Trotskyism and the founders of Chinese Marxism is revived to guide the Chinese working class in struggle for the norms of authentic socialist internationalism.

Key to turning the Chinese masses against the Peking accomplices of U.S. imperialism must be exemplary defense of the rights of the once large ethnic Chinese (Hoa) community within Vietnam itself. This Chinese community, with a relatively high cultural level and potentially a valuable human resource for economic reconstruction, could have become a key transmission belt of internationalist values into China itself. Yet in recent years more than a quarter million Hoa—both the petty capitalist merchants of Cholon and the skilled artisans of the North—were forced to flee from Vietnam to China. The London *Sunday Times* (10 June) reports that during the recent fighting some of these ethnic Chinese refugees "were accused in Vietnam of being fifth-columnists."

Viewing the world through nationalist blinders, the Hanoi regime often focuses on China, more than U.S.

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WV Photos

Clifton, Arizona, June 30—Thousand-strong march (left) to Highway 666 on one-year anniversary of bitter Phelps Dodge strike. After massive police assault strikers built barricades.

Phelps Dodge...

(continued from page 1)

besieged by the state police, with the town of Clifton (near the Morenci mine) twice occupied by the National Guard, the strikers face mass evictions and union decertification elections (in which the company wants only scabs to have the right to vote). The 1,000-plus predominantly Mexican and Indian strikers holding out in the middle of the Arizona desert have increasingly become the focus of attention of class-conscious workers throughout the country. As we wrote in our last issue ("Class War in Arizona Copper Mines," *WV* No. 357, 22 June), "It's up to the workers movement throughout the country to bust the Phelps Dodge union-busters. We say: Labor—don't handle scab copper! Union supporters must flood into the area to build and defend mass picket lines that *nobody* crosses. The Phelps Dodge strikers must not stand alone!"

The day had started with two separate rallies. The United Steelworkers (USWA), leading union in the strike coalition, called an "official" rally at Copper Verde Park up a two-mile road in the Clifton hills. This drew approximately 1,200 to 1,500 participants, including two busloads from Phoenix and Tucson. The "high" point was the appearance of retired USWA president I.W. Abel, architect of the steel union's treacherous "no-strike" pledge. A number of local strikers and their families went up the hill in the morning for a potluck lunch, then went down to join the second event, a march from the Clifton Social Club to the People's Clinic on Highway 666.

Earlier the DPS announced that the highway would be closed for two hours between 3 and 5 p.m. for the march, fearing that otherwise the march to the clinic might attempt to stop the scabs who must pass through Clifton on their way to the PD mine and smelter up the road in Morenci. Before the march, the crowd was addressed by People's Clinic head Dr. Jorge O'Leary who had come forward as a spokesman for the strike militants through the default of the official union leadership. Arriving at the clinic, the 1,000 marchers chanted "Union, Union!" and "Scabs Must Go!" After an abbreviated rally, a large portion returned to the social club while about 100 strikers and supporters remained at the clinic parking area. The strikers had put together a hand to provide entertainment and food was being served at a fish barbeque.

Suddenly, the cops who had been kept out of sight marched down Highway 666 in tight military formation, accompanied by a DPS bus to haul arrested strikers away. They announced the assembly was "unlawful" and must disperse, an announcement few strikers heard since the police were over 100 yards away, and could not be heard above the music. In less than two minutes, without giving the crowd time to move, the cops donned gas masks and laid down a tear gas barrage. The sound of cannisters popping and helicopters whirring overhead eerily blended in with the sound of music from the band. Volley after volley of burning, choking gas moved the strikers back while the DPS moved into the clinic area. A tear gas cannister was fired at point-blank range through the Clifton Liquor Store window. Inside, Alice Miller, pregnant and expecting any day, was tending the cash register; she was dragged out of the store and arrested.

Strikers were clubbed, choke-holded and dragged away. Twenty were arrested. Police sharpshooters were stationed on a hill overlooking the highway. When the area was cleared, the DPS cops burned the strikers' effigy of a scab. The cops' tear gas attacks came in three waves. There was pandemonium everywhere. The workers pulled back down the road and those up front fled into nearby houses. Strikers were evacuating grandmothers from adjacent houses blitzed by the attack. Children were wandering the streets covering their eyes and looking for their parents. A two-year-old child was gassed so badly she momentarily stopped breathing and had burn marks on her face. Mothers covered their faces and braved the tear gas to get the kids to safety. It was a battlefield—there were rocks, broken glass, debris strewn all over the highway. There was vomit on the road. But after retreating, people began to regroup.

The cops finally pulled back around dusk, covering their retreat with a cloud of noxious pepper gas. The outraged miners, having watched their children brutalized, stood off the cops by just taking it, over and over, essentially outlasting the repeated attacks. After each cop charge, the strikers came back, demarking their front line with crude barricades across the highway, using everything they could find. As dusk fell, five loads of tires were pulled in. And as soon as the barricades were built, they were lit. In addition to three workers' barricades on 666, the DPS set up a police blockade further down the road so that miners from out of town couldn't get into Clifton. By nightfall the town was sealed off as tight as a steel drum. Up at the mine, the handful of pickets allowed by a court injunction were driven off by Phelps Dodge management, emboldened by the DPS' naked terror. Ominously, one picket shack was burned, and another was bulldozed over the side of the cliff with company equipment.

The Morenci miners are caught between a rock and a hard place. In a desperate situation illusions in the supposed "neutrality" of the bourgeois state can grievously harm the strike. Last August there was the ten-day "cooling off" period decreed by Democratic governor Bruce Babbitt—which only served to undercut the mass picketing and allow the government time to call up the National Guard to protect the scabs. Today, the USWA local called a press conference, strongly denouncing the DPS for attacking strike supporters without reason or warning... while calling on Governor Babbitt to initiate an investigation. But the state is not neutral—it's the armed fist of the bosses. Supposed "friend of labor" Governor "Scabbitt" gave the miners Highway 666 for two hours and then launched a vicious DPS attack to take it back. The miners can only rely on their strength and that of the rest of the workers movement through mass mobilization of labor power.

The Morenci miners must not stand alone. And they face grave dangers as a result of a de facto split between the militant rank and file and a union leadership which has sought to run and hide at every opportunity. At today's press conference, in the face of violence baiting from the bourgeois press, Steelworkers officials denied the exis-

CLASS WAR IN ARIZONA: State police launch three-hour barrage of tear gas against strike supporters. Miners, their wives and children brutalized by phalanx of cops. There are no neutrals here!

WV Photos

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NYC Labor Rally Calls for "Victory to Phelps Dodge Strikers!"

Chanting "No more PATCOs! No more Greyhounds! Victory to the Phelps Dodge strikers!" more than 50 militant trade unionists demonstrated in front of Phelps Dodge Corporation's Park Avenue headquarters in New York City on June 28 in solidarity with the year-long walkout by the predominantly Chicano and Indian copper workers in Arizona. The demonstrators included New York-area unionists from the National Maritime Union (NMU), Transport Workers Union (TWU), Communications Workers of Ameriea, United Federation of Teachers, Carpenters, Plumbers, AFSCME, IBEW, UAW District 65, IATSE and a contingent from the International Association of Machinists on strike against El Al Airlines since March 15.

Messages of solidarity with the copper strikers were read from striking British coal miners, locked-out oil workers in St. Croix, Virgin Islands, two Australian unions, French auto workers and the Partisan Defense Committee. A greeting to the New York rally from Dr. Jorge O'Leary, a leader of the copper strikers, was also read. Demonstrators carried signs reading "Victory to the Phelps Dodge workers—On the front line for all labor!" "There are *no neutrals* in the eopper fields!" "The Wobblies played hardball! For mass piekets! Send the National Guard packing!" and "Down with Reagan and the Democrats! For a workers party!"

In ealling for the demonstration, NMU member Gene Herson said real labor solidarity means "a nationwide labor boycott of all Phelps Dodge products: not an ingot should move by train or truck!" TWUer Ed Kartsen called on all NYC labor to eome out: "It's a crucial battle for all working people."■

WV Photo

"We Stand Shoulder to Shoulder with Arizona Miners!"

Statements of Solidarity

Phelps Dodge Strike Leader

Brothers and sisters, we the strikers against Phelps Dodge are one day from the anniversary of our struggle. We are isolated in the middle of the desert fighting with one of the biggest companies in our nation. We are delighted and happy that you brothers and sisters help us with your demonstration against Phelps Dodge in New York City. I hope that the company gets the message that we are not isolated anymore, and unions and the workers throughout our nation will support us like you are doing right now. We appreciate in the name of all the 13 unions against Phelps Dodge your big help. Thank you very much.

Dr. Jorge O'Leary,
Spokesman for Phelps Dodge strikers in Clifton/Morenci,
Organizer of the People's Clinic
(after being fired by Phelps Dodge-owned Morenci Hospital)

British Miners

Striking British miners send greetings to the copper miners of Phelps Dodge, Clifton, Arizona. The attack on the working class spreads right across the capitalist world and history demands that the working class of the world unite to end, once and for all, the rule of the profiteer. Victory to the British miners! Victory to the Arizona miners!

Jack Collins,
Secretary of Kent NUM

Australian Miners

The Miners Federation of Australia stands shoulder to shoulder with their brothers and sisters involved in the Phelps Dodge dispute. We congratulate the strikers for their dedication to the eause of the working class and pledge our moral support to them in their struggle.

Yours in unity,
Barry Swan,
General Secretary of the Australian Miners and Shale Federation

Soviet News Agency Covers Solidarity Demo

We print below our translation of the account by the Soviet news agency TASS of the June 28 labor solidarity picket/rally in NYC.

NEW YORK, June 29 (TASS)—"Put an end to the tyranny of the bosses," "No to anti-labor power politics"—A picket demonstration with slogans such as these was held at the headquarters of the Phelps Dodge mining company. The participants, New York trade-union activists, strongly protested against the [Phelps Dodge] bosses' attempts to deal cruelly with striking copper mine workers in the state of Arizona.

Having already gone on for a year, the labor conflict has greatly sharpened recently. Unwilling to comply with the just demands of the miners to improve working conditions and raise wages, the Phelps Dodge management declared it would fire strikers and replace them with strikebreakers. As soon as the workers started picketing the mine's entrances, reinforced divisions of police and National Guard were deployed against them with tanks, armored carriers and other military equipment. Seeking to break the will of the strikers, the bosses have started to evict miners from their company-owned houses.

A speaker from the National Maritime Union, G. Herson, angrily denounced these actions of the corporation and the government's collusion with them. Speaking to the demonstration here, he stated that the policy of making short work ol the strikers—an act of gross tyranny—is one more example of the frontal attack on American labor. G. Herson called for U.S. trade unions to declare a boycott of Phelps Dodge to compel its owners to stop their outrages in Arizona.

The company's firing [of strikers] in order to suppress the miners strike stems directly from the anti-labor policies of the Reagan administration, declared Transport Workers Union activist E. Kartsen in an interview with the TASS correspondent. During the whole postwar period, he noted, there has not been a government in the U.S.A. that has taken such a cruel course in its policies toward labor. It is enough to remember the White House's violenee against the air traffic controllers union [PATCO], the ban on the national railroad workers strike, and the many other anti-labor acts of Washington. All these facts dictate the necessity of ever tighter unity of the ranks of working America in order to give a rebuff to the Reagan administration, said E. Kartsen.

—M. Knyazkov

tence of a split. Good. At the same time, however, the unions have refused to defend the 20 militants arrested (just as they refused to defend those arrested in the cop riot against the Cinco de Mayo demonstration in May). This is a gross violation of basic trade-union principles: you don't turn your back on brothers and sisters under attack. An injury to one is an injury to all! All labor must demand: *drop the charges* against Morenci strikers!

The PD strikers are essentially leaderless. Militants correctly understood that the "official" rally was a diversion to keep people away from the road. But the aim is not to take on the DPS in a main force confrontation with no leadership and an unfavorable relationship of forces. It's to shut down Phelps Dodge's operations and keep the scabs out of the mines. It will take more than the efforts of a couple hundred isolated strikers, heroic as they have been, to *win* this strike. It is crucial to mobilize the organized and disciplined power of the unions, to bring to bear their strength of numbers, which means a fight extending beyond the narrow walls of the Clifton canyons.

To get out of the present no-win situation, the burning necessity of the hour is to call out an *industrywide strike* to shut down all Phelps Dodge operations and all copper production. This is not charity on the part of the USWA, Machinists and the rest of the affected unions. The other copper bosses are already demanding their contracts be reopened so the companies can force more takeaways down their workers' throats. If the Morenci miners lose, everyone loses. Transport unions must refuse to handle all PD goods. Railroad workers, truckers: *hot cargo PD copper!* And to insure an on-the-spot leadership that will fight, in order to mobilize the energies of all the strikers, and unite the members of the various unions affected, including co-ordinating with Ajo, Douglas and El Paso, the Phelps Dodge mine workers must form *elected strike committees* to hold the leaders responsible to the base.

Company officials and the state government would dearly love to see the militants isolated and label them "union renegades" and "outlaws," so that they can be mowed down in the streets of Clifton. And the union bureaucracy's inaction feeds right into this set-up. The union leaders have left the Phelps Dodge miners out there turning in the wind, and now many are angry and desperate. It's not the first time—PATCO and Greyhound strikers were abandoned, too, though any labor movement worth its salt could have won those battles by pulling out their big battalions (shut down the airports, national transport strike). The task facing the PD strikers, and the task facing their supporters in the labor movement throughout this country, is to take this from an isolated and valiant struggle in the wilds of Arizona copper country and turn it into a focal point for a national mobilization of union power and determination to resist strikebreaking and government-backed union-busting ordered by the top levels of corporate America and their servants from the White House to the State House. This requires a political mobilization against the twin parties of capital, to break with the Democrats and fight for a workers party to bring Reagan down through mass strike action. Victory to the Phelps Dodge strikers!■

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After National Guardsmen (lett) killed two strikers and wounded 25, massive explosion of city's labor movement and unemployed leagues forced withdrawal ot the troops. Toledo Auto-Lite victory set stage tor great CIO organizing drives of mid-late 1930s.

Auto-Lite Strikers Fought U.S. Troops and Won

The Battle of Toledo, 1934

On Monday, May 21 several thousand unionists fought a pitched battle outside the struck AP Parts plant in Toledo, Ohio, routing scabs, cops and goons. After a siege of 18 hours, the company was forced to withdraw the scabs trapped inside under armed guard. This was almost exactly 50 years ago to the day after another famous labor battle, in the Toledo Auto-Lite strike of 1934, when workers tenaciously fought the National Guard for over a week and finally won union recognition. Repeatedly during the depths of the depression auto workers in Detroit, Cleveland and throughout the industrial heartland of the Middle West had fought for unionization and lost. But by 1934 there were the beginnings of an economic upturn and workers who had been wracked by the fear of mass unemployment took heart.

The success of the Toledo Auto-Lite strike was linked to the use of new techniques of militant labor struggle, in particular mass picketing and joining the unemployed with the employed workers. The old-line AFL craft union leaders had just about killed the strike with their legalistic submission to the capitalist state when militants organized in the Lucas County Unemployed League took it over. This group had been formed and led by followers of A.J. Muste, then setting up the American Workers Party. Although two of the leaders of the Unemployed League were arrested and tried for violating the injunction forbidding mass picketing, they went straight from the courthouse back to the picket lines which soon began growing. Their letter to the judge proclaiming labor's inalienable right to organize, strike and picket effectively ranks as a historic document of the workers movement.

We print below excerpts from Art Preis' book *Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1972) on the Toledo Auto-Lite strike. This was one of three great labor battles of 1934—along with the Minneapolis Teamsters strike, led by the Trotskyists, and the Stalinist-led San Francisco dock strike—which paved the way for the foundation of the CIO two years hence and the birth of mass industrial unionism in the United States. Significantly, all three strikes were led by avowed revolutionary socialists. As James P. Cannon noted in *The History of American Trotskyism:*

> "The Musteites had led a great strike in Toledo. The Trotskyists had distinguished themselves in Minneapolis. Toledo and Minneapolis had become linked as twin symbols of the two highest points of proletarian militancy and conscious leadership.... It was obvious, by all the circumstances, that it was time to give the signal for the unification of these two forces. We returned from Minneapolis with this goal in view and moved decisively to the fusion of the Trotskyists and the American Workers Party, to the launching of a new party—the American section of the Fourth International."

Excerpted from Art Preis, Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO

Worst of all, the wave of strikes following the enactment of NRA in June 1933 was ending in a series of defeats. Where the union leaders themselves did not rush the workers back on the job without gains—not even union recognition, the strikes were smashed by court injunctions and armed violence. Behind the legal restraining orders and the shotguns, rifles and machine guns of police, deputies and National Guardsmen, the scabs and strikebreakers were being herded into struck plants almost at will.

It was at this stage, when strike after strike was being crushed, that the Toledo Electric Auto-Lite Company struggle blazed forth to illuminate the whole horizon of the American class struggle. The American workers were to be given an unforgettable lesson in how to confront all the agencies of the capitalist government—courts, labor boards and armed troops—and win.

Toledo, Ohio, an industrial city of about 275,000 population in 1934, is a glass and auto parts center. In June 1931, four Toledo banks had closed their doors. Some of the big local companies, including several suppliers to the auto industry, had secretly transferred their bank accounts to one big bank. These companies did not get caught in the crash.

But thousands of workers and small business men did. They lost their lives' savings. One out of every three persons in Toledo was thrown on relief, standing in lines for food handouts at a central commissary. In 1933, the Unemployed League, led by followers of A.J. Muste, head of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action (later the American Workers Party), had organized militant mass actions of the unemployed and won cash relief. The League made it a policy to call for unity of the unemployed and employed workers; it mobilized the unemployed not to scab, but to aid all strikes.

On February 23, 1934, the Toledo Auto-Lite workers, newly organized in AFL Federal Local 18384, went on strike. This was quickly ended by the AFL leaders with a truce agreement for negotiations through the Regional Labor Board of the National Labor Board, which had been set up under the NRA.

Refusing to be stalled further by the labor board or to submit to the special Auto Labor Board, which Roosevelt had set up in March to sidetrack pending auto strikes and which had upheld company unionism, the Auto-Lite workers went on the picket lines again on April 13.

The company followed the usual first gambit in such a contest. It went to a friendly judge and got him to issue an injunction limiting picketing. The strike had begun to die on its feet when a committee of Auto-Lite workers came to the Unemployed League and asked for aid....

By May 23, there were more than 10,000 on the picket lines. County deputies with tear gas guns were lined up on the plant roof. A strike picket, Miss Alma Hahn, had been struck on the head by a bolt hurled from a plant window and had been taken to the hospital. By the time 100 more cops arrived, the workers were tremendously incensed. Police began roughing up individual pickets pulled from the line. What happened when the cops tried to escort the scabs through the picket line at the shift-change was described by the Associated Press.

"Piles of bricks and stones were assembled at strategic places and a wagon load of bricks was trundled to a point near the factory to provide further ammunition for the strikers.... Suddenly a barrage of tear gas bombs was hurled from upper factory windows. At the same time, company employees armed with iron bars and clubs dragged a fire hose into the street and played water on the crowd. The strike sympathizers replied with bricks, as they choked from gas fumes and fell back."

But they retreated only to reform their ranks. The police charged and swung their clubs trying to clear a path for the scabs. The workers held their ground and fought back. Choked by the tear gas fired from inside the plant, it was the police who finally gave up the battle. Then the thousands of pickets laid siege to the plant, determined to maintain their picket line.

The workers improvised giant slingshots from inner tubes. They hurled whole bricks through the plant windows. The plant soon was without lights. The scabs cowered in the dark. The frightened deputies set up machine guns inside every entranceway. It was not until the arrival of 900 National Guardsmen, 15 hours later, that the scabs were finally released, looking a "sorry sight," as the press reported it.

Then followed one of the most amazing battles in U.S. labor history. "The Marines had landed" in the form of the National Guard but the situation was not "well in hand." With their bare fists and rocks, the workers fought a six-day pitched battle with the National Guard. They fought from rooftops, from behind billboards and came through alleys to flank the guardsmen. "The men in the mob shouted vile epithets at the troopers," complained the Associated Press, "and the women jeered them with suggestions that they 'go home to mama and their paper dolls'."

But the strikers and their thousands of sympathizers did more than shame the young National Guardsmen. They educated them and tried to win them over. Speakers stood on boxes in front of the troops and explained what the strike was about and the role the troops were playing as strikebreakers. World War I veterans put on their medals and spoke to the boys in uniform like "Dutch uncles." The women explained what the strike meant to their families. The press reported that some of the guardsmen just quit and went home.

continued on page 11

Unions...

(continued from page 1)

the pilots association under the "anti-racketeering" RICO conspiracy law, charging the union with "terrorism" and instigating "dozens of acts of violence." Such judicial frame-ups go hand in hand with the government's new "anti-terrorism" guidelines against the left. This is "McCarthyism with a drawn gun," and the gun is pointed at all of us.

Reagan's America is a catastrophe for blacks. Conditions in the ghettos are *worse* than in the Great Depression of the '30s: 45 percent official unemployment among black teenagers, nearly a majority of black men without a job. Infant mortality for blacks in the U.S. is now *double* the rate for whites and significantly higher than in Cuba. And the percentage of black families living below the federal government's pathetic poverty line is *triple* that for white families. Meanwhile, black workers (traditionally "last hired and first fired") have been hardest hit by mass layoffs in basic industry.

But with the economic "recovery" giving labor militancy a boost, America could be in for a labor explosion, and it could be coming this fall. "Restore and More in '84" has become a rallying cry for numerous auto locals whose contracts expire in September. (Negotiations "will be difficult because of our profitability," said a GM vice president.) Also coming up is the national coal contract, involving 150,000 UMW miners who have not forgotten the lessons of their heroic 110-day strike five years ago. But the labor fakers will do their best to head off this upsurge of union battles. "Not picket lines but voter lines" will be their tune as they try to "defeat Reaganism" by electing Democrats in November. Already the AFL-CIO is mobilizing to demonstrate outside the Democratic convention in San Francisco for "Fritz" Mondale (whose law firm represents Greyhound). And to avoid embarrassing the Democratic candidate, the bureaucrats will redouble their efforts to sell out labor and black struggle, openly sabotaging and even calling off strikes.

The bureaucrats, these fat cats and Democrats who run America's unions, have become, quite literally, company cops. Perennial AFL-CIO head George Meany boasted he'd never walked a picket line. Now the labor federation is headed by Lane Kirkland, a professional Cold Warrior (he sat on Rockefeller's CIA "oversight" commission) who was never a union member a day in his life until he became a bureaucrat. As for "bread-and-butter" unionist Jackie Presser, the Teamster chief whose combined salaries last year topped $500,000, he turns out to have been an FBI informer for the last decade! Recently it has been revealed that Kirkland and several other labor leaders of the AFL-CIO (which in Latin America is known as the "AFL-CIA") are owners of a tobacco plantation in the Dominican Republic where wages are less than $3 a day. Union leaders like this wouldn't know how to lead a militant strike struggle if their lives depended on it.

But labor *has* been fighting back, and is increasingly taking up the militant tactics which built the industrial unions in the U.S. The hundreds of arrests in Las Vegas resulted from the mass picketing of the gambling casinos and resort hotels. (The cops also tried to pin several bombings on union members.) In Toledo, Ohio a mass demonstration to support striking UAW members at the AP auto parts plant erupted on May 22. Scabs were penned in with the "Nuckols, Inc." rent-a-thugs while demonstrators battled cops outside and came within inches of a plant occupation when they tried to ram a car carrier through the gate. Both at Toledo and in Morenci, Arizona, where Phelps Dodge copper miners have been holding off the combined forces of company, cops and courts for 12 months, strikers welcomed *Workers Vanguard* teams with our supplement, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win" (over 100,000 distributed so far), with its call for some old-time class struggle.

From the Wobblies...

Our warm reception in Morenci was a kind of coming home. The *WV* "Hardball" article was a restatement and distillation of some crucial lessons of the class struggle first learned through blood, sweat and tears in the labor wars in the Rocky Mountains at the turn of the century. Transmitted by the revolutionary syndicalists of the IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) to the early Communist Party, they were passed on to us by ex-"Wobbly" and CP leader James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism. Many of the fighting traditions and militant tactics which were decisive in founding the CIO during the 1930s go straight back to the titanic battles for the eight-hour day waged by the Western Federation of Miners (WFM).

During the Colorado strike struggles of 1903-04, in the mining camps of Leadville, Telluride and Cripple Creek, scores of men were killed, over 100 wounded, thousands arrested and imprisoned in "bullpens" (military concentration camps) and hundreds deported from the state in boxcars on the charge of being union men. Militia commander General Sherman Bell summed up his attitude toward the law in the remark, "Habeas corpus, hell! We'll give 'em post mortems!" A decade later at Ludlow, Colorado the scene was repeated as

WV Photo

Labor Day, 1981. When Reagan smashed PATCO, we answered: Bring Down Reagan Through Labor Action!

women and children were immolated in a National Guard attack. But the strikers, now organized in the United Mine Workers and inspired by Mother Jones, organized *armed pickets* to defend themselves from deputized gun thugs and vigilantes. Although the union was driven out at bayonet point, the miners were quickly learning the laws of the class struggle, many becoming socialists and revolutionaries.

In 1905 the WFM joined in the founding convention of the IWW. Miners Federation president Bill Haywood declared the goal to be "the emancipation of the working class from the slave bondage of capitalism." The Wobblies quickly fell under the control of syndicalists who blindly denied the need for political struggle. But despite their anti-political blinders, the IWWs knew they were fighting a revolutionary struggle. At the 1908 convention of the IWW, Lucy Parsons, widow of Haymarket martyr Albert Parsons, drew the lessons of the Colorado strikes:

> "My conception of the strike of the future is not to strike and go out and starve, but to strike and remain in and take possession of the necessary property of production. If anyone is to starve ...let it be the capitalist class."

UMW

After 1914 Ludlow, Colorado massacre, Rocky Mountain miners organized armed defense guards.

This was the origin of the *sit-down strike* tactic which finally broke the back of General Motors in the great Flint strike of 1937.

The high point for the IWW was the Lawrence, Massachusetts textile strike of 1912, where the Wobblies led the first revolt of unskilled, overwhelmingly foreign-born factory workers. They won in Lawrence because they unleashed tremendous mass energy through *mass picketing* by 10,000 strikers, a sight never before seen in New England mill towns. Policy was decided not by a handful of bureaucrats but in *strike assemblies*. Big Bill Haywood got up in Lawrence Common to appeal for *"hot cargoing" scab goods*, as did the front page of the Wobblies' *Industrial Worker*:

> "Boycott Lawrence. .. Railroad men: Lose their cars for them! Telegraphers: Lose their messages for them! Expressmen: Lose their packages for them! Boycott Lawrence! Boycott it to the limit!"

The IWW's militant leadership and the strikers' determination finally turned the bosses' attempted wage cut into a wage raise and a labor victory that reverberated throughout the country. As historian Paul Brissenden wrote, "Lawrence was not an ordinary strike. It was a social revolution *in parvo* [in miniature]" (*The I.W.W.—A Study in American Syndicalism* [1919]).

The Wobblies were revolutionary unionists, who knew, as the Preamble to the IWW Constitution proclaimed, that "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common," that "between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor...." While socialism had been proclaimed as a goal before, here it was directly connected to a struggle for *power*. This was brought to a head by the imperialist First World War, a global conflagration to divide up the world in the interests of profit. In 1916 the IWW adopted a resolution on the war modeled, as Haywood noted in his autobiography, on Lenin's resolutions calling for the workers to turn the imperialist war into civil war between labor and capital. And unlike the petty-bourgeois pacifists of the Socialist Party left wing, the IWWs did something to bring this about.

In order to ensure class peace on the home front, Democratic president Wilson created the War Labor Board composed of government, business and union representatives with power to settle all labor disputes. AFL chief Gompers made a no-strike pledge—class collaboration was institutionalized. To back it up, Congress passed the Espionage Act, directed not so much against German spies as against class-conscious workers. Undaunted, 14,000 copper miners in Butte, Montana struck under IWW leadership in June 1917 against war profiteering by the copper trust. Soon they were followed by 24,000 Arizona copper miners. The capitalists soon struck back. In Bisbee, Arizona vigilantes from a local "Loyalty League" rounded up 1,200 strikers, dragging them out of their beds half-naked, herding them onto a cattle train and dumping them in the New Mexico desert where they were held for 36 hours without food or water before being beaten and sent to a federal stockade for three months without charges.

Back in Butte, the birthplace of the WFM and a hotbed of revolutionary union agitation, hired killers kidnapped IWW leader Frank Little, dragged him out of town and lynched him from a railroad trestle. This was followed by mass roundups of Wobblies throughout the West and eventually the mass trial of 101 IWW leaders in Chicago in 1918. At one time no less than 1,000 Wobblies were behind bars and hundreds deported. As in the case of Mooney and Billings, radical labor leaders in San Francisco framed up in 1916 for a bombing of a "preparedness" rally, patriotic war frenzy was the bosses' ideological weapon against the workers. It is the same today when everyone from striking airline pilots to socialists is labeled "terrorist" by a government that sponsors counterrevolutionary mercenaries from Nicaragua to Afghanistan, all in the service of the capitalist drive toward nuclear war against the USSR.

The Wobblies were very heroic and, by ordinary standards, not very successful. With a pretty small number of cadres even in their heyday, they were able to lead substantial forces in some hard-fought union struggles which however were mainly crushed by brutal repression. They turned their back on the far larger AFL unions rather than seeking to revolutionize them from within. But the IWW's understanding that the state is not a "neutral" agency of abstract "order" but an arm of the bosses' power was a crucial acquisition paving the way for the mass struggles which built the industrial unions in this country. The great battles of the 1930s won some real gains for the working people because class-struggle leaders and militant layers were not afraid to take on the state and thus to touch on questions of power. The success of militant and "illegal" tactics like sit-down strikes showed once again that even "reform" struggles need resolute revolutionary leadership; only fear that an aroused working class will not stop at "reforms" can force significant concessions from the capitalist bloodsuckers. In our *WV* "Hardball" supplement, the SL summed up a lesson from our revolutionary proletarian forebears:

> "It's better to fight on your feet than die on your knees. To be sure, many strikes will be lost, even if they are hard fought, as at Stearns [Kentucky] or the 1937 Little Steel strike. But when an important strike is won, it dramatically alters the entire situation, as in the Minneapolis, Toledo and San Francisco general strikes of 1934—all led by reds, which set the stage for the rise of the CIO—and the 1937 Flint sit-down strike."

...to a Workers Party

The single most decisive event of 20th century history is the Russian October Revolution of 1917, when for the first time the working class took power and threw out the capitalists whose war for profits meant wholesale slaughter and misery for tens of millions. Immediately

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Black West Indian Workers Protest Yankee Slavemaster

Hot Cargo Hess Oil!

CHRISTIANSTED, St. Croix, U.S. Virgin Islands, June 30—Marching to the sound of Bob Marley's "Stand Up for Your Rights," some 300 black members and supporters of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 8526 demonstrated in the streets here today to protest the continued racist, union-busting attack of oil baron Leon Hess. The protesters had been working brutal, 12-hour shifts and were already more than $2 per hour behind their counterparts in low-wage, anti-union Mississippi. They were locked out of Hess' refinery on April 15 after rejecting an "offer" which would have gutted the union of its grievance procedure and seniority rights.

With a court-ordered $500,000 per day fine against effective mass picketing, Hess is running the refinery, the world's largest, with fatigued inexperienced scabs, many of them whites who have been imported from the mainland. The result is a social and physical tinderbox which now jeopardizes virtually everyone on the island. But what is this to Leon Hess? For close to three months, he has been trying to do with scabs what Reagan did with Marines in Grenada: make the Caribbean a bastion of naked colonial exploitation. As one worker commented today, "They are doing this to us only because we are black."

One of the speakers at today's rally was National Maritime Union member Gene Herson, an organizer of a May 7 solidarity rally in front of Hess world headquarters in New York. (The *St. Croix Avis* ran a front-page picture story on this demonstration on May 14.) Herson stated that Hess thinks that nobody will notice the "racist union-busting going on down here," but "labor is stronger than Hess." He called for mass picketing, a labor boycott of Hess products and for workers on the islands as well as on the mainland to "bring Hess down," to fight the Democratic and Republican politicians and the rest of the bosses' government with a workers party.

The struggle at Hess can have an impact far beyond St. Croix. Until recently, "bonded" black workers, little more than indentured servants, were brought from throughout the West Indies to work for Hess. Today Hess is building an offshore terminal near St. Lucia, and workers at the St. Croix refinery come from Trinidad, Antigua, Barbados, Puerto Rico and elsewhere in the Caribbean. Herson pointed out at today's rally that while people on some of the islands "have formally gained their freedom, they haven't received freedom's benefits just as American blacks have been deprived of the benefits due to them from the victory of the North in the Civil War." "It's time to finish the Civil War!" he added to rousing cheers.

USWA Local 8526 president Lonnie James told *WV* that the local has received telegrams of support from Britain: fraternal greetings from the striking National Union of Miners (Kent area) and a message from the National Union of Seamen. The seamen included a copy of the cable they sent to Hess which denounced the lockout and stated: "your activities owe more to colonialism than civilised behaviour in second half of twentieth century." Solidarity messages have also come from the embattled copper workers in Arizona, a 13-union coalition including fellow USWA members on strike for one year, and from Chevron oil refinery workers in El Segundo, California.

The locked-out Hess workers have their backs to the wall—it is time to put solidarity sentiments into action. This means joint strike action with Hess workers at the USWA-represented refinery in Purvis, Mississippi and Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 8-397 at the Hess installation in New Jersey where the contract expires on August 1. On June 12 a delegation of New York-area unionists supporting the St. Croix Hess strike visited the Local 8-397 executive board who voted to send a financial donation to their embattled fellow workers. But much more is needed.

There are 8,000 Steelworkers members in the Virgin Islands yet the International is not even observing elemental trade-union principles: USWA members from other locals are working every day in the refinery. This must be stopped! One sign at today's rally said "Warning: Scabbing can be dangerous to your health!" The Hess refinery in St. Croix must be shut down with mass pickets until the lockout is broken. All Hess refineries must be struck, now! Labor internationally must declare Hess oil too hot to handle and act accordingly. Teamsters, steel, oil and maritime workers—Hot cargo Hess! Victory to Local 8526! ■

Unions...

(continued from page 7)

the Soviet government withdrew from the imperialist war, appealing to the workers of all the belligerent countries to follow their example. When the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin and Trotsky, founded the Communist International in 1919, the Industrial Workers of the World were specifically invited to join. The next year the Comintern renewed this offer:

> "We address this letter to you, fellow workers of the I.W.W., in recognition of your long and heroic services in the class war....
>
> "We appeal to you, as revolutionists, to rally to the Communist International, born in the dawn of the World Social Revolution.
>
> "We call to you to take the place to which your courage and revolutionary experience entitles you, in the front ranks of the proletarian Red Army fighting under the banner of Communism."
>
> —from John Gambs, *The Decline of the I.W.W.* (1932)

Haywood joined the Communist Party in 1921, and facing 20 years in jail he fled to Moscow where he died some years later. The remaining right-wing IWW leaders turned their backs on Communism and disappeared into oblivion as an anti-Soviet sect.

However, thousands of Wobblies went over to the Communists, among them Jim Cannon who became a top CP leader before being expelled as a Trotskyist in 1928. Cannon later wrote: "In truth, the IWW in its time of glory was neither a union nor a party in the full meaning of these terms, but something of both, with some parts missing. It was an uncompleted anticipation of a Bolshevik party, lacking its rounded-out theory, and a projection of the revolutionary industrial unions of the future, minus the necessary mass membership. It was the IWW" (*The First Ten Years of American Communism* [1962]). The IWW was what it was, but it wasn't enough to lead a proletarian revolution. That requires a fighting workers party, to prepare and lead the class war to victory for all the oppressed.

"Every class struggle is a political struggle," wrote Karl Marx in the *Communist Manifesto*. It was by using their state power, by mobilizing the armed forces, that the capitalists crushed strikers from Cripple Creek to Patterson. It is no different today. The Wobbly miners didn't need to be told there's a class war going on—they could see it before their eyes. They needed to know how to win that war, and any strategy that rejects political action is doomed to failure. Writing to his friend Sorge living in America, Marx's great collaborator Frederick Engels insisted as early as 1886 that "the first great step of importance for every country newly entering into the movement is always the constitution of the workers as an independent political party, no matter how, so long as it is a distinct workers' party." Yet here we are almost a century later, and alone among the advanced capitalist industrial countries, the U.S. still does not have a workers party, even of a reformist variety. Why?

Historically, the American ruling class has been able to divide the workers of this country along ethnic lines. Democratic Party "constituency" politics is the shell game that derives from those divisions. The bloody system of black chattel slavery was ended over a century ago but the capitalist system itself remains the obstacle to fulfilling the Civil War's promise of black emancipation and equality.

The Achilles' heel of this exploitative, racist system is the labor movement, which embodies the integration of black workers into the economy even as they remain forcibly socially segregated. The logic of every serious strike struggle impels both white and black workers to subordinate their prejudices and fears to the felt need for unity against the employer. Blacks now constitute 31 percent of the AFL-CIO membership and this statistic understates their real economic power. Detroit auto, Chicago steel, New York subways, East and Gulf Coast longshore—black workers have a strategic hold in these and other key sections of the economy.

Moreover, black workers are integrally tied to the ghetto poor whose liberation is manifestly impossible without the destruction of the capitalist system and a radical redistribution of social wealth. It is the strategic weight of black workers in an integrated labor movement which gives them the potential leverage to topple the entire rotten system. With the most to gain from shattering the status quo, black workers are the most alienated from "American dream" illusions and most open to the socialist program to break labor from the Democrats and build a revolutionary workers party. Black workers can spark and *lead* more backward white workers in battles against the rulers. That is the way forward.

But the labor bureaucrats, who tie the unions to the Democratic Party, stand in the way. By enforcing the limitation of workers' struggles to what the bosses say they can handle, the bureaucrats guarantee racial divisiveness as layers of the working people compete for a "share" of the crumbs from the capitalist table. Multiracial class unity presupposes a labor-led fight to defend particularly the most oppressed layers—minorities, women, immigrants, etc.—from the rapacious, sick system which is the enemy of all workers.

"Dump the bureaucrats—Break with the Democrats—Build a workers party!" This is the call of the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League. A lot of "ballot box socialists"—from the ex- and now openly anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party to the weirdo messengers of Qaddafi in the Workers League—call on the Meanys and Kirklands to form a reformist labor party. But following the tradition of the then-revolutionary SWP of the 1930s, the SL calls for a workers party in order to wage *class struggle, not class collaboration*. We are fighting for the political independence of the working class from the bourgeois parties and the bourgeois state. This includes using the arena of the capitalist elections, but the focus of the class struggle lies elsewhere. American working people, blacks, Latins and other oppressed minorities need a party to mobilize in the streets to *stop the fascist lynchers*, to fight for *labor boycott of U.S. arms* to Central America, South Africa and other bloody capitalist dictatorships. In short, we need a revolutionary workers party fighting to expropriate the Phelps Dodges and Rockefellers, the banks and their politicians, through a workers government.

When the SL initiated the Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982, we were taking on the responsibility of a revolutionary vanguard party. That anti-fascist victory was organized against Washington's black Democratic city administration and its allies in the reformist left, who all lined up with Reagan to permit the Klan's racist provocation that day. Instead, the 5,000-strong mobilization of predominantly black working people not only stopped the Klan's provocation in the nation's capital, but got a real taste of social power as they took the Klan's route, proclaiming their victory through the streets of this 70 percent black city.

Building a workers party means a fight to oust the present labor traitors and put in a class-struggle leadership that fights to win. The anti-communist bureaucrats—who always denounce militants as "outsiders"—are themselves a foreign body in the workers movement, who achieved their stranglehold over American labor during the Cold War "red" purges. Writing at the height of the McCarthyite repression, Cannon openly proclaimed: "The stage is being set for the transformation of the reformist unions into revolutionary unions, as they were projected by the IWW half a century ago." Union leaders that bow to strikebreaking injunctions, allowing scabs to cross picket lines and giving back gains won through years of hard struggle; job-trusting bureaucrats who promote racial discrimination, protectionism and racist exclusion of foreign-born workers—these misleaders are *losers*. Phelps Dodge miners, Toledo auto workers, Las Vegas strikers need their unions to build *mass picket lines* and *workers defense guards* to stop the scabherders; to *seize the factories*, so the bosses starve, not the workers; to *hot cargo scab goods* and unleash *solidarity strikes* against government strikebreaking.

We need a workers movement that fights—through mass militant industrial action and through independent political action—on behalf of the working class and all the oppressed. The program of the Spartacist League is to struggle within the unions for a new, revolutionary leadership to mobilize the workers and their allies in united struggle against the capitalist system. Bust Reagan and all the union-busters! ■

Left Hustles for J.J. as...

Jackson Hustles for Mondale

It's a dog's life for a black person in capitalist America. Four million out of nine million working-age black men are jobless. About another million have given up hope of finding work in this democracy-for-the-rich, and are not even counted in the statistics. Caught in the steel vise of Reagan reaction, wherein soup and ketchup are validated by the government as sufficient food diets, blacks know only social misery. Desperate, with nothing to lose, any alternative seems better than Poverty City, U.S.A. However, the Jesse Jackson campaign offers no road to survival, much less liberation for the oppressed masses in this racist capitalist system. His "freedom train" is designed to derail black struggle. As we wrote in our article, "Jesse Jackson: Front Man for the Racist Democrats" (*WV* No. 344, 16 December 1983):

> "Jackson is a shill in Walter Mondale's game. The way the scenario goes: Mondale gets the presidency, Jackson gets to strut around the Democratic convention talking in rhyme and soaking up the media, and the black masses get more of the same.. shit."

Jackson also made a show of independence of the white ruling establishment. In a perverse way this was the basis for his association with the despicable and dangerous Black Muslim demagogue Louis Farrakhan. Farrahkan's threats to "annihilate" a black reporter for revealing Jackson's disgusting anti-Semitic remarks, the obscene reference to Hitler as a "great man," and most lately Farrakhan's calling Judaism a "gutter religion" were all fuel for the white racist politicians who demanded Jackson repudiate Farrakhan, and that Mondale repudiate Jackson. With the convention only weeks away, Jackson has now been forced to declare that these comments are "reprehensible" and that "I will not permit Minister Farrakhan's words, wittingly or unwittingly, to divide the Democratic Party" (*New York Times*, 29 June).

In contrast to the overwhelming majority of the American left, which is tailing after Jackson, the Spartacist League declared forthrightly that "as revolutionary integrationists, we are utterly opposed to Louis Farrakhan and everything this would-be Hitler of black people stands for" ("The Sinister Farrakhan," *WV* No. 355, 25 May). But Jackson's recent dramatic repudiation of his former "surrogate" Farrakhan has nothing to do with political principle. It was all right for this poisonous demagogue to praise Hitler, but caustic remarks about the state of Israel (most of which are true) and he's dumped! Jackson is simply moving to secure respectability as Mondale's man. And Mondale responded appreciatively: "I commend Reverend Jackson for making it clear that Mr. Farrakhan has no part in his campaign." So for J.J., it's "Bye-bye Louis X—Fritz, you're my main man now."

Nevertheless, various shades of reformist leftists are marching to the beat of Jackson, the capitalists' different drummer of 1984. "Jackson Movin' On Up" chimed a recent headline in the with-it rad-lib *Guardian*. "Make Way for the 'Jesse Express'!" was the line of Sam Marcy's *Workers World*. And the Communist Party paper *Daily World* summed it up succinctly: "Jesse Jackson, a Vital Force in the Anti-Reagan Front." Under pressure of the anti-Soviet war drive, the U.S. left has shifted rapidly to the right in the past period. Now support for the Jackson campaign is the reformists' back door into the Democratic Party.

Jackson has *always* made it clear where he was at. Back in April he vowed: "I am not going to tear up the Democratic Party.... To suggest I will be a problem is to underestimate my commitment and my intelligence" (*Wall Street Journal*, 24 April). Sure, Jackson is "committed" to the racist status quo and the party of George "Mr. Segregation" Wallace and Ku Klux Klansman Tom Metzger which perpetuates it. And now the *New York Times* (22 June) fully confirms what we have said all along: "Today Mr. Jackson made it clear that he would support the Democratic Party nominee, whether it was Mr. Mondale or Mr. Hart. He said he considered both to be 'decent men' and that 'if one of them wins, I will support him'."

Caboose on the Jesse Express

Jackson's success in mobilizing blacks at the polls for the Democrats in the big cities of industrial states such as New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois is the kind of "success" black people don't need. A 23 June *New York Times* article quoted a leading Jackson strategist saying that "what is important to Jesse is something nonpolitical and intangible that you can't take to the bank." Jesse Jackson is selling dreams, and his personal PR men on the left admit it in their own way. The *Guardian* writes of Jackson's union-busting, anti-Semitism, black capitalism, racist protectionism, etc.: "His personal record leaves much to be desired... but that's not what matters." What does? "The call for a Rainbow Coalition is an ambitious effort to pull together the most progressive sectors of society." Yet Jackson's so-called Rainbow Coalition is nothing more than the old Rooseveltian deal which tied women, labor and minorities to the existing power structure through the Democratic Party.

Today Jackson's job is to rebuild a sector of this big business-sanctioned coalition and return blacks, who stayed away from the polls in record numbers in 1980, to the Democratic Party mainstream. And Jackson is doing a good job, as the British weekly *Economist* (7 April) notes:

> "He has undoubtedly generated a surge of enthusiasm among blacks which has already resulted in the registration of many new voters, conceivably enough to make the difference between defeat and victory for the Democrats in a tight presidential election."

This shrewd organ of British imperialism says what the reformists cannot admit: a man trading in dreams cannot produce. And they are a bit worried: "Mr Jackson's problem will be to reconcile the pride and admiration he has aroused among ordinary blacks with the degree of commitment to his cause he can reasonably expect from the Democrat chosen to take on Mr Reagan. Some disappointment among blacks will be hard to avoid...."

The well-schooled reformists of the Communist Party say openly that the goal is to organize a class-collaborationist "all people's electoral front" which can "defeat Reagan and all the anti-labor, racist, anti-people Reaganites." And the CP youth press, the *Dynamic* (May 1984) urges that the "young people should bear in mind what the youth representatives of Mondale, Hart, Jackson, Glenn, Gus Hall and Angela Davis" said. "Of all the issues confronting the nation's young generation, defeating Reagan and even more so his policies is the issue." While running their own token Hall/Davis campaign, the CP makes it explicit that its real program is support to *any* Democrat against Reagan.

This is classic "lesser-evilism." But the Democrats are no "lesser evil"—they are the *main* way in which the working and oppressed masses are bound to their class enemy. Jackson is the "Black Elected Official" (BEO) writ large, trying to do on a national level what black mayors like Coleman Young did in 1980, when he crushed a strike by black sanitation workers in order to show to the Republican convention that "Detroit Loves a Good Party." Last fall, Jackson had his Chicago black capitalist outfit PUSH organize scab schools during the strike of the heavily black Chicago Teachers Union, a strike set off by hundreds of layoffs ordered by his ally, black Democratic mayor Harold Washington. Keeping the lid on the explosive black ghettos, policing the big city unions—the Democratic BEOs are the declared enemies of black struggle.

In the recent period the Marcyite Workers World Party has distinguished itself as the prime organizer of the anti-Reagan popular front. And of all the apologies for Jackson over his ties to Muslim demagogue Farrakhan, the most craven was written by Sam Marcy himself (*Workers World*, 17 May). Much of the article is given to proving that during the 1930s a substantial section of the American ruling class was sympathetic to Hitler. Very true. But what kind of "defense" of Farrakhan is it to argue that his views are no more reactionary than those of Henry Ford, Charles Lindbergh or Father Coughlin? And what about Farrakhan's greatest crime? As Elijah Muhammad's chief lieutenant Louis X, he wanted Malcolm X killed. Today Farrakhan admits that his repeated death threats against Malcolm contributed to the climate in which the assassination was carried out. But about *this* Sam Marcy says *not one word* in eight solid newspaper pages on the Farrakhan affair.

As the most fervent apologist for Jackson *and* Farrakhan on the left, Sam Marcy is now up shit's creek. In his 17 May article, Marcy insists again and again, in the strongest language, that Jackson must not break with or distance himself from Farrakhan:

> "We say sharply and categorically that for Jackson to in any way repudiate or dissassociate himself from Farrakhan would constitute a capitulation to the forces of racism and blatant political reaction."

Well, Sam, we are very much looking forward to the next *Workers World* in which you will, of course, denounce Jesse Jackson for capitulating to the forces of racism and reaction. (Don't hold your breath.)

In another article, *Workers World* (8 March) declared: "It is not the political program of the Jackson candidacy that we are concerned with but with the development of the movement as an independent social and political force. And we support it regardless of the program which he propounds." Meanwhile, the tiny more-Marcyite-than-Marcy Revolutionary Communist League-(Internationalist)[RCL-(I)] group in New Haven says they are

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—28 March 1984

UPI

Reformist left press glorifies black front man for racist Democratic Party. Right: Jackson gladhands Dixiecrat George "Segregation Forever" Wallace.

Victim of Racist Protectionism

Avenge the Murder of Vincent Chin!

After two trials the racist murderers of Vincent Chin, a Chinese American draftsman, are still walking the streets of Detroit. On June 28 one of them, Michael Nitz, was found not guilty and the other, Ronald Ebens, was convicted of "interference with Chin's civil rights" (!), a sentence for which he could conceivably receive probation. He has been released on his own recognizance pending sentencing in mid-August. Yet this was a crime so inhuman that a federal prosecutor rightly called it "a modern day lynching" using "a baseball bat instead of a rope." Following the verdict Lily Chin, Vincent's mother, pounded her fists on the table and cried out the decision was "not justice." Blacks, Asians, trade unionists and all decent people must mobilize to have these racist murderers put away for life!

On the night of 19 June 1982 Ebens, a former Chrysler foreman, spotted Chin in a Highland Park nightclub where Vincent and his friends were celebrating his upcoming marriage. Apparently mistaking Chin for Japanese (or maybe he didn't care), Ebens came over to him and snorted, "It's because of motherfuckers like you that we're out of work." Ebens and his stepson Nitz then started a fight and later chased Chin to a McDonald's on Woodward Avenue. While Nitz held Chin down, Ebens crushed his skull with a baseball bat. Four days later Chin died in the hospital.

But it is not just a couple of psychotic racists like Ebens and Nitz who are guilty of killing the Chinese American draftsman. The auto bosses, United Auto Workers (UAW) bureaucracy and Democratic politicos like Mondale and Jesse Jackson have all whipped up anti-Asian hysteria in campaigning for protectionism for the American auto industry. On the windows of the UAW headquarters in Detroit can be found signs such as "Hungry? Eat Your Foreign Car," and throughout the city bumper stickers read "Unemployment—Made in Japan." Anti-Asian hysteria is rampant in Detroit where over a third of the auto workers have lost their jobs in the past five years and where Japanese auto imports—almost a quarter of the market—are widely blamed. But it is not just Detroit. Last year from California to Houston there was a series of racist attacks on Asian Americans by whites resulting in the deaths of two teenagers and a ten-year-old.

The grisly Vincent Chin case shows the murderous logic of nationalist protectionism as well as the racist nature of American 'justice." In their first trial early last year Ebens and Nitz plea-bargained the charges against them from second-degree murder to manslaughter. They were then given three years' probation and assessed $3,800! The outraged protest by Detroit's small Asian community forced the federal government to stage a second trial for "conspiracy and interference with Chin's civil rights." Also the Chin atrocity and judicial whitewash was

Chicago Tribune

Vincent Chin (left) beaten to death by racists a few days before he was to be married to Vikki Wong.

getting unfavorable publicity internationally, especially in Asia. The recent trial drew reporters from Japan, Singapore and the People's Republic of China.

Racist atrocities like the murder of Vincent Chin are endemic to this decaying capitalist system. Whether it be Haitian refugees, Salvadorans fleeing death-squad terror or oppressed Asians, the American ruling class and its labor lieutenants blame the spreading social misery on "foreigners." Some black and Hispanic, as well as white, workers may believe that import protectionism will save their jobs or give them more bargaining leverage. Don't buy this lie! Protectionism setting the proletariat of one country against their class brothers abroad paves the way for inter-imperialist war. The racist poison of "buy American" protectionism will hit blacks and Hispanics just as it killed Vincent Chin. The real killers of Vincent Chin are the enemies of all workers, the profit-hungry capitalists who drain the lifeblood of workers through speedup and forced overtime, and then throw them into the streets when they no longer need them. And they will be brought to justice in a workers' America. ■

Smash Zionist Scabherding!

Shut Down El Al Airlines!

The strike in New York by some 160 members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) against El Al Airlines is well into its fourth month. This is no ordinary contract dispute. El Al is owned by the Israeli state and the Zionist bosses are backed to the hilt by the U.S. government at every level. The cops, the courts and even the federal Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) are all out to bust Machinists Lodges 1894 and 2656.

Under the provisions of the strike-breaking Railway Labor Act, the IAM ground mechanics, cargo handlers, ticket and reservation staff and commissary workers were prevented from striking for nearly a year after their contract expired in April 1983. By the time a walkout was finally legal, on March 15 of this year, El Al was ready

The Machinist

El Al strikers face reactionary Washington/ Jerusalem axis.

with 100 overseas scabs, brought into the U.S. under visas that supposedly make the performance of non-supervisory work illegal. The union immediately protested to the INS that this rule was being systematically violated but for six weeks nothing was done. Unlike black Haitians, Salvadorans terrorized by right-wing death squads or starving Mexicans, scabs get the red carpet from Uncle Sam. Especially scabs from Israel, the only country for which the U.S. recognizes dual citizenship. It all adds up to international, state-sponsored strikebreaking.

El Al is demanding a three-year wage freeze, compulsory overtime at reduced premiums, longer probation periods for new hires, reduced vacations, unrestricted use of part-timers and much more in a shopping list of dozens of takeaways. Offers of concessions by union bargainers, such as a two-year wage freeze, were rejected by the airline. IAM unit chairman Gene Hoffman told *WV* that El Al has now stated that "even if we sign the agreement as is, they would take only 10 to 20 people back and the rest would be subject to recall as vacancies occur through attrition."

The El Al strike is in serious trouble. Seventy of the original IAM strikers are now scabbing and the company boasts, "We haven't had one cancellation, one delay." Labor solidarity has been almost nonexistent. Black skycaps initially refused to cross picket lines at JFK but gave in when their Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 1400 leaders wouldn't back them up. This action unfortunately amounts to more than the combined "efforts" of the rest of the New York City labor movement. Teamster truck drivers deliver freight and TWU airlines division members are handling baggage and fuel.

IAM president William Winpisinger has appealed to Harry Van Arsdale of the New York Central Labor Council for "complete support and solidarity." Well and good, but where was Wimpy when the survival of an entire union was at stake and the urgent task was to shut down the airports in solidarity with the air traffic controllers strike in 1981? He was hiding behind a call for an impotent consumer boycott and PATCO was annihilated. The labor fakers who handed PATCO over to Reagan three years ago can be counted on to betray the El Al strikers today.

The El Al strikers were predominantly pro-Israel, demonstrating their loyalty to the Zionist state and its airline by working overtime without compensation to load arms into El Al cargo holds during Israel's wars of annexation. In a leaflet distributed to the overwhelmingly Jewish passengers on El Al, the strikers state "our strike is a struggle against the abuse of the very same values Israel stands for." But those values are exemplified by the massacres of Arabs in Shatila and Sabra, the reign of terror in the West Bank and Gaza and the super-exploitation of Palestinian labor. The other side of this virulent racialism is the "Labor"-Zionist myth designed to deny class struggle within the Hebrew-speaking population. The strikers' leaflet talks of an "Israeli tradition of labor fairness." Yet in Israel, the same border police who routinely terrorize Palestinians are used to bust El Al strikers' heads at Lod airport. And the Zionist press has typically denounced the El Al strikers in the U.S., the majority of whom are Jewish, as anti-Semitic and pro-PLO.

Like in any other strike, it will take old-fashioned class struggle to beat El Al. But 160 workers can't do it alone, especially against a boss which accurately brags of its "unlimited funds." The Teamsters and TWU must spearhead a labor boycott of El Al *now*. Victory to the El Al strikers! ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Vietnam...

(continued from page 3)

imperialism, as its main enemy. In a rare interview, Premier Pham Van Dong in a muted way appeals to Washington to abandon its ties to Peking: "We must remember that the United States and China are not completely alike—they may sleep in the same bed but they have different dreams. One day the United States will realize that" (*Newsweek*, 14 May). Yes: the U.S. ruling class dreams of reconquering for capitalist exploitation Vietnam and China and the Soviet Union.

Moreover, the U.S. ruling class is determined to avenge itself on Vietnam for the most humiliating defeat of its entire history. To incite the American people, the Reagan gang keeps harping about soldiers missing in action supposedly still held in Vietnam and Laos. Both countries have repeatedly invited veterans and the families of MIAs to see for themselves and have explained they have located all the bodies they can in the dense jungles and mountains. Yet Reagan cynically continues to manipulate the agony of American families for his anti-Communist crusade. Similarly, the U.S. imperialists howl about alleged mistreatment of their former Saigon puppet officials in the re-education camps, but have refused repeated offers by Hanoi to ship them all to the U.S.

Vietnam's leaders have unfortunately sought to politically counter the Washington/Peking offensive by agitating for an anti-Chinese bloc among the various reactionary despots of Southeast Asia, with Australia playing the role of imperialist broker. In particular, the Hanoi regime has been wooing the bloody generals of Indonesia, who in 1965 annihilated the pro-Peking PKI (then the largest Communist Party in the world not holding state power) and also massacred much of the ethnic Chinese community. When earlier this year General Benny Murdani, commander of Indonesia's armed forces, paid a friendly visit to Hanoi, Pham Van Dong expressed his hopes of "continuous growth for the Indonesian armed forces" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 1 March).

Certainly the Vietnamese government has every right and reason to try to break out of diplomatic isolation and establish economic relations with even reactionary capitalist states. But Hanoi's search for "peaceful coexistence" and anti-Chinese "unity" with the likes of Suharto's Indonesia is diametrically counterposed to the vitally needed extension of revolutionary struggle throughout Southeast Asia. Proletarian political revolution to shatter the Stalinist bureaucracies is necessary to put these victories fully at the service of the world revolution.

The victory of the Vietnamese Revolution was the crucial defeat which ended the "American century." It is, above all, fear of "another Vietnam" which today holds back U.S. imperialism from invading Central America to drown the revolutionary masses in blood. The workers and oppressed peoples of the world owe a special debt to the heroism of the Vietnamese people. The defense of the revolutionary victories in Indochina against vindictive U.S. imperialism and its accomplices remains an urgent task. ■

Toledo, 1934...

(continued from page 6)

Others voiced sympathy with the workers. (A year later, when Toledo unionists went to Defiance, Ohio, to aid the Pressed Steel Company strike, they found that eight per cent of the strikers had been National Guardsmen serving in uniform in the Auto-Lite strike. That was where they learned the lesson of unionism.)

On May 24, the guardsmen fired point-blank into the Auto-Lite strikers ranks, killing two and wounding 25. But 6,000 workers returned at dusk to renew the battle. In the dark, they closed in on groups of guardsmen in the six-block martial law zone. The fury of the onslaught twice drove the troops back into the plant. At one stage, a group of troops threw their last tear gas and vomit gas bombs, then quickly picked up rocks to hurl at the strikers; the strikers recovered the last gas bombs thrown before they exploded, flinging them back at the troops.

On Friday, May 31, the troops were speedily ordered withdrawn from the strike area when the company agreed to keep the plant closed. This had not been the usual one-way battle with the workers getting shot down and unable to defend themselves. Scores of guardsmen had been sent to the hospitals. They had become demoralized. By June 1, 98 out of 99 AFL local unions had voted for a general strike.

A monster rally on the evening of June 1 mobilized some 40,000 workers in the Lucas County Courthouse Square. There, however, the AFL leaders, frightened by this tremendous popular uprising, were silent about the general strike and instead assured the workers that Roosevelt would aid them.

By June 4, with the whole community seething with anger, the company capitulated and signed a six-month contract, including a 5% wage increase with a 5% minimum above the auto industry code, naming Local 18384 as the exclusive bargaining agent in the struck plants. This was the first contract under the code that did not include "proportional representation" for company unions. The path was opened for organization of the entire automobile industry. With the Auto-Lite victory under their belts, the Toledo auto workers were to organize 19 plants before the year was out and, before another 12 months, were to lead the first successful strike in a GM plant, the real beginning of the conquest of General Motors. ■

Jackson...

(continued from page 9)

prepared to support Jesse Jackson, but only if his "movement" is big enough: "If 50,000 people came out into the streets in support of Jackson, even once in a single city, we would attach ten times more significance to that fact than to all the polls to date." So the RCL-(I) is waiting for Jackson to become a *bigger* betrayer! What classic examples of revisionist Eduard Bernstein's famous dictum, "The movement is everything, the final goal nothing."

What Jesse Jackson is all about was graphically shown on 14 May 1983, when he came down to Norfolk, Virginia. That day an overwhelmingly black crowd of 10,000, with a powerful black trade-union contingent, was marching in the streets to defend their school integration busing program. While showing up to grab media exposure, Jesse Jackson declared: "I am not in town marching for desegregation. I am marching for the voter registration boost." Wherever black people are struggling, Jesse is trying to *head it off* and channel them back into the confines of the racist Democratic Party. Back in the 1960s, every black radical had Jesse's number, from the Black Panthers who called him "Jesse Jacknape Jackson" to black radical journalist Barbara Reynolds who wrote: "What they [the ruling class] needed was a Booker T. Washington in bell-bottoms ... who could out rap H. Rap Brown, but someone with more orderly oratory who could lead the militants away from the onslaught of property to another front." That's Jesse today.

To turn back the attacks on democratic rights of blacks, to beat back the racist cutbacks (voted for by the Democratic Congress), to integrate the schools and achieve quality education for ghetto children, to stop the resurgent Ku Klux Klan terrorists in their tracks requires labor/black mobilization in the streets, on the picket lines, on the battle lines of class struggle against *both* capitalist parties, Democrats and Republicans. As Malcolm X said 20 years ago, "A vote for a Democrat is a vote for a Dixiecrat." Build a workers party to fight for black liberation through socialist revolution—this is the only way to break the chains of racist capitalist oppression. ■

Flag Down...

(continued from page 12)

Feinstein wants to make San Francisco safe for the neanderthal Strom Thurmond types and the current George Wallacites, her Dixiecrat brothers-in-arms who will soon be arriving for the Democratic National Convention. Now she hopes to bury the fact that she didn't get away with flying the Stars and Bars again.

The militants who toppled this pole deserve a medal. While rumors circulate that the Klan might try and march in this city, Feinstein showed her true stripes by hanging out the welcome mat, running this KKK flag back up the flagpole. It didn't work! Once again a blow has been struck for working and black people. Once again Civic Center Plaza has been restored to the side of the heroic Union Army that smashed the barbaric slavocracy. But once again the capitalist Democratic Party's actions in this city have demonstrated that the central task of the Civil War, black liberation, is far from completed. Finish the Civil War! Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! Forward to a Workers State! The Confederate flag is down and it will stay down! ■

Convention...

(continued from page 12)

least by the city administration of Dianne Feinstein, the ambitious, union-busting, Confederate-flag-waving Democratic mayor. Implementing Reagan's anti-"terrorism" campaign at the Convention constitutes an open invitation to the Ku Klux Klan/Nazi racist terrorists and incites cop violence and ultraright-ist assault against protesters and against the Convention itself.

On June 25, the SF police department announced preparation of a detention center for hundreds, who will be arrested for "minor legal infractions" by "special arrest teams." The cops announced the purchase of hundreds of disposable handcuffs, towels and hygiene kits for 1,000, and 500 army cots for detainees. As a "security precaution," state delegations will be bused from hotels to the Convention site "with police escorts and sheriff's deputies riding 'shotgun' in the buses"; "secret contingency plans" to deal with purported terrorists have been devised. In furtherance of the war-crazy Reaganites' drive against "state-supported" (meaning Russian-supported) "terrorism," SF city administrators refused to grant press passes to the Soviet news agency TASS.

Speaking for ourselves, the Spartacist League has no intention of demonstrating at the Convention or even selling our newspaper there. As SL spokesman Al Nelson told the *Chronicle*:

> "For our part, we think the Democratic Party convention will be a monumental bore. We have no interest in seeking to lobby or pressure this party of racism and imperialist war. To do so would only serve and strengthen the unfortunate illusion that this party has something to offer working people."

Nevertheless we emphatically uphold the right of those who do wish to demonstrate at the Democratic Convention to exercise that right without being subjected to police violence, "terrorism" smears or ultrarightist assault.

On 26 April 1984, the SL general counsel sent a letter to the Democratic National Committee protesting the false characterizations in the bourgeois press labeling the Spartacist League as violent and as intending to disrupt the Democratic Convention. The letter described these lying accusations as "a renewed governmental COINTELPRO-type effort." And a question was posed: "one wonders if an object of this provocative and false reportage is the Democratic National Convention itself?"

The hysterical and self-serving prophecy of violence at the Democratic Convention is a dangerous weapon against all critics of the Reagan administration, those within the Democratic Party as well as those outside it. Defining lawful political protest as support for "terrorism," Reagan demands "preventive or preemptive actions against terrorist groups before they strike" in the U.S. and abroad. Senator Howard Metzenbaum of Ohio has called Reagan's anti-"terrorism" laws a "throwback to the McCarthy era" and "clearly unconstitutional." New FBI guidelines provide for investigation, harassment, infiltration, disruption, prosecution and incarceration of political opponents on the basis of their lawful political activity. The Spartacist League has filed suit against its inclusion under these new guidelines, in defense of the basic constitutional rights of free expression, association and assembly, as part of our fight against what we have called "McCarthyism with a drawn gun."

This new witchhunt has as its objective the mobilization of opinion behind the anti-Soviet war drive and the repression and destruction of all perceived political opponents. To this end Reagan in his April 5 news conference reiterated his lament that there was no formal declaration of war over Vietnam, thereby constraining the government from charging antiwar critics with "lending comfort and aid to the enemy"—i.e., with treason.

A fitting historical model for Reagan's exploitation of a "terror scare" to smash political opposition can be found in the 1933 Reichstag (German parliament) fire, which was probably set by the Nazis and then was exploited by them to repress political dissidence and consolidate the Third Reich.

The Democrats' embracing of Reagan's "terrorism" scare serves to intimidate, neutralize and discredit all opposition to the administration. The method of McCarthyism is all too familiar. Those anti-communist liberals who want their witchhunt and civil liberties too should know that the witchhunt doesn't stop with Marxists or black and labor activists. Indicative of the Cold War climate was Senate witchhunter John East's smear of Congressional critics of El Salvador's Roberto "Blowtorch" D'Aubuisson, terming their references to D'Aubuisson's well-known connection to the death squads "left-wing McCarthyism" and "Big Lie."

The beneficiary of this "fears of violence" campaign, which claims the intention of protecting the Democratic Convention, is going to be the Reagan administration—not those who claim to oppose Reagan's policies and certainly not those who defend the democratic rights of the American people. This campaign has already inspired the threat of right-wing provocation, with Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority announcing a "Family Forum" conference one week before the Convention and the KKK threatening to march during the Convention. Against the real instigators and perpetuators of political disruption and violence, against the Watergaters and Cold Warriors, against the witchhunters and their shock troops marching under the terror banners of the swastika and the Confederate slavery flag, the SL stands ready to defend the democratic rights of the Democratic National Convention and calls on the labor movement to do so as well. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Militants Bring Down Confederate Flag ...And the Flagpole

When San Francisco mayor Dianne Feinstein ordered the flying of the Confederacy's "Stars and Bars" on the same Civic Center flagpole where formerly the Confederate battle flag had flown she ought to have known this provocation would not go unanswered. In the early morning hours of June 29, militants took down not only the banner of slavocracy but the entire pole. We reprint below the Spartacist League press release issued that same day hailing these militants and their heroic act.

According to the San Francisco Chronicle *(30 June), the mayor has promised to have the flagpole up and the "California Hundred" (flag of the volunteers who fought with the Union forces) flying by next week. Good. Of course this is what Feinstein promised to do after we twice tore down the Confederate flag in May. But the cutting down of the flagpole is a gauge of the depth of anger among decent working people, black and white, in the Bay Area with Feinstein's racist arrogance. She ought to think twice before trying another double-cross.*

Feinstein spokesmen claimed to the Chronicle *that the Confederate flag was only flying because the California Hundred flag was temporarily unavailable! This is an outrageous lie. It doesn't take that long to make a flag, and more importantly there was an appropriate flag available—the replica of the Fort Sumter garrison flag, the historic symbol of Union victory over the Confederacy, which we donated to the city on May 29 when Richard Bradley placed it atop the flagpole. But Feinstein ordered the Fort Sumter flag taken down and destroyed and then ordered the racist Stars and Bars flown. Down with the flag of slavery and racist terror! Finish the Civil War!*

Anti-racist militants torched metal flagpole on which "Dixie" Dianne Feinstein raised Confederate flag for the third time.

WV Photo

Mayor "Dixie" Dianne Feinstein has met her Vicksburg! Her attempt to restore the Confederate flag, the historic symbol of slavery and KKK racism, was foiled by heroic militants who toppled the entire flagpole and dropped the Confederate Stars and Bars into the dirt where it belongs in the early morning hours today. After pledging in April to outraged Bay Area citizens that she wouldn't fly the vicious flag of racist terror, the slavery-loving matron of Tara ran up another Confederate flag, the Confederate National Flag, and in so doing spit in the face of every decent person in this city, and especially black people.

It was the Spartacist League that initiated the fight to remove this eyesore and incitement to race-terror from our city. Richard Bradley twice scaled the Civic Center flagpole to tear down the Confederate flag and made a third climb to install the historic and heroic Fort Sumter garrison flag. "Jefferson Davis" Feinstein tore that Union flag down and it was shredded. The Spartacist League has continually asserted its determination to rid this city, with its large union movement and minority population, of the Confederate flag. We hail the militant workers who have continued this struggle by toppling the flagpole.

The Dixiecrat Democratic Party, led in this city by Mayor and vice presidential hopeful Dianne Feinstein, has once again demonstrated its determination to defend the racist status quo. By the time our photographer got out to Civic Center Plaza, work crews had already whisked away the fallen pole and a well-coordinated news media blackout is apparently under way. Where is the Confederate flag now, Mayor Feinstein? Which Union flag are you going to haul down to raise the racist Stars and Bars again? Why doesn't the Dixieland mayor tell us why she ran this symbol of black slavery and racist terror back up again? What happened to the pro-Union, anti-slavery California Hundred flag she announced would replace the despicable racist Confederate flag?

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Spartacists Offer to Defend Democrats' Rights

Are Cops, Reagan Planning Violence at Democratic Convention?

SL Statement

SAN FRANCISCO, July 2—A barrage of recent major newspaper articles, from the *San Francisco Chronicle* to the *New York Times*, is claiming that the upcoming Democratic Party National Convention is in danger of being disrupted by violence. The articles claim that unidentified "police sources" and the Democratic Party National Committee are worried about the possibility of supposed terroristic actions and provocations against the police, intended to disrupt the Democratic Convention and prevent its nomination of a presidential candidate. Under the cover of this scare-mongering campaign the cops propose to themselves disrupt the convention, turning it into a militarized zone and unleashing their own real violence against the tame liberals and reformists who are expected to demonstrate in SF in conjunction with the Democrats' gathering. In response the Spartacist League, a Marxist political organization, is today announcing our offer of a security team contribution of a dozen trade unionists and SL supporters to defend the democratic rights of the Democratic Convention. The SL also calls on the AFL-CIO, the Teamsters, ILWU and other labor organizations to organize an additional labor defense guard for the Convention. The profound political and class difference between the Spartacist League and the Democratic Party in no way belies our position that the Democratic Party has the right to assemble and nominate its candidate.

The need for this labor defense squad does not arise from the estimated 30 liberal and left groups planning to protest administration policies, over anything from gay rights to nuclear freeze to El Salvador to jobs. Equating these peaceful demonstrations with "terrorism" is a blatant example of Orwellian doublespeak which serves the forces of Reagan reaction. Police "concerns" about "violence" are a bald attempt to exonerate themselves in advance for cop riots, to send a clear message of intimidation to the whole populace. Labor defense guards are necessitated by the embracing of the Reagan administration's anti-"terrorism" scare, if not by the Democratic National Committee itself, then at

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 359

20 July 1984

Down with Thatcher! For a General Strike, Now!

Miners, Dock Workers Shutting Down Britain

LONDON, July 17—Civil war is raging in Britain's coal fields. Pitched battles on the picket lines, flaming barricades, attacks on police stations, bloody confrontations with cops and scabs—many of them unreported in the capitalist papers—have become daily occurrences. Through more than four months the striking miners have stood alone against the full power of the capitalist state, its court injunctions, its murderous cop terror. Eighteen weeks of hard class struggle have now won the miners a key ally on the strike front.

On Tuesday, July 10 registered dockers came out in the first national dock strike in a dozen years, against the use of scab contract labour at Immingham docks to handle blacked [union-boycotted] coal intended for Scunthorpe steelworks. Within days, virtually every port in the country has shut down, as shipping in and out of this island grinds to a halt. Margaret Thatcher's Tory government has proved it's out to *kill* the miners, to break the dockers, to break the back of the whole trade-union movement. Now Thatcher and her war cabinet threaten a state of emergency and the use of troops.

Orgreave, May 30—Thousands of coal miners from all over Britain take on army of scabherding cops.

A general strike has been posed as an objective necessity right from the start, to smash the Tory assault and bring down this hated government, which wages bloody war against Britain's workers and minorities while preparing for nuclear war against the Soviet workers. Now it is not only posed, but both urgent and *possible*. The hour is here to avenge the murders of David Jones and Joe Green, two miners killed on the picket lines, and *break the strikebreakers!* Don't let it slip away!

The ruling class is rattled, the pound is falling, interest rates are rising, the "Iron Lady" is slipping. Even the Tory press, peers and parts of the Cabinet are rebelling against Thatcher. Britain's high court has just ruled Thatcher's CIA-inspired union-busting at Cheltenham spy center illegal (*New York Times*, 17 July). Already shortages are hitting factories and shops as the dockers' strike bites. This government is in deep trouble right now. It can be taken on—and toppled. NUR [railwaymen] and NUS [seamen] members are blacking cross-Channel cargo shipping in protest against government plans to sell off nationalised companies. Railwaymen, particularly in Wales, have begun solidly blacking scab coal, oil and iron ore. Lorry [truck] drivers of the Transport and General Workers Union have been instructed to do the same. The NUR and other unions working the ferry ports have pledged not to cross

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Democratic Convention, Olympics:

Immediate Threat of Violence by – Government Terrorism

Reagan's threats of and preparations for state violence against political opponents of his administration are now being brutally enforced on the streets of San Francisco, site of the Democratic Party convention. The Reaganites have made no secret of the intent of their mass mobilization of police and other "security" forces—codename: "anti-terrorism." Secretary of State George Shultz was perfectly clear: "It is time to think long, hard and seriously about more active means of defense—about defense through appropriate preventive or pre-emptive actions against terrorist groups before they strike" (*New York Times*, 25 June). That is precisely the policy carried out by Democratic mayor Feinstein and her cops on July 12.

Reactionary fundamentalist and Reaganite Jerry Falwell held a provocative "Family Forum" in San Francisco that day. Not unexpectedly, a large demonstration of liberal and leftist opponents of the retrograde Moral Majority (hardly a "majority" in the Bay Area) gathered to express disgust at Falwell & Co. As the *New York Times* (13 July) reported: "Police had barricaded off the sidewalk on Powell Street in front of the Holiday Inn and scores of police in riot gear and clubs, riding on horseback and on motorcycles, lined the intersection." The cops provided a special "guard" for the 350 ultrarightists who turned out for Falwell.

Outside, the anti-Falwell demonstrators were clubbed, charged by cop cycles, arrested and brutalized. According to the *San Francisco Chronicle* (13 July) a nurse was clubbed while attempting to aid a woman (who had

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Latin American Masses Starved

The Debt Bomb

Rockefellers Bailed Out

SEE PAGE SIX

Goring Oxes

June 25, 1984

Dear Comrades:

Are you serious? Just beeause Gore Vidal approves of Riehard Bradley tearing down the Confederate flag in San Franeiseo, he's suddenly "Ameri-ea's greatest living writer"? [See eaption on page 11 of *WV* No. 357, 22 June.] Are you trying to sell him a suhseription? How horrible to think of you groveling at his feet in that bookstore, hegging for his autograph.

At the risk of sounding condescending, let me ask you to throw fifteen novels into a pile, stir, then read. Whose "voice" do you reeognize? Wright Morris? Thomas Pynchon? Terry Southern? Saul Bellow? These are living Ameriean artists, if not great novelists. To write great novels, one must first be an artist, whieh implies a recognizable "voiee" uniquely that artist's, and not all artists are great novelists, so how on earth could Mr. Vidal, who is not even an artist, be one? He is merely an overrated, extremely competent and faeile haek (not very modest, very self-promoting), who writes rather superfi-cial popular novels in a pedestrian style, and whose "voiee" you would never reeognize in any pile. When he writes his first line, he already knows what his third line will be etc., and eannot possibly surprise the reader, sinee he is incapable of surprising himself. As Charles Lamb put it: "The poet dreams being awake." Mr. Vidal does not dream.

Maybe you think all this trivial, and that I'm roaming moonlit gardens when I should he engaged in something more serious, but art is a serious matter. Comrades, essentially suhversion, beginning as play, and that is why artists are our spokesmen for what is repressed in the present. On the surface, Gore Vidal may seem more suhversive to you than, say, the artists I have mentioned, hut you have only to look beneath the surfaee to realize he is all surfaee. Furthermore, it is serious when the vanguard party makes a fool of itself in its newspaper. Lenin knew nothing ahout art, but had the good sense to keep his mouth shut. I wonder if you realize that your hyperbole was greeted with derisive laughter by people who think it gives weight to the slander that all communists are philistines who admire "socialist realism." Not that Gore Vidal is *that* bad. Maybe he's writing "eapitalist realism."

Communist Greetings!
Priee

P.S. Suggested reading: Ezra Pound's *ABC of Reading*. One of Trotsky's favorite books, by the way.

WV replies: Yes, we meant it when we called Gore Vidal "Ameriea's greatest living writer." We agree with *Newsweek*'s deseription of him as "the best all-round American man of letters sinee Edmund Wilson." And surely Vidal's work as a historieal muckraker/novelist, whose subject has beeome increasingly what he ealls "some sort of autobiography of the American Republie," is not only politieally but even aesthetieally unique. Vidal's exploration of the dark, or at least eonventionally/offieially obliterated, side of Ameriean polities and power, of the forees that shaped this nation, has plumbed new depths with his powerful new novel, *Lincoln*. This is no hack projeet; indeed, given the abysmal ignorance of today's sehool inmates, it's vital reading.

But is it art? Well, it's interesting that comrade Priee seems to helieve we called Vidal the "greatest artist" or "greatest novelist." Just plain "writer" is perhaps not a serious eategory in the world of "high art"—would he prefer "greatest living Ameriean haek" therefore? We aren't into the depressing Ameriean passion for eontests and offieial eertification of who's "Number One" in the high eulture ratings. As Marxists, we have always opposed offieial attempts to dietate in the fields of art and eulture. Comrade Priee is quite eorreet that different artists speak with different voices, which aren't suseeptible to competitive ranking. Actually we thought our eharaeterization was fairly eonventionally aeeepted. Will we next be aeeused of sheer philistinism? After all, what do *Newsweek*, *Time*, Anthony Burgess, etc., know?

Depressing to have to point out that eontent has something to do with why we like Vidal; we suspeet that's why the hisses of "soeialist realism." Aetually, "eapitalist realism" isn't sueh a bad deseription of what Vidal does (rather like Louis Auehineloss). As Vidal noted: "It is a tribute to the eunning of our rulers and to the stupidity of our intellectuals (book-chat division, anyway) that the world Auchineloss writes about, the domain of Wall Street bankers and lawyers and stockbrokers, is thought to be irrelevant, a faded and fading genteel-gentile enclave when, in actual faet, this little world comprises the altogether too vigorous and self-renewing ruling class of the United States" ("The Great World and Louis Auchineloss," *New York Review of Books*, 18 July 1974).

A large part of Gore Vidal's sense of the jugular results from his own background as an integral part of that old-line WASP ruling elass. He exploits this not only in revealing their dirty secrets, but in shoeking what he ealls the "arrivistes," for example the unspeakable William F. Buekley, Jr., whom Vidal so effectively demolished in a eonfrontation on a major TV network in 1968 that Buckley exploded into disgusting homosexual-baiting and actually threatened violence. Those not familiar with Vidal's WASPish and witty assaults on the American ruling elass may enjoy the following bits:

On "Judeo-Christian soeiety": "Well, it's a soeiety that should be harmed—that is, altered. Certainly, Judeo-Christianity should be smashed to bits" (*Views from a Window: Conversations with Gore Vidal*).

The military: "Just before the Sceond War, I listened several times to Air Foree generals diseuss with a humor that soon turned into ohsession the ease with which the White House could he seized.... Although Hitler was a miserable joker (and probably a crypto-Jew), he was doing our work for us by killing commies.... I once asked Fletcher Knehel what gave him his idea for *Seven Days in May*.... 'Talking to Admiral Radford,' he told me. 'He scared me to death'" ("West Point," *Matters of Fact and Fiction: Essays 1973-1976*).

WV Photo

The right-wing *Commentary* erowd: "He [Herman Wouk the novelist] reflcets what one has eome to think of as the *Commentary* syndrome or: all's right with Ameriea if you're not in a gas ehamber, and making money" ("The Top Ten Best Sellers," *ibid.*).

The founding of America: "The initial sueeess of the United States was largely aeeidental. A rieh almost empty eontinent was oeeupied and exploited by rapacious Europeans who made slaves of Afrieans and eorpses of Indians in the proeess. They ereated a Venetian-style republie based on limited suffrage and dedieated to the saeredness of property" ("Politieal Melodramas," *ibid.*).

The future: "Is it possible that during the dark night of our empire's defeat in Cuba and Asia the American story shifted from eheerful familiar faree to Jacobean tragedy—to murder, ehaos?" ("The Art and Arts of E. Howard Hunt," *ibid.*).

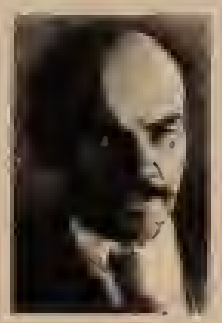
Vidal takes on not just polities but sex ("Sex Is Polities," he titled one essay). Not to mention the luseious Myra Breekinridge (come on, Priee, who ean remember one of Terry Southern's characters as well?). Whieh brings us to the rather lurid fantasy of us "groveling at his feet in that bookstore, begging." It's worse than you think, eomrade Price. We were sorely tempted to aetually VOTE for Gore Vidal when he ran for U.S. Senator for California in 1982. Unfortunately, he ran on the Democratic Party ticket, so as a former crook-president once said, "It would he wrong." Too had. But maybe if we make it in time he could be Minister for Culture, or maybe Sex Education, in the American workers republic.

Vidal is impeecable on matters of sex and morality and women's equality, for example his belief pornography is probably a good thing. As he said in an interview in *Oui* magazine in 1974: "After all, one way of controlling the lower orders in our industrial soeiety is to eon them into marrying young and having ehildren. The people who *own* this society, on the other hand, are

TROTSKY

Defend the Soviet Union!

At the outbreak of World War II a majority of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, led by James P. Cannon, had to combat a revisionist faction, led by Max Shachtman, which was abandoning defense of the Soviet Union. Today as U.S. imperialism, commanded by anti-Communist fanatic Ronald Reagan, lurches toward nuclear war with the Soviet Union, Cannon's statement in 1939 retains its full power and immediacy.


LENIN

All the time throughout this entire period of 16 years the Bolshevik-Leninists have stoutly maintained, in the face of all slander and persecution, that they were the firmest defenders of the workers' state and that in the hour of danger they would he in the front ranks of its defense. We always said the moment of danger will find the Fourth Internationalists at their posts defending the conquests of the great revolution without ceasing for a moment our struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy. Now that the hour of danger is at hand—now that the long-awaited war is actually knocking at the door—it would be very strange if the Fourth International should renege on its oft-repeated pledge.

—James P. Cannon, *The Struggle For a Proletarian Party* (1943)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 359 **20 July 1984**

Koch Bows to Catholic Hierarchy

Anti-Gay Bigotry in NYC

It looks like Ed Koch may finally have some competition for the award of Most Reactionary Pig in New York City: the new archbishop John J. O'Connor, appointed by the pope last March to head the New York archdiocese of 1.8 million Catholics. In his first major act since donning the mitre, O'Connor has refused to abide by Koch's two-year-old Executive Order 50, which forbids private agencies receiving city contracts and money from discriminating against homosexuals in hiring. No way, said the arehbishop. "Actively practiced" homosexuality, according to a church spokesman, "is not a right, it's an evil. It's a wrong way of behaving, just as a married man committing adultery." So as not to seem too bigoted, church spokesmen hastened to explain that its religious views tolerate a *chaste* gay "inclination"—you can look but don't touch! That's the Catholic hierarchy's dogma. As far as we're concerned, sex—be it straight or gay, married or not—is just fine as long as it's consensual. The church, and the government, can damn well stay out of the bedroom.

Archbishop O'Connor has tried to fudge the issue by charging state interference in church affairs. Yes, the Catholic church as a religious organization can *say* what it wants—and it rarely experiences any difficulty getting its views across. But what is at stake here is $74 million in taxpayers' money which the church receives from a *government* agency for providing *secular* services, primarily for childcare centers and care for the sick, disabled and elderly. The church has no right to make its dogma government policy.

Some of the more decent figures in the city's Catholic hierarchy understand this. The Brooklyn diocese publicly objected to Archbishop O'Connor's action: "Diocesan representatives say that there is no moral reason to contest Mayor Koch's Executive Order 50," reported the *Brooklyn Tablet*, official voice of Bishop Francis Mugavero. Brooklyn's auxiliary bishop Joseph Sullivan added people were hired in childcare "regardless of sexual orientation" (*New York Post*, 6 July). It is unusual and courageous for a Catholic bishop to openly challenge his superior in this way.

Holland Wemple

Racist pig Ed Koch (left) and reactionary bigot Archbishop O'Connor deserve each other.

After squabbling over the enforcement of Executive Order 50 for a few days, Koch and the archbishop agreed to disagree and kicked the conflict into the courts. The archdiocese suit was expected to center on the question of church and state and the narrow issue of the mayor's authority to make law on discrimination issues. But much to the surprise of the city's legal counsel, the June 27 suit included a broad challenge to the entire concept of anti-discrimination programs for minorities and women. "The sexual-orientation issue is a smokescreen to attack the entire enforcement of all anti-discrimination laws," commented Merrick Rossein, assistant director of the city's Bureau of Labor Services (*New York Times*, 30 June). The issue, it turns out, is *church* interference in *state* affairs.

Minimal as Executive Order 50 is, it does legally bar discrimination against gays in some areas. After a proposed law along these lines was defeated in the city council eight times, the mayor's office issued the order. But pending a court decision Koch has now *waived* Executive Order 50 for all religious groups, including the Salvation Army and the rabidly Zionist Agudath Israel, which also hold city contracts. They are continuing to receive city funds.

Koch has waved around his token "order" to show what a great fighter for gay rights he is. But he can't afford to antagonize the powerful Catholic church hierarchy. It would kill him as a politician in New York City, where the bedrock of his constituency is not along Christopher Street but among white racists and conservative Jews. To emphasize what side he is on Koch refused to march in the June 24 gay rights parade because he feared "desecration" of St. Patrick's Cathedral, where a protest rally was scheduled.

This is hardly a surprise, coming from racist pig Koch. The man who gleefully presided over the smashing of the 1980 New York City transit strike and ordered the closing of Sydenham Hospital, West Harlem's only hospital and source of emergency health care, is a fiendish ghoul whose close friends include mass murderers like Ariel Sharon, the Zionist butcher of the Shatila/Sabra Palestinian refugee camps. He's the worst of the big city Democratic mayors, the hatchetmen for Reagan's vicious attacks on the working class and black and Hispanic poor.

Archbishop O'Connor hasn't been at it as long as Koch, but he, too, seems to qualify as an Enemy of the People of the first magnitude. As bishop of Scranton, Pennsylvania he made a name for himself as a rabid opponent of abortion, which he likened to the Nazi Holocaust! At a lavish medieval ceremony installing him as archbishop, he said abortion was a "social ill" and vowed to eradicate it. In a TV press conference on June 25 he came down so hard on "pro-choice" politicians (those personally opposed to abortion who nevertheless support its legalization as a personal matter), that the right-wing Catholic weekly, *The Wanderer*, asked him if he would excommunicate New York governor Mario Cuomo as a "pro-choice" Catholic! While the Archbishop promised not to pronounce anathema on Cuomo, he did say that Catholics in good conscience can't vote for him.

On leaving the June 25 press conference, journalists noted that "Archbishop O'Connor is the Pope's man, the Pope's surrogate, the Pope's spokesman.... The Pope put him in New York to turn America around on abortion" (*Daily News*, 26 June). And *Catholic New York*, the official publication of the archdiocese, tried to claim the personal endorsement of Pope John Paul Wojtyla for O'Connor's refusal to obey the law barring discrimination against homosexuals. (Spokesmen for the arehdiocese have since issued a "clarification" denying this.)

Gay rights activists and other rad-libs protesting O'Connor's bigotry would do well to consider the role in world politics of one Karol Wojtyla, formerly of Cracow, Poland. As reactionary as the American Catholic hierarchy may be, its Polish counterpart is far more so. Wojtyla's people (like Lech Walesa) were the driving force behind the CIA-funded Solidarność in its bid to overthrow the Polish Communist government, which among other things provides free, legal abortion and contraception. Yet many of the same rad-lib activists who claim to stand for the separation of church and state in the U.S. enthusiastically supported the clerical-nationalist and anti-Communist Solidarność in Poland.

The political power of the New York Catholic hierarchy extends far beyond the city's archdiocese. The vicar of St. Patrick is also the head Catholic chaplain for the U.S. armed forces. New York's notorious Cold War Cardinal Spellman was the spearhead for U.S. intervention in Vietnam. As an appointee of the anti-Communist Polish pope Wojtyla, Archbishop O'Connor is determined to inherit the Spellman tradition as a leading crusader for America's anti-Soviet war drive and the reactionary domestic political and social climate generated by Cold War II.

The Cold War pope's man in St. Patrick's Cathedral and the rabid Zionist in Gracie Mansion deserve one another. The people of New York deserve something better. ■

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perfectly free to fuck anybody they want, eat anything they want, read pornography, take drugs, what have you. For another, they own the police.... A magazine like *Playgirl* is, in a sense, blowing the minds of a lot of middle-class women who never thought they'd ever see a photograph of a cock. Now they're getting a look at some very famous ones and this must make them fairly... well, thoughtful."

It is not, after all, only art that is subversive. What Vidal does is tell the truth, and that's rare enough. But surely there's more than one road to glory, and though the writer's motivation is no guarantee of the result, Vidal's is real enough. To let Vidal have his last word (from an interview reprinted in *Views from a Window*) on the subject: In response to the question "What do you love?" he answered, "I suppose you mean a quality.... I think I might say justice. Because, though justice is relative, there is a balance, a harmony in the nature of things which I think can be struck and that, to me, is justice. Art is certainly that, or aspires to be." ■

Timber!

July 7, 1984

WORKERS VANGUARD

Dear Editor,

I have just read your account of the San Francisco City Plaza flag pole being toppled and thought your readers would like to know why and how we destroyed this symbol of race terror. We hail the Spartacist League's fight to rid the Bay Area of the racist Confederate flag and especially salute the heroic actions of Richard Bradley. But after "Dixie" Dianne Feinstein raised the Confederate flag for the third time we felt that not only should the flag go, but also the pole.

In the early morning hours of June 29th myself and a few trusted union brothers entered SF City Plaza determined to topple this racist monument. Using an acetylene cutting torch we first cut out a wedge, or fish mouth, to determine the direction of the fall. Our union assistants made sure the area was clear of passers-by and overnight residents. We cut the pole right above the plaque where the steel was about 10" in diameter and was 3/8" thick. To our surprise we found a 2" x 1/4" reinforcing pipe (shown in your photo in WV #358) but luckily was also made out of steel and we easily cut through it.

WV Photo

What's left of flagpole after SF Democratic mayor "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein ran up a Confederate flag for the third time.

Despite being delayed by a few passing patrol cars we dropped the pole exactly where we planned causing little, if any damage to the park itself. Most important was that *nobody* was hurt. We regret not having the time to torch the flag itself but we know this downed flag pole delivered a strong message to Feinstein and Co. that this is a union town and *that* flag will stay down. By doing so we salute the Union Army that fought to rid this country of the barbaric institution of slavery.

We're proud that we could donate our skills and determination to strike a blow against the historic symbol of slavery and KKK race terror. We understand the flag pole has been repaired but the Confederate flag is still down. It better stay down! We support the SL's campaign to keep this racist flag down—*permanently*.

FINISH THE CIVIL WAR

FORWARD TO A WORKERS STATE

A Worker

Speedup Kills Four Transit Workers

NYC Subway Death Trap

Stop the Slaughter With Union Action!

Sheldon Rivers, a 39-year-old track worker, was torn apart and killed by a "D" train on June 28 as he was laying track north of the 155th Street station in Upper Manhattan. Five days earlier signal maintainer Joseph Kuzman, 22, was killed by an IRT "No. 2" train as he struggled to put out a track fire. Two other transit workers, conductor Donald Heath and motorman trainee Peter Mattera, have been slaughtered on the job since the first of the year. New York City transit worker deaths in just the last six months already equal those of 1982 and 1983 combined.

Transit Authority (TA) bosses, as usual, frame up the dead victims. "Nothing has dramatically changed out there to make it more dangerous," Thomas F. Prendergast told the *New York Times* (7 July). What an outrageous lie! Prendergast is TA "safety" head, a job akin to being head surgeon for Hitler's concentration camps. Sheldon Rivers, Joseph Kuzman and their union brothers were *murdered*. And their killers draw fat paychecks in the air conditioned offices of the TA and its parent, the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA), in City Hall and Albany.

It was three years ago this month that motorman Jesse Cole was killed in the cab of his train, a victim of the TA's "deferred maintenance" policy which turns subways into deathtraps. Even as Cole lay trapped and bleeding to death, then TA chief John Simpson called a press conference to blame the wreck on the motorman. What has changed? Only that Simpson and his ilk weren't tough enough for Koch and "friend of labor" Governor Cuomo. They brought in a union-busting ball-breaking team headed by Vietnam era CIA big shot Robert Kiley and former Philadelphia transit boss David Gunn.

Typifying Kiley's killers is bullwhip-wielding Ronald "Jefferson" Davis who in the name of "productivity" has tried to turn the traditionally militant 207th Street subway repair shop into an antebellum plantation. As a consequence, 350 workers were disciplined in Davis' first six weeks, and even with unfinished cars pushed back on the road the number of cars "repaired" fell by one third.

If for hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers riding the subway is the worst part of their day, for transit workers these deathtraps are the whole day. Last year the TA discovered that because the city's water table had risen as much as ten feet during the last 30 years, sections of previously stable subway tunnel are now resting in water. So far this year 120 subway cars had fires in the switch boxes which control speed and acceleration. The horrors of the subway deathtrap evoke eerie images of Dante's inferno. Signals which are supposed to control the speed and prevent collision of trains are totally out of date as well as generally out of service. Patents for the equipment date back to 1918! It was signal failure that caused the collision crushing Jesse Cole in his cab. The deafening noise of one train makes it nearly impossible to detect the approach of another. That's what killed Joseph Kuzman. Equipment that causes workers to trip and fall into oncoming trains is usually covered by slime, standing water and garbage, including in the 25-inch space between the track and the 600-volt third rail. Trackmen constantly use antiquated, often uninsulated spiking mauls and claw bars in this space. If the third rail is grounded there is an explosion melting steel and burning flesh.

Scapegoating the victims, Prendergast intones to the *Times*: "It's a hazardous environment.... The emphasis has to be on the rules and following them." But in their "productivity" drive Kiley/Gunn have crushed underfoot safety and work rules established over decades through the struggles of the Transport Workers Union (TWU). In fact, when elected union officials in the Track and Power Division put out literature reminding workers to follow safety and work rules, the TA brought them up on charges. They are still facing 30 days on the street and final warning!

Kiley/Gunn's "productivity" program is substituting bloody mutilated bodies of transit workers for the billions of dollars of investment it would take to make up for decades of "deferred maintenance" in order to begin rebuilding a safe, efficient mass transit system. They think they can "run" the subways like a garment district sweatshop, destroying the conditions of skilled work. But deterioration in the subway system is directly linked to deterioration in working conditions, wages *and* the strength of the TWU. In coal mines where the union is strong, safety committees can shut down hazardous mines. Not so in the subway tunnels of NYC. With callous disregard for the safety and very lives of its membership, all a spokesman for the TWU bureaucracy could say in response to the slaughter of four union members was: "It's running a little high this year."

In contrast, the class-struggle Committee for a Fighting TWU issued a call to action following the slaughter of Kuzman and again after Rivers was killed. The Committee demands a shop steward for every foreman, restoration of the January 1 strike deadline and immediate establishment of a strike fund. Committee members call for citywide workers' solidarity and united TWU action to smash the Kiley gang and the strikebreaking Taylor Law. They demand a $5,000 pay increase across the board with 100 percent COLA and a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. The Committee calls on workers to bring down the union-buster Reagan and break with the union-busting Democrats to form a workers party that will fight for a workers government. "We demand safe job conditions, quality upgrading training and incentives instead of disciplinary actions up the ass," the Committee says. "We want a safe, clean, free subway system!"

For the city's transit workers, the decay of the capitalist system is literally a matter of life and death, and the Committee's class-struggle program is the only way out. As they wrote on June 26:

> "We must fight or many more will die! There is in effect no union representation in signals and no safety personnel that will provide action on safety violations! As the Kiley boys tighten their iron grip more of us will be forced to grease the train wheels with our guts. The only way to stop the Kiley clones is to defeat the sellout strategy of the Lawe leadership and restore the militant principles of working class struggle which built the unions." ■

Higgins/NY Times

When black motorman Jesse Cole was crushed to death in July 1981, TWU militants demanded a one-day work stoppage for his funeral.

Stop the Scabs! Shut Down All the Hospitals!

Victory to NYC Hospital Strike!

JULY 15—Some 46,000 members of District 1199, RWDSU (Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union), struck private hospitals throughout New York City Friday. The predominantly black and Hispanic union representing nonmedical hospital and nursing home employees is confronting the cutthroat League of Voluntary Hospitals and Homes, and behind it the Reagan/Koch racist cutbacks in social services. Spirited 1199 picket lines went up at 61 medical facilities as the 4 p.m. strike deadline passed. Angry strikers carried placards reading "No Givebacks" and bearing the letters "EOWO." This stands for "every other weekend off," a key union demand that was loudly chanted by several hundred persons at the delegates meeting Thursday night. At present hospital workers are only guaranteed every fourth weekend off, and management is insisting on "flexibility" in shift assignments.

Hospital officials have turned down other vital union demands, including a 20 percent wage increase over the life of a two-year contract. Even their outrageous counter-"offer" of a paltry 4 percent a year is a lie: with *no* increase in the first quarter, reduced wages for new hires and a freeze for "step one" employees, this would be no more than 2.3 percent, less than inflation. So in reality the bosses are demanding a pay cut! Management is also demanding the right to bring in non-union "subcontractors," a clear union-busting move. It is urgently necessary to bring out *all* NYC hospital workers including nurses and doctors *now*, in particular the several non-struck 1199 facilities and the many thousands of municipal hospital workers of AFSCME D.C. 37, to achieve a solid victory. The striking hospital workers are fighting for all city labor—transit workers, sanitation workers, municipal employees—in the financial capital of American capitalism.

Using supervisory personnel as scabs, the hospitals are predictably claiming they can cope with the "crisis." (The solidarity walkout by licensed nurses represented by 1199 at key hospitals will make this more difficult.) At the same time, the bourgeois media raises a hue and cry about the technicians, orderlies, clerks, nurses aides, etc. supposedly "endangering" the patients. But it is the *hospitals* who are using these patients as hostages. Only by cutting off this vital social service can the hospital workers

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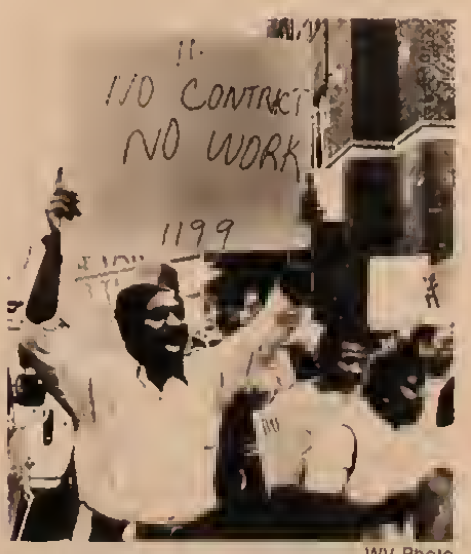


WV Photo

Militant black and Hispanic hospital workers take the lead.

Government Terrorism...

(continued from page 1)

been beaten during her arrest) and later had to be treated for a 3-inch gash in the head and possible concussion. The cop riot did not, however, satiate the police lust for protesters' blood. An officer is quoted in the *Chronicle* complaining that the cops had not reacted strongly enough: "We should have nipped it in the bud." Like leaving some dead bodies on the ground perhaps?

Reagan is running for re-election on a platform of fear of "terrorism," to justify draconian repression and intimidate the populace. The Democrats chime in, "me too," to their own detriment. We warned in an SL state-

AP

Cops rampage against protesters in SF, July 12.

ment (see *WV* No. 358, 6 July) that the real threat of violence at the Democratic convention came from the cops, the FBI and the right wing: "... the cops propose to themselves disrupt the convention, turning it into a militarized zone and unleashing their own real violence against the tame liberals and reformists who are expected to demonstrate in SF in conjunction with the Democrats' gathering." It is not a cause for satisfaction that our warning has been so spectacularly confirmed. Again on July 16, cops who easily outnumbered a small civil disobedience demonstration arrested 95 "with a show of force" (*Washington Post*, 17 July).

A very similar scenario is being played in Los Angeles, where government-encouraged anti-Communist crazies—combined with a string of official U.S. provocations against the safety of Soviet athletes—were foiled by Soviet bloc withdrawal from the upcoming Olympics. A gigantic police and secret police force (complete with "Blue Thunder" high tech) is still geared up to take "pre-emptive" action against "terrorists." At the campus barracks where athletes are to be housed, the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee "has erected three concentric rings of eight-foot-high mesh fence. The middle one is wired with intrusion-detection devices, installed by the Pentagon, that send out an alarm when a potential terrorist (or late-night reveler) approaches" (*Time*, 9 July).

Any sane person in this country has good reason to be alarmed about "state-supported terrorism" by the U.S. government against the general population: the threat of "pre-emptive" action; the new FBI guidelines which aim to wipe out any legal distinction between political opponents of the government and criminal "terrorism"; recent Supreme Court rulings (endorsing preventive detention, ruling admissible evidence obtained through illegal search, expediting executions and increasing isolation of those in custody); the super-secret "National Security Decision Directive 138" signed into law last April which reportedly calls for intensified domestic and international spying and for the creation of FBI and CIA paramilitary teams and Pentagon military squads.

Round One: COINTELPRO

These moves add up to Round Two of a "legal" military offensive against political dissent. The FBI's surreptitious COINTELPRO ("counterintelligence program") was Round One. Initially aimed at the Communist Party, then expanded to include the Socialist Workers Party, COINTELPRO eventually ended up targeting virtually anybody who came to J. Edgar Hoover's attention as affiliated with the antiwar or civil rights movements. Because the wiretaps, mail covers, break-ins and other assorted "dirty tricks" extended even to "respectable" bourgeois hangers-on of the 1960s movement, the revelations of FBI "extralegal" surveillance caused considerable commotion (particularly after the exposure of Watergate's dirty tricks against the capitalist Democratic Party). New guidelines were drawn up purporting to limit the FBI's "excesses." Now they have dispensed even with this façade.

The full murderous force of COINTELPRO was felt by the militant black organizations, most particularly the Black Panther Party. Panther leaders were set up for prison or murder or both. With information supplied by FBI agents, the cops shot to death Chicago Panthers Mark Clark and Fred Hampton as they slept in their beds. The L.A. Panther headquarters was nearly obliterated by a SWAT team in 1969; Panther leader Geronimo Pratt was hauled away in chains along with his comrades and to this day Pratt—targeted for "neutralization" under COINTELPRO—languishes in prison on frame-up murder charges. George Jackson—imprisoned at Soledad—was set up and shot down like a dog.

Ask a surviving Panther member what it means to be labeled a "terrorist" in this country. Reagan & Co., bringing their insane anti-Communist "rollback" home with a vengeance, have now launched Round Two—the McCarthyite ideological criteria of the 1950s (i.e., the ability to prosecute for "thought-crimes" and "speech-crimes," also known as "advocacy," used to imprison the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party leaders under the Smith Act) and the direct-hit methods of COINTELPRO are combined into one neat "anti-terrorism" package.

The point of all this, the point of any really effective witchhunt, is to coerce the entire population into ideological conformity. The point is to *scare* people—to make them scared not so much of the mythical "international terrorist conspiracy" as of the state itself. It is in such a climate of fear that Reagan/Bush expect to be re-elected. Meanwhile, it is necessary to invent an immediate target, a scapegoat, to focus the campaign.

Press Does Dirty Job for FBI

The FBI is evidently the chief instrument in this effort and has apparently singled out especially the Spartacist League, among others, as a convenient place to start. Thus, early press accounts claiming suspected "violent" disruption of the Democratic convention named the SL as among those "that police fear may play a violent role" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 20 April).

In our letter of protest to the *Chronicle* on 20 April we warned that the article "carries a menacing threat to those who *do* want to exercise their democratic rights to demonstrate at the Democratic Party convention" and that "police 'concerns' reported in the article are a bald attempt by them to exonerate themselves" in advance for cop violence. We also observed that we, for our part, think the convention will be a "monumental bore. We have no interest in seeking to lobby or pressure this party of racism and imperialist war. To do so would only serve and strengthen the unfortunate illusion that this party has something to offer working people."

Confronted with our outraged protest, the *Chronicle* played "soft cop" and *Chronicle* reporter Katy Butler wrote a letter calling attention to our position on the convention, our absence from last spring's demonstration against Henry Kissinger (which was brutally attacked by the SF police) and our successful suit against then-Attorney General (now Governor) George Deukmejian for including us in a list of "terrorist" organizations. Meanwhile, the *New York Post* had picked up the libel, adding its own touch to the Big Lie

continued on page 10

Thanks But No Thanks FBI and Mrs. Feinstein

This press release was issued on 13 July 1984 by the Spartacist League in San Francisco.

SAN FRANCISCO, July 13—The widely publicized attack by the San Francisco police on the anti-Falwell demonstrators yesterday is an ominous confirmation of the warning by the Spartacist League that the real threat of violence during the Democratic convention comes from the FBI, Dianne Feinstein and her police. The police clubbing and arrest of demonstrators was an outrageous victimization of the anti-Falwell protesters, and is an active continuation of an FBI and police-inspired campaign about "violence" and the Democratic National Convention. This campaign is a bald attempt by the police to exonerate themselves in advance for cop riots and is intended to send a clear message of intimidation to the entire populace. Despite the vicious and wanton beatings of protesters, a police spokesman said that the police had not reacted "strongly enough" to the demonstrators—a chilling foreshadowing of police intentions.

Today's *Chronicle* claims the Spartacist League is a member of the Committee Against the Moral Majority, the sponsors of the anti-Falwell demonstration. In general we love to demonstrate against the Moral Majority because we are (1) opposed to it as a movement and (2) bitterly oppose many of its political views and values.

But it is unfortunately unlikely that we would be in a united action with the other groups in the Committee because we advance political positions not to their taste—in particular our penchant for defending the legitimate interests of the Soviet Union against assaults by U.S. imperialism. And a good many radical groups are sufficiently sectarian, particularly through their desire to crawl between the toes of the left foot of the Democratic Party, to want nothing to do with us. In any case it has come to be our feeling, a few *Workers Vanguard* salesmen hawking to fellow leftists, unionists and black militants aside, that SF is a good place to stay out of right now.

The main point is that this week in SF is a living provocation against the left. This is underscored by the mysterious KKK march which comes and goes according to which cop says something. The calculated massive police preparations and publicity have thoroughly set the stage for the kind of police provocation that happened yesterday (and the L.A. Olympics seem to be quite similar in this regard) all designed to enhance Reagan's popularity as a red-basher, and at the expense of the Democrats.

But for the powers that be, evidently centered on the FBI as chief instrument, our real absence from these scenes of police brutality means nothing. The press, very possibly in good faith and on the basis of information received, keeps putting us there anyway. Today's *Chronicle* report falsely putting us in the Committee Against the Moral Majority recalls the *Chronicle*'s false April 20 report that we were among groups that "police feared" might "play a violent role" at the Democratic National Convention. It is of a piece with a recent false claim by a high-ranking Los Angeles police official who asserted that the Spartacist League "is behind" an August 5 demonstration which according to him is "anti-American" and aimed against the Olympics. Such reports of course set up the members of our organization in the Bay Area, Los Angeles and elsewhere for the government's oft-promised pre-emptive strikes.

Again we state: we defend the democratic right of the Democratic Party to meet in convention and nominate its presidential candidate. Reagan is continuing Richard Nixon's dirty tricks in a much more ominous way, and this latest police provocation is a confirmation of everything we said in our previous statement.

But at least the Moral Majority and those of similar ilk will not be comforted by a Confederate flag flying in the Civic Center. ■

Disinformation Retracted

DAILY NEWS —14 July 1984

Bracing for 'crazies'

By FRANK JACKMAN
Of The News Washington Bureau

San Francisco—The Democratic convention opening here Monday should be one of the best-policed, most secure conclaves in the party's his-

BEG PARDON

A story in last Saturday's News erroneously named the Spartacist League as one of a group of activist "crazies" who participated in a rock-throwing confrontation with police during an anti-Moral Majority rally on Thursday in Union Square, San Francisco. The league was not involved in the melee.

—17 July 1984

14 July Daily News picked up slanders from SF Chronicle, adding its own lying touches. We protested: this "smacks of an FBI COINTELPRO-type conspiracy." On 17 July, Daily News published retraction on its editorial page.

Latin American Masses Starved—
Rockefellers Bailed Out

The Debt Bomb

"What is robbing a bank compared to owning a bank!"
—Bertolt Brecht,
The Threepenny Opera

WV Photo

Der Spiegel

In Pinochet's Chile, Chicago boys' "shock treatment" reduced masses to starvation, while billions in Wall Street loans went for speculation and luxury imports.

On April 23 starving slum dwellers in the Dominican Republic broke into grocery stores searching for food. Defending "law and order" (that is, private property), the police opened fire with machine guns. At least 62 people were killed, hundreds wounded and some 6,000 arrested. These victims were driven to desperation by austerity measures dictated by the imperialist bankers' cartel, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which caused the price of basic necessities like bread, sugar and cooking oil to skyrocket overnight. As street barricades made up of discarded tires burned through the night in the poor barrios, through the smoke you could see walls painted with the slogan that could become the rallying cry for revolution from Santo Domingo to Sri Lanka: "IMF Get Out!"

On May 17 the United States government arranged a $7.5 billion bailout to stop a run on Continental Illinois, the country's eighth largest bank. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation threw in $1.5 billion outright and a first-ever guarantee of *all* deposits, no matter how large. "We want to make sure that in these perilous times we support our banks," said U.S. treasury secretary Donald Regan. "The U.S. Government stands behind the banking system, and I mean it." One Wall Street moneyman crowed of this "historic" rescue, "Nobody is going to lose." Yet only a week later rumors hit the No. 4 American bank, Manufacturers Hanover Trust, which is the main lender to a country called Argentina. Investors began to treat bank stocks as if they were tsarist bonds.

These two events, only a few weeks apart, sharply define American capitalism's "solution" to the international debt crisis: starvation and terror to extract more and more from the impoverished workers and peasants of Latin America, state socialism for the Rockefellers and the House of Morgan. But no matter how drastic the budget cutbacks by Latin American regimes who give their people a diet of bullets instead of beans, it will not enable them to meet even their interest payments, now going up a billion or so practically every other week. For the mushrooming "debt bomb" is mainly fed by astronomical U.S. budget deficits (to pay for the anti-Soviet war buildup) and exploding Wall Street interest rates. As the starvation "austerity" policies demanded by the bloodsucking IMF drive Latin America into bottomless depression, promises by Ronald Reagan and Donald Regan to stand by their bankers and even billions in bailouts can't remove the spectre of another Great Crash.

Business Week (18 June) was certainly guilty of understatement in writing: "The health of virtually all the U.S. credit and capital markets now seems to lie in the hands of a few Latin American debtor countries." Their outstanding loans to Latin America are now more than *two and a half times* the total capital and reserves of the nine biggest American banks. A decade ago, believing that the inflationary spiral of the 1970s would go on forever, banks went on a lending spree. Thus for every dollar in outstanding loans, America's banks now hold only 3 to 5 percent in capital and reserves. This is unprecedented in U.S. financial history. Even during the 1930s depression when banks were folding left and right, the ratio of capital to loans was two or three times greater than it is today.

And it's not just the Latin American loans that have gone sour. Continental Illinois, for example, is not especially burdened by "non-performing" Brazilian or Argentine IOUs. It made its bad loans to Southwestern oil wildcatters and fly-by-night electronics outfits, such as those rounded up by the wild bunch who ran the Penn Square Bank out of an Oklahoma City shopping center. The Penn Square president sported a Mickey Mouse beanie and entertained visiting big-city bankers by drinking beer from a cowboy boot. Continental's executives were evidently quite impressed with his prowess, and got burned to the tune of $220 million. After Penn Square folded in 1982, Chrysler's blowhard president Lee Iacocca quipped, "If I had known how easy it was to get a loan from Continental Illinois, I would never have gone to the government." As a bank of easy virtue, Continental is far from unique.

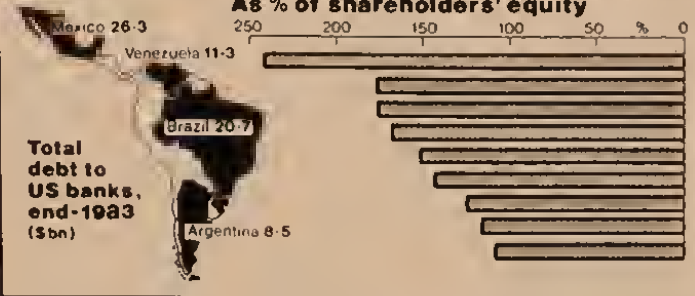
Small wonder that the London *Economist* (2 June), house organ of the international moneymen, warns:

> "Nobody should doubt the possibility of a financial collapse that would bury world trade, bankrupt many companies and put millions more people out of work. The chances of that happening may be far greater today than in the 1950s and 1960s."

The *Economist* goes on to reassure its readers that this is still a remote possibility—a 50-to-1 shot, it estimates. However, Henry Kaufman, the dean (and best paid) of Wall Street econo-

Nine banks a-lending

American banks' international lending to four Latin American countries, end-1983
As % of shareholders' equity



Total ($m)	Mexico	Brazil	Venezuela	Argentina
Manufacturers Hanover	1,925	2,125	1,075	1,325
Chase Manhattan	1,550	2,550	1,225	800
Citicorp	3,000	4,600	1,500	1,200
Chemical	1,425	1,275	775	400
Bankers Trust	1,275	750	425	250*
Bank of America	2,750	2,475	1,625	500
J P Morgan	1,175	1,775	475	750
First Chicago	875	700	225	250
Continental Illinois	700	475	425	400

* Estimate

The Economist

Dangerously overexposed: outstanding loans to Mexico, Venezuela, Brazil and Argentina by nine largest U.S. banks range from over 100 percent to almost 250 percent of their capital.

mists, puts the risk of a crash considerably higher, about 8 or 10 to 1. Perhaps Jimmy the Greek will give you better odds, but the boys at the banks are running scared. In the wake of the Manufacturers Hanover flap, one business economist exclaimed, "It's pure fear. If it's not short-term and it's not issued by the Government, they are staying away from it" (*New York Times*, 25 May). To argue that the Continental bailout proved there can never be another 1929-like crash is like arguing that the 1962 Cuban missile crisis proved there will never be a nuclear war. You won't find a banker or a general who believes *that*.

IMF Austerity: Bleeding an Ailing Patient

The opening scene of the debt crisis which threatens to blow world capitalism's financial system sky-high came in August 1982 when the Mexican finance minister called up his Washington counterpart to say there were some "problems" in paying a few billion dollars due to New York banks. Soon Federal Reserve Board chairman Paul Volcker was berating a U.S. negotiator who balked at paying cash for Mexican oil: "I don't give a damn what you pay for oil. If you don't do it, the whole thing is going to come crashing down—and it'll be your fault" (quoted in Darrell Delamaide, *Debt Shock* [1984]). A year and several "restructurings," renegotiations and rollovers later, hundreds of bankers gathered at a black-tie gala in Lincoln Center to bring down the curtain on the crisis, lustily applauding Mexico's rulers for grinding their people into the dirt without an explosion. Yet by spring 1984, Act II of the debt drama had opened, and sober heads among the bourgeoisie worry that IMF starvation policies could provoke a revolutionary chain reaction.

In this global crisis, Latin America is at center stage. As one international financial expert pointed out:

> "About half of all Third World debt is owed by Latin American countries; the percentage of private bank debt is even higher—60 percent. Also, nearly all the Third World countries with payments problems are found in Latin America.... A glance at the figures on debt service [interest and payments on principal] shows why: Eight Latin American countries have service payments that exceed their total export revenues."
>
> —Barbara Stallings, "Latin American Debt: What Kind of Crisis?" *SAIS Review*, Summer-Fall 1983

In fact, five countries—Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico and Venezuela—between them owe $276 billion, roughly 40 percent of the total Third World debt and over half the debt owed to commercial banks. How did this come to pass? Did the bankers get suckered in by the last of the Latin big-time spenders, who salted away dollars in Swiss bank accounts and bought up choice real estate in Vail, Colorado? There was plenty of that, as shown by the saga of Mexico City's former police chief (who on a salary of $65 a month supported a personal staff of hundreds, several multimillion-dollar mansions, a fleet of fancy automobiles and a stable of race horses).

Financial journalist Martin Mayer records an anecdote current in Latin America. A junior official of the Argentine finance ministry is lavishly entertaining a Mexican counterpart in his swank Buenos Aires penthouse apartment. The Mexican asks him, "How can you afford this?" The Argentine official takes him out to the terrace and says, "You see that bridge over there, over the river? Ten percent." A few years later the Argentine repays the visit to his Mexican friend, who shows him around a resplendent hacienda. Dazzled, the Argentine repeats the question earlier asked of him. The Mexican waves at the hills, "Do you see the dam where the river cuts the mountain?" The Argentine replies, "I don't see any dam." "Aha," says the Mexican triumphantly, "100 percent!"

In addition to the pervasive corruption, there was massive capital flight. The Bank for International Settlements estimates that over $50 billion flowed out of Latin America during 1978-82; according to the Federal Reserve, over a third of the $252 billion increase in debt of the Latin American Big Five between 1974 and 1982 went into foreign bank accounts. And there were particular factors in each country. Argentina's Falklands/Malvinas war was not only expensive, it cut off export markets and loan sources. Mexico was hit by falling oil prices, leading to huge balance of payments deficits. Chile saw an orgy of speculation as domestic industry collapsed under a flood of cheap imports. But all of the venality and profligacy of the Latin American bourgeoisies doesn't come close to explaining the present catastrophe.

In the last analysis, the Latin American "debt bomb" was made in U.S.A. It is the result of a decade of capitalist economic crisis centered on the imperialist countries, and in particular of the post-1980 depression aggravated by the policies of the Reagan administration. In the mid-1970s when Wall Street banks were awash with "petrodollars" derived from the OPEC oil price hike, and the U.S. and West Europe economies were experiencing a sharp recession, bankers looked elsewhere for loan prospects. Their choice fell on the more advanced Third World countries where large-scale industrialization required massive capital input. *Lloyd's Bank Review* (October 1983) observed with typical British understatement that "during the 1970s, and as a general rule, the banks did not *strictly* ration credit, but either allowed countries to borrow what they wanted or even encouraged them to borrow more than they wanted."

As Latin America continued booming during the last half of the decade, the banks kept pumping in dollars at interest rates far higher than they could earn at home. (By 1980 almost 60 percent of the profits of the eight leading American banks came from overseas operations, and 20 percent of Chase Manhattan's earnings were from Brazil alone.) Then came the economic crisis of 1981-83: some 28-30 million people out of work in the advanced capitalist countries, export markets dried up for Latin American products, commodity prices plummeted. Thus Chilean copper went from $1.33 a pound in 1980 to 59¢ a pound two years later, a 40-year low; and while a pound of Dominican sugar could buy a gallon of gas in 1975, today the same gallon costs 20 pounds of sugar. Meanwhile, in the midst of depression, interest rates skyrocketed. Why?

Ronald Reagan, the commander in chief of U.S. imperialism (he never met a weapons system he didn't like), decided to finance his buildup for war on the Soviet Union by the unusual method of *cutting* taxes. While spokesmen for Wall Street and the White House piously lecture Latin American governments for running up a debt of $360 billion, the U.S. Treasury is running up deficits of $200 billion *a year* and slated to do so for years to come. (The U.S. federal debt of *1.5 trillion dollars* is roughly twice that of all Third World countries combined.) Massive borrowing by the American government in a period of world deflation has driven real interest rates to historic highs. In the mid/late 1970s at the height of the Latin American lending boom, real interest rates (adjusted for inflation) averaged only half of one percent internationally. In the past few years they've been running 5-7 percent, ten to fifteen times as great!

Augusto/F4

Mass demonstration in Rio de Janeiro demands, "IMF Get Out!" Blood-sucking bankers' cartel is hated from Brazil to Bangladesh.

"Chicago Boys" and Pentagon Guns

Even bourgeois liberal economists are prepared to admit that the fundamental causes of the Latin American debt crisis are to be found in the high interest rates, low commodity prices and trade protectionism of the advanced capitalist countries. But as in many other endeavors, it takes at least two to make a loan. And while Wall Street bankers were practically stuffing loans down the throats of Latin finance ministers in the late '70s, they found eager takers. Yankee imperialism had its hand in this as well. Throughout South America and particularly in the "Southern Cone" countries, military dictatorships came to power in the '70s with the approval and often direct aid of the United States. But unlike old-style tyrants such as Duvalier, Trujillo, Somoza or Stroessner, who were mainly interested in private enrichment, the new centurions were accompanied by U.S.-trained economic advisers who advocated unrestrained imperialist plunder in the name of "modernization."

In Pinochet's Chile these "Chicago boys" (followers of right-wing American economist Milton Friedman) administered a "shock treatment" that cut real wages by almost 50 percent, sending unemployment over 20 percent and creating an estimated 135,000 homeless in greater Santiago alone. Following what Reagan calls "the magic of the market," it was decided that Chile should produce copper and grapes, and import computers and cars from the U.S. But after a couple of years of glittering high living for the rich (something the "Harvard boys" running the economy for the Argentine junta couldn't pull off), the combination of rising interest rates and falling export prices hurst the bubble of the speculative boom in 1982.

In Argentina, Chile and Uruguay foreign loans went mostly into real estate, Johnny Walker scotch, Mercedes Benz limos and Exocet missiles. In economic basket cases like Bolivia and the Dominican Republic they covered chronic trade deficits, often for imported food. But in Brazil and Mexico, which together received half of all Eurodollar loans during the mid-'70s, they were targeted mainly for ambitious development programs (dams, steel mills, oil production). And *still* they ended in disaster. Over two-thirds of Mexico's foreign bank loans went to PEMEX, the state petroleum company, so that it could pump oil out of the sea faster and sell it to the Americans at below OPEC prices. But with the sharp economic crisis in the U.S. and Europe, oil prices dropped drastically. Brazil's technocratic planners began pulling back from heavy bank borrowing and imposed IMF-style austerity plans as early as 1980, well before the debt crisis erupted. To no avail.

Latin America has been subjected to debt peonage on a gigantic scale. In the early days of "dollar imperialism" this used to be done by sending in the Marines to seize the Customs House (as occurred in the Dominican Republic, Haiti and Nicaragua). Now they send in the economists. During 1979-83, Latin American countries paid $144 billion in interest alone to the imperialist bankers. Yet even though Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico and Venezuela achieved a dramatic $29 billion trade surplus last year, as the conservative *Economist* (16 June) wrote, "by the end of 1984 they will be another year older and $15 billion deeper in debt." Sergio Correa de Castro, the Brazilian ambassador to the U.S., summed it up:

> "The developing world thus became a capital exporter to the developed world—something akin to drawing

continued on page 8

El Caribe

Dominican Republic, April 23: Over 60 killed and 6,000 arrested in hunger riot provoked by IMF-ordered austerity.

AP

Debt Bomb...

(continued from page 7)

> blood from an ailing patient to give it to an Olympic athlete."
>
> —*New York Times*, 12 April

Nevertheless, as a Peruvian legislator put it, "dead men don't pay debts."

Break the Chains of Debt Bondage!

The principal agency for bleeding the masses of Latin America, Asia and Africa for the imperialist financiers is the International Monetary Fund. From Brazil to Bangladesh, the initials IMF today evoke the same popular hatred and fear as the better-known CIA. Indeed, the relationship of the IMF to the CIA is basically that of a loan shark to his enforcer. Since Milton Friedman-inspired IMF austerity almost always requires a regime of right-wing military terror, liberal economist Paul Samuelson dubbed it "market fascism." One wag quipped that the Monetary Fund had overthrown more governments than the followers of Marx and Lenin. But Jamaican ex-premier Michael Manley and the Latin American masses aren't laughing.

From 1981 to 1983, per capita income fell 13 percent in Latin America. Virtually every country except Cuba and Nicaragua saw drastic declines in the masses' living standards. In a town near Mexico City, a 60-year-old unemployed construction worker scavenges through the municipal dump, hoping to collect enough old bottles, cardboard and newspapers to feed his family of eight. He, like a large majority of Mexicans, can no longer afford to give his children milk, eggs, meat or fish. In São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and other Brazilian cities last year, crowds broke into supermarkets and silos, taking sacks of rice, black beans and whatever else they could lay their hands on. In Rio's Vila Kennedy suburb, a thousand demonstrators stoned soldiers firing tear gas and chanted, "We are hungry!"

But no amount of starvation and destitution can extract enough surplus from the Latin American masses to satisfy the New York and London bankers. The theory behind IMF austerity is that depressed living standards will cut down imports, while lower real wages will make exports more competitive (cheaper) on world markets. However, consumer goods are a small part of Latin America's imports, most of which are made up of raw materials and production goods. So by cutting back imports 43 percent in the last three years, Latin American countries have been crippling industry, while increasing protectionist barriers in the U.S. and West Europe make it harder to export manufactured goods. Moreover, the main exports from the continent are raw materials and foodstuffs—oil, copper, coffee, wheat, beef—whose price is hardly affected at all by wages in the producing countries. In short, IMF austerity *cannot* work, even on its own ruthlessly capitalistic terms.

As the debt bomb ticks away, threatening to explode the rickety structure of international finance, an influential chorus of American and European bankers, politicians and academics clamor for a massive government bailout of the banks before it's too late. A prominent spokesman for this school is Lord Harold Lever, a financial expert in the British Labour Party. Labour is the world's leading exponent of "lemon socialism"—nationalizing the losers in the capitalist rat-race, at the taxpayers' expense. ("Lemon socialism" has contributed in no small measure to the catastrophic decline of postwar Britain, whose economic condition now compares unfavorably to that of Spain.) Lord Lever proposes to nationalize the loan losses of the big U.S. and West European banks.

Writing on the op-ed page of the *Wall Street Journal* (7 June), the Labourite lord argues that "Western governments must recognize that lending on this scale to poor countries cannot be repaid in real terms within a commercial time scale" (or any other time scale, we might add). His solution: "that the leading governments create the machinery and provide the funds whereby current interest on the debts can be paid by the debtors to the banks in the years ahead." In other words, since the toilers of Latin America are just too poor to pay off the Rockefellers and Rothschilds, then let the working people of North America and West Europe shoulder the burden. No doubt Lever's enthusiasm for a gigantic bank bailout is enhanced by the fact that he expects U.S. taxpayers to help rescue the London banks, whose accumulation of bad debts from Third World tinpot dictators is second only to Wall Street's.

If Lord Lever expresses the social-democratic "solution" to the debt crisis (echoed by American bankers friendly to the Democratic Party, like Felix Rohatyn), the *Wall Street Journal* editorial board stands for cutthroat capitalism and no-holds-barred colonialism. The *Journal* answered Lever in a June 20 editorial proposing nothing less than the liquidation of the Latin American bourgeoisie, not by the workers and peasants but by their imperialist creditors. If they can't pay off their loans on schedule, then seize their assets—Mexico "could wipe out its foreign debt overnight, by selling 20 billion barrels of oil still in the ground at $4 a barrel." Not a bad deal for the creditors, the spot price is currently *$24* a barrel, and Cárdenas nationalized Mexican oil in 1938! If Wall Street had its way, the oilfields of Mexico and Venezuela would be returned to the Seven Sisters, the copper mines of Chile and Peru would belong to Kennecott and Anaconda once more, and the Argentine pampas would be part of the King Ranch.

While the Latin American capitalists are not about to commit suicide, neither can they challenge the domination of American imperialism. To be sure, there's a lot of talk in the café society of Mexico City and Buenos Aires of a "debtors' cartel" and even a "debtors' OPEC." OPEC, which is not doing so well itself these days, controls the principal supplies of a vital natural resource—oil. The prospective members of a "debtors' cartel" would control nothing except scraps of paper. And should they dare to tear up their IOUs, imperialist retaliation would be swift and devastating. U.S. deputy treasury secretary R.T. McNamar warned that in case of repudiation of the debt:

> "...the foreign assets of a country would be attached by creditors throughout the world; its exports would be seized by creditors at each dock where they landed; its national airline would be unable to operate; and its sources of desperately needed capital goods and spare parts virtually eliminated. In many countries, even food imports would be curtailed. Hardly a pleasant scenario."

As the U.S. prime rate (which banks charge their best customers) jumped two percentage points in the past few months, automatically adding *$5 billion* to the Latin American debt burden, Argentina's beleaguered liberal president Raúl Alfonsín cried out, "It's madness." No, señor, it's capitalism.

In the 1930s and '40s, nationalist/populist regimes such as Perón in Argentina and Vargas in Brazil repudiated the foreign debt without serious repercussions. But prior to World War II, Latin America was far more autonomous from the world capitalist economy than today. Most countries were self-sufficient in food, and a return to a barter economy led to a surge of industrialization through "import substitution." But in Latin America today the so-called "national bourgeoisies" are thoroughly integrated into the world market. Brazilian industrialists are completely dependent on partnerships, joint projects and licensing agreements with American, European and Japanese multinationals. The factories of São Paulo and Córdoba would grind to a halt in months, if not weeks, without a steady flow of imported raw materials, machinery and parts.

Thus all the talk of a "debtors' cartel" is just that—talk. Even Alfonsín's Argentina, for all its "tough" posturing toward the IMF, after the usual last-minute dramatics came up with the $325 million so as not to be in arrears on its quarterly interest payments to "Manny Hanny," Citibank & Co. And the meeting of Latin American finance ministers in Cartagena, Colombia in late June came up with nothing more than a polite plea to the imperialist bloodsuckers to understand their plight. Indeed, the Latin American ruling classes are caught between a rock and a hard place. While the Yankee bankers have them by the balls, IMF-ordered austerity threatens to provoke social explosion from within. Venezuelan central bank official Felipe Pazos warned: "If 53 people died in the riots in the Dominican Republic, 53,000 people could die if the Mexicans remember that they are a people with a history of rebellion. If that happens, capitalism in Latin America will go to the devil" (*Business Week*, 28 May).

In his own fearful way, this Latin American banker points to the only progressive solution to the debt crisis for the impoverished masses: the destruction of the capitalist system. Here we should look at Castro's Cuba, which alone in the Western hemisphere, has carried out a bona fide social revolution. Even in the face of two decades of savage U.S. terrorist attacks and economic blockade, Cuba has provided quality health care for its people, education for its youth, and housing and adequate food for all. One does not see in Havana unemployed workers scavenging through garbage dumps or people living in tents. Of course, Cuba sells its sugar to the Soviet Union at 40¢ a pound as opposed to the world market price of 6¢ a pound received by the Dominican Republic next door. Only through an internationally planned economy can the poor countries of the earth escape from destitution and spoliation by low commodity prices, high interest rates and the other mechanisms of imperialist domination.

Wasserman/LA Times

Yet the Cuban Revolution was deformed, for atop the workers state sits a petty-bourgeois nationalist bureaucracy. Castro has *not* taken hold of the debt crisis to mobilize the many millions-strong Latin American proletariat against its exploiters. Instead he is looking for a political bloc with the "national" bourgeoisies of the continent, a repeat of the ephemeral (and empty) "alliance" against the Yankees over the 1982 Falklands/Malvinas war. In his report to the 1983 Conference of Non-Aligned Countries (*The World Economic and Social Crisis*), Castro calls only for cancellation of the debt of the "least developed countries"—i.e., Haiti and Bolivia—whereas for "the rest of the developing countries" indebtedness should be "relieved." Lots of luck!

Contrast Castro's line with that of the Russian Bolsheviks. Leon Trotsky pointed out in 1923 that as early as the 1905 Revolution the Soviets declared they would repudiate the tsarist debt:

> "Our own debts we pay and shall continue to pay, but we have no desire to pay anyone else's. Already in December 1905 the Petrograd Soviet, the forerunner of the present government, warned foreign powers and foreign capitalists that the Russian revolution would not recognise the debts incurred by the Tsars, or any other forms of assistance given by foreign capitalists to the Tsarist regime."
>
> —"Interview with American Senator King," *How the Revolution Armed*, Vol. 5 (1981)

It will take proletarian revolution across the continent, leading to a Socialist United States of Latin America, to break the shackles of imperialist debt peonage. Thus the fight against IMF starvation is a fight to forge Trotskyist parties throughout Latin America, to lead continental and worldwide socialist revolution.

It Can Happen Here

Can "it"—the Great Crash of 1929—happen again? That is *the* question now

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heing asked from the Wall Street Racquet Club to the eaverns of the gnomes of Zurich to the palaces of the sheiks of Araby. Certainly those in the know in the financial world don't douht that it ean happen again, and any day, too. Few eorporate treasurers, bankers and financial officials doubt the possibility of a chain of bank failures triggered by a Latin American default or some other shock. What they believe is that the United States government will not let any big bank fail, just as it did not allow Continental Illinois to go down the tubes, at any rate for the time heing. The respected financial journalist Martin Mayer writes in bis new book, *The Money Bazaars* (1984):

> "In a fundamental sense, the change from metallic money to credit money meant that this sort of panic could never happen again. Because the reserves of the banking system are now nothing more than a government's promise to pay (and what is to be paid is not specified), money can be created at will and the banking system can be kept solvent however great the panic."

In other words, a bank crash can always be prevented if only the Treasury runs the printing presses fast enough. That didn't work so well for the Argentine generals. Will it work for Ronald Reagan?

Such a mammoth bank bailout, in fact, would produce an inflationary explosion the likes of which this country has never seen. Interest rates would shoot up to *triple*-digit levels, disrupting production and commerce. People's savings would disappear. Such a hyperinflationary policy would make the U.S. hegin to look something like Germany in 1923:

> "Whoever had a job got paid every day, usually at noon, and then ran to the nearest store, with a sack full of banknotes, to buy anything he could get, at any price. In their frenzy, people paid millions and even billions of marks for cuckoo clocks, shoes that didn't fit, anything that could be traded for something else."
>
> —Otto Friedrich, *Before the Deluge* (1972)

At hottom, the difference between the let-'em-go-bust school and the advocates of a giant bank bailout is the difference between deflationists and inflationists within the bourgeoisie. As the Russian communist revolutionary Leon Trotsky wrote during the Great Depression of the '30s:

> "In this period of social crisis, of economic shocks, *inflation and deflation are two complementary instruments for throwing onto the people the cost of decaying capitalism.* Bourgeois parties organize formidable discussions on the question: is it better to cut the workers' throats with the saw of inflation or with the simple knife of deflation? Our struggle is directed with the same energy against the saw and against the knife." [emphasis in original]

Now that even conservative hankers are openly worrying about the danger of another bank erash, it is vital for workers in this country to understand the politieal lessons of the 1930s. The impact of the depression and the evident bankruptcy of capitalism propelled the Ameriean working class to organize itself for the first time in mass industrial unions. However, thanks in large part to the Stalinists and social democrats at the head of those unions, the incipient radicalization of American labor was channeled into FDR's Demoeratic Party. The notion that Roosevelt's New Deal got the U.S. out of the depression is a liberal myth. The American economy did not recover its pre-1929 level until the imperialist slaughter of World War II set the war industries running in bigh gear.

Today the world is again riven by economic erisis as it lurches toward another imperialist war, this time a nuclear war against the Soviet Union, the state issuing out of the world proletariat's greatest victory, the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. There is not much time for the working class to bring down the rotten structure of world eapitalism before it sinks us all. ■

Shutting Down Britain...

(continued from page 1)

doekers' picket lines. The NUS, NUR, ASLEF [railway engineers] and TGWU must call all their members out in immediate strike aetion. If rail, transport, mines and maritime are shut down, that *will be* a general strike. It will lay a powerful basis for pulling out other key sections of workers, espeeially in steel and power, over the heads of their scabherding misleaders. And it will overwbelm Len Murray's gang of open strikebreakers on the Trades Union Congress (TUC); they have no vote on this one. A revived, *fighting* version of the Triple Alliance of miners, dockers and railwaymen is the way to organise a *general strike now*, based on united, common strike action by these key national unions and over the heads of the craven TUC. They must fight for these concrete demands:

- Victory to the miners! Smash the Tory anti-union rampage! Smash the attack on the dockers union!
- No more redundancies [layoffs]! Not one job lost in coal, rail, steel and the docks!
- No more denationalisations!
- For a 10 percent wage rise across the board linked to full cost-of-living indexing!
- Drop all charges against the vietimised strikers!

This embittered Tory government will not grant these modest demands. But a general strike now can win them and in doing so bring down the Iron Lady, opening the road of struggle to a genuine workers government to expropriate the whole capitalist class.

Thatcher's civil war in the coal fields is aimed against the whole working class and oppressed. The Tories even tried to *outlaw* the National Union of Miners (NUM) conference in order to boost their Solidarnośc-style scab "union" breakaway in Notts. Thatcher must think she's running Chile or South Africa!

The miners have been fighting damned hard—with more than enough guts, militancy and self-saerifice to go around. No working-class militant will forget or forgive the murders of David Jones and Joe Green. A century of hard-won trade-union rights are under attaek. Tory attacks target just about everyone: local government legislation designed to smash jobs and services, brutal attaeks on the National Health Service, the Police Bill and anti-immigrant legislation threatening basic rights, particularly of black and Asian minorities.

The bosses have been waging a war of attrition against the dockers for decades: in 30 years the number of registered dockers has been slashed from some 80,000 to under 14,000 while shipping has been diverted to non-registered ports where containerisation has meant massive speedup and redundaney. The port employers want to bring baek casual labour and *break the union* on the docks—and the doekers are the backbone of the whole TGWU.

Immediately when the dockers strike began, 70 British Steel Corporation doekers on Teesside spontaneously walked off the job and joined a miners' picket line outside the steelworks. The day before TGWU lorry drivers joined miners to picket against the use and transport of scab eoal at British Leyland's Longbridge plant. Last Tuesday in Mansfield 1,500 strikers drove baek wave after wave of police assault with stones and bottles and the cops were unable to make a single arrest. What's needed outside every steel factory, every power station, every place where scab coal is to be found are mass pickets of miners and dockers drawing in transport workers, railmen, steelmen. *Picket lines mean don't cross!* And every scab had better learn that you ean't eross a picket line on two broken legs. Organise joint trade-union defence guards to stop cop/seab terror! Black all coal and iron ore—stop all shipping and transport!

The Murray/Sirs gang of Cold War strikehreakers are open pawns of anti-Soviet warmonger Thatcher. Steel workers should remember that the dockers voted to join them in strike action in 1980—and steel workers union president Bill Sirs betrayed them. To hell with Sirs—strike with the miners and dockers! Scabbing won't stop the closures and redundancies, class struggle will!

Already over 4,000 strikers have been arrested under the Tory government's martial law. Thatcher's threat to bring out the troops poses head-on a bitter confrontation with the capitalist state. Only the fullest possible mohilisation of the labour movement can answer and defeat such an assault. The bosses *can't* run the country without dockers, railwaymen, transport workers or miners. And the army includes many lads with working-class backgrounds who might well heed appeals from the workers not to hreak the strike. Every general strike poses the question of power: *which class rules?* But the reformists, "lefts" no less than rights, fear and hate the prospect of serious class struggle that threatens the eapitalist state. Thus the fight for a general strike cannot be separated from the fight to oust the class traitors of the TUC and forge a new, revolutionary leadership of the working class prepared to go all the way to victory over capitalism.

Elected joint strike eommittees of all the striking unions, also drawing in militants from the women's support groups, the unemployed, the hlack and Asian eommunities, are essential to making sure this struggle is not derailed or beheaded. Even as they take measures to effectively run the strike—organising pickets, distribution of essential services, etc.—these eommittees will lay the basis for alternative organs of power to the strikebreaking capitalist state.

National Union of Miners leader Scargill's stand against the Iron Lady and the anti-Soviet war drive is to be applauded. But his pitch for protectionist import controls—which pit worker against worker just as steelmen have been pitted against miners in this strike—is a dangerous obstacle to a fighting unity in struggle. It is counterposed to the crucial appeals for international labour solidarity, particularly to the continental maritime and transport unions of the Common Market countries to hlack all coal and iron ore shipments intended for Britain and to black all shipping diverted from British ports.

And even as Labour Party chief Neil Kinnock was being booed by militants at the Durham miners' gala at the weekend, Scargill pointed to the election of another Labour government as the goal of this class battle. But after the hard-fought struggles of 1972-74 the only reward workers got from the incoming Labour government was "Social Contraet" strikebreaking, enforced productivity deals and austerity wage cuts. Kinnock is already acting as strikebreaker for the bosses and he's not even in No. 10 Downing Street! And Labour "lefts" like Tony Benn, well remembered as architeet of the produetivity deal, remain utterly submissive to the "violenee"-baiting ballot-mongers atop the party. (The Tories and right-wing Labour hureaucrats have demanded a national ballot in the NUM hoping to liquidate the strike.) Looking to an electoral victory by the Labour Party is *counterposed* to the hard class struggle and general strike which we need today.

What's needed is a party to fight for workers' rule—not for another parliamentary Labour government with the same bosses' eops in place to kill more strikers. Let's put an end to the stretched-out dole [unemployment line] which is life in Britain today and fight for decent jobs, housing and education for all workers and our children under a genuine workers government. A mass revolutionary workers party, forged through splitting the working-class base of the Labour Party from the pro-capitalist misleaders, is desperately needed to organise the class struggle. In the fight for a general strike to smash the Tory assault, it will come a huge step closer to realisation. ■

Hospital Strike...

(continued from page 4)

win this battle on behalf of all working people. Solidarity action is urgently needed from AFSCME, SEIU, as well as the Teamsters, who deliver the supplies without which hospitals ean't run.

For the past several months 1199 has been embroiled in a messy internal dispute with NYC local leader Doris Turner allied with the Retail Workers tops against Henry Nicholas, head of the semi-autonomous RWDSU affiliate, the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees (1199). Both sides have run to the capitalist courts, treacherously inviting state intervention in the labor movement. And carrying out a court-ordered agreement, on July 1—the eve of the contract—the New York local left the national 1199 to affiliate directly to the RWDSU. The pro-Communist Party "progressive" District 1199 old guard headed by union founder Leon Davis and partner Moe Foner were no less class-collaborationist than the present Turner gang. (During the 1976 strike, Davis/Foner even resorted to the use of goon squads against militants who were stopping scabs!) This destructive bureaueratic infighting is the legacy of the Stalinist "progressives" who pissed away the traditions of class-struggle unionism, and neither side has the policies to win a hard-fought strike.

Today, Turner looks to slick-talking black Democrats like Basil Paterson to mediate a settlement. The Democrats, black and white, are not "friends of labor" but class enemies, and out-of-power black Democratic wheeler-dealer Paterson is not going to win this strike any more than he stopped Koch's raeist closing of Sydenham Hospital. To win this battle will take militant labor action against the bosses, which behind the façade of the "voluntary" League is the state itself.

The striking 1199 hospital workers must build militant picket lines to edueate would-be strikebreakers that seabbing is dangerous to your health! To guard against betrayals by the Turner hureaucracy, and to mobilize the whole union for struggle, a strike committee must be formed from delegates elected on the picket lines! For a eitywide bospital strike—all NYC labor must baek up 1199 strikers with action, not just words! Stop the scabs—stay out and win! ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area
Fri 5:00-8:00 p.m., Sat: 3:00-6:00 p.m
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone (415) 835-1535

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Tues 6:00-9:00 p.m., Sat. 12:00-4:00 p.m
41 Warren St (one block below
Chambers St near Church St)
New York, N.Y. Phone (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto
Sat 1:00-5:00 p.m
299 Queen St W., Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario Phone (416) 593-4138

Two Black Men Murdered in a Week

Racist Kill-Crazy Cleveland Cops

CLEVELAND—Outrage swept America's second most segregated city, as Cleveland cops went on another murderous rampage killing two unarmed black men in less than a week. On June 1, Benjamin Arrington, a recently employed black window-washer, was shot through the chest as he sat in his parked car on East 105th Street. The cops had advanced on Arrington, guns drawn, because they thought the shoulder-holster which carried his window-washing equipment made him "suspicious." The killer cop, Donald Strother, later said preposterously that he thought Arrington was pulling a gun. But the 48-year-old worker was "armed" only with his squeegees. Eyewitnesses said Arrington had been sleeping in his vehicle and was shot as he jumped up startled after being awakened by the killer.

Only six days earlier, 25-year-old Gregory Williams was shot in the back of the head as he was running away from a supposed auto theft near West 20th Street. Patrolman David Sumskis fired six shots at the fleeing Williams before killing him. Again the murderer said that his victim had a gun, but only a metal file could be found. According to a well-known Cleveland activist against police repression, Roy Kaufman, the city coroner's report states that the death of this unarmed black man was an act of cold-blooded murder. But this fact of public record has been suppressed by all of Cleveland's media including the black press.

Williams was actually the second victim of cop terror in his family. In April 1979 an uncle by marriage, Anthony Jackson, was murdered by cops as he too was running away from them. Witnesses to that gruesome killing reported that Jackson was shot first in the back and three more times as he tried to surrender, hands in the air. In response to the murder of his brother Anthony, Walter Jackson launched People United Against Repression (PUAR). With the murder of Gregory Williams, Walter Jackson has now lost his stepson as well to a racist cop's bullet.

Cleveland's police force is characterized by the large number of racist, homicidal psychopaths it harbors. Consider the murderer of Michael Woods, a 24-year-old black unemployed worker gunned down on 23 July 1982 while shopping for a birthday cake for his one-year-old son. The killer, patrolman Joseph D. Paskvan, had only one year earlier driven his police car into a black man, crushing his legs, while shouting, "You black motherfucker, you will never run again." The September 1982 issue of a newsletter put out by the Cleveland Fraternal Order of Police hailed the murder of Woods as "justifiable extermination...of another of society's maggots" by "Officer Joe 'the Orkin Man' Paskvan," referring to the pest control company!

The latest wave of cop terror has evoked outrage concentrated in but by no means restricted to Cleveland's black community. PUAR, together with the 21st Congressional Caucus headed by black Congressman Louis Stokes and Women Speak Out for Peace and Justice, have gotten 13,000 signatures on a petition to put a city charter amendment for an elected civilian review board on the ballot for November. Police violence is not going to be stopped by paper resolutions of powerless review boards. Indicatively, the Cleveland proposal is modeled after the Detroit Civilian Review Board. This body has in no way deterred Mayor Coleman Young from reviving the notorious police terror methods of STRESS, the cop unit which routinely gunned down black youth in the early 1970s. However, while holding no illusions in the ability of these boards to check police violence, the demand for a civilian review board should be supported if it becomes a referendum on police bonapartism.

In response to wide support for a civilian review board, Cleveland mayor George Voinovich and police chief William Hanton have made the appearance of an about-face and come out for a panel that would be appointed by the mayor and which would include cops. Such a panel would be no different from existing internal police bodies like the "Use of Deadly Force Investigation Unit" which provides the cover-ups and alibis that are incitements to police terror. As if to prove this point Voinovich and Hanton have coupled their "compromise" with the demand that cops get "dumdum" bullets which explode on impact and leave a gaping hole in the internal organs, in order to have more "stopping power."

In the meantime, a Cuyahoga County grand jury cleared both killer cops of any criminal charges. It is hardly surprising in Reagan's America, where the Greensboro KKK/Nazi murderers go free and the Supreme Court sanctions police terror, that these murdering cops are exonerated. Remember Patrick Mason, the five-year-old black child slaughtered in his own home by racist Orange County, California cop Anthony Sperl, who received for this heinous act a huge bounty and early retirement with pension! These killer cops should be jailed! But it is going to take a massive militant mobilization of the labor movement and black people to stop the racist murderers-in-blue in their tracks. Vengeance for all the victims of racist cop murder must become the cause of American labor as it seeks its emancipation. ■

Government Terrorism...

(continued from page 5)

by claiming that we were involved in the SF anti-Kissinger demonstration. The capitalist press, while giving us plenty of "publicity" whenever some (generally unidentified) cop spokesman slanders us, has been real quiet about our important legal victories, e.g., when we forced the Moonies' paper to retract its slanders of the 5,000 demonstrators who under SL leadership stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. in November 1982.

We keep beating down the "violence" Big Lie, but before the ink on the slanderers' retraction is dry, new lies are being pushed again. The same technique has been used in the aftermath of the cop attack on the anti-Falwell demonstrators. Our absence from these scenes of police brutality means nothing; the *Chronicle* (13 July) in an article, also under the byline of Katy Butler, included us among the organizers of the demonstration. As we pointed out in the press release issued that day (see page 5):

> "...it is unfortunately unlikely that we would be in a united action with the other groups in the Committee because we advance political positions not to their taste—in particular our penchant for defending the legitimate interests of the Soviet Union against assaults by U.S. imperialism. And a good many radical groups are sufficiently sectarian, particularly through their desire to crawl between the toes of the left foot of the Democratic Party, to want nothing to do with us. In any case it has come to be our feeling, a few *Workers Vanguard* salesmen hawking to fellow leftists, unionists and black militants aside, that SF is a good place to stay out of right now."

Sure enough, once again the *Chronicle* account was duly and swiftly reiterated in New York—this time by the *Daily News* (14 July) in an article entitled "Bracing for 'crazies'." We again responded in a press release dated July 15 that "The publication, in exaggerated form, of an initially false report from the *S.F. Chronicle*, smacks of an FBI COINTELPRO-type conspiracy."

Meanwhile in Los Angeles, socially concerned members of the "Homeless Coalition" met one evening in June with LAPD officials. The Coalition was worried about rumors that the "homeless" were to be shipped to the desert during the Olympics. In the course of assuaging these worries, the LAPD reps began to discuss the "real" priorities and deployment of their forces, including heavy security for an allegedly "anti-American" demonstration scheduled for August 5 in MacArthur Park. Since at least one of the members of the Homeless Coalition was also a member of a liberal endorsing group of this demonstration, "Survival Sunday," she was understandably alarmed to hear that the community-activist types assembling for the event had been labeled "anti-American." The police representatives assured the assembled that their real concern was with dangerous groups such as the SL who they allege are behind the demo. Needless to say, the SL has as much to do with "Survival Sunday" as we had with the anti-Falwell coalition, i.e., nothing.

What Is the FBI After?

Why has the SL been targeted? We're a staid Marxist group with an old-fashioned belief in the class struggle, the organization of the proletariat in its effective majority, as the instrument for revolutionary social transformation. Our opposition to putschism and impotent acts of individual terrorism is oft-repeated. Our essential indifference to the proceedings of the Democratic convention has been made clear (as has our willingness to defend that bourgeois party's democratic right to assemble despite police and rightist provocations). As for the L.A. Olympics, for us the prospect of demonstrations whining about the Russian pullout is simply unappetizing; we are pleased that the Soviets refused to put themselves in mortal danger by participating. In the face of U.S. provocation, we're glad the Russian Bear has stood up on its hind legs for a change. As far as our own immediate concerns go, we think we would do a lot better selling *WV* to black workers in front of supermarkets rather than at the Olympics.

So why us? Well, we are suing the FBI, which has grown "tired" of suits by victims of its illegal "dirty tricks" in the COINTELPRO days. It appears the "Justice" Department and/or its FBI is whispering in the ears of various police departments and press connections. In any case, we are being given the name while opposing in principle the terrorist game. About the only things we haven't been accused of (so far) are kidnapping the Lindbergh baby and shooting the pope.

The cops, with a little help from their friends, are convinced the SL intends to "overthrow the government" by "force and violence." As we have said before, any group which fits that conspiratorial definition would have to be a bunch of suicidal psychopaths. This is not to say that we don't want for example to get all the gold in Fort Knox, and we surely want ourselves or our political successors to be the rulers of this country one day. But from this, the cops would intend to see us convicted of making plans to rob Fort Knox, as they are actively plotting to see us convicted or murdered for "conspiring to overthrow the government."

So you may discern that something bad is going on in this country and we are being singled out along with a few other groups. And whereas the COINTELPRO operations were carried out in darkest secrecy, Reagan's anti-terrorist Round Two is right out at center stage. But the victims in San Francisco and potential victims in Los Angeles are not simply or primarily the Spartacist League. In their effort to establish regimentation through fear, the Reagan administration has chosen us as a target. They aim to further cow and electorally defeat the Democratic Party as a step in this ultrarightist pre-emptive strike against a population which is far from won over to their plans for new Vietnam-style military adventures in Central America. Their repression is intended to strike a blow against the union movement, now that the momentum of class struggle is on an upswing in this country, and against racial minorities and their militant defenders. On behalf of all the exploited and oppressed, whose vanguard we are, we pledge to fight the new witchhunt with every moral, political and legal means at our disposal. ■

Spartacist League Forums

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

Eyewitness Report from Arizona Copper Strike

Speaker: Sam Price, eyewitness *WV* reporter at Arizona copper strike

Friday, July 27, 7:30 p.m.
YWCA, 1515 Webster
For more information (415) 835-153[illegible]
OAKLAND

Saturday, July 28, 7:30 p.m.
Bayview Lutheran Church
1400 Palou Avenue, at Keith
For more information: (415) 863-6963
SAN FRANCISCO

Guest Speaker:
Manuel Delgadillo
member, CWA Local 11502

Friday, August 3, 7:30 p.m.
at National Association of
Letter Carriers Branch 24
774 South Valencia
For more information: (213) 384-9716
LOS ANGELES

Black Freedom...

(continued from page 12)

subsequently shredded and thrown away. This outrage was revealed at a dramatic five-day trial of Richard Bradley which ended June 4 with a hung jury, deadlocked at eight-to-four for acquittal on charges of "vandalism." The District Attorney subsequently dropped all charges against Bradley.

Even then the "Battle of the Flags" was not over in San Francisco. Despite the Spartacists' warning that it would take a "steel fence and guards 24 hours a day" to keep up a Confederate flag, Mayor "Jefferson Davis" Feinstein is running for the Democratic vice presidential nomination and assiduously courting the Dixiecrats who will be arriving this month for the Democratic National Convention. So, in late June, *another* Confederate flag was raised in the Civic Center! This time it was the "Confederate national flag," not the popularly known cross-barred Confederate battle flag. This was an attempted repeat of the city's first attempt to fly the Confederate flag in 1964: when outraged civil rights demonstrators tore it down during the Republican convention, the city's Parks Commission voted to fly the more obscure "Confederate national flag" instead.

The effort to re-raise *any* banner of slavery was short-lived: in the early morning hours of June 29, militant workers used an acetylene torch to topple the entire flagpole on which the racist banner flew, dropping the "Stars and Bars" into the dirt where it belonged. This dramatic act, not meetings in the mayor's office or Board of Supervisors' deliberations, finished the city's attempts to fly the Confederate flag. *Mayor Feinstein had met her Vicksburg.* The city's Board of Supervisors now called for a public hearing on the flag controversy and a visibly embarrassed Feinstein administration rushed to finally obtain the "California Hundred" flag.

It took the dramatic public action of Richard Bradley, the Spartacist League and the mass sentiment of outraged Bay Area blacks and all opponents of racism to end the flying of the banner of slavery and KKK terror. The issue of slavery was decided by blood and iron in the Civil War, where over 350,000 Union troops died and 200,000 black soldiers fought and turned the tide of battle against the slave owners. But the promise of black equality was betrayed: the racist Ku Klux Klan arose to terrorize black people and enforce Jim Crow segregation that lasted nearly a hundred years and whose racist legacy is with us to this day. Their banner was—and is to this day—the Confederate flag. In acting to insure that it does not fly in San Francisco, the Spartacist League says: "It took the first American revolution to get rid of the British; it took a second American revolution—the Civil War—to get rid of slavery; and it will take a third American revolution, a workers revolution, to end black oppression once and for all with victorious socialism."■

WV Photo

San Francisco, April 15—After tearing down Confederate flag, militants chant, "Finish the Civil War!—Forward to a Workers State!"

THE TRIBUNE —6 July 1984

State banner favored over Confederate flag

Bay City News Service

SAN FRANCISCO — San Francisco Recreation and Park Department General Manager Thomas Malloy said yesterday that the California 100 flag will be waving on a now-empty pole in Civic Center Plaza today, taking the place of a Confederate banner that was cut down by protesters three times this spring.

The California 100 was carried by the first 100 volunteers from the state who went to fight with Union troops during the Civil War. It will join a display of 17 other historic flags that originally included the Confederate banner.

Speaking before a committee of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, Malloy said the California 100 standard was produced by the Paramount Flag Co.

The flag controversy began in April when Richard Bradley, a member of the Sparticist League, shimmied up the pole and cut down the Confederate flag, calling it the "banner of racist terror." When the flag was replaced the next day, he tore it down again. Vandalism charges against Bradley were dismissed after a five-day trial ended in a hung jury.

Following Bradley's action and a request by city Supervisor Doris Ward, Mayor Dianne Feinstein declared that the Confederate flag would not fly in the plaza again, and directed that a replica of the California 100 be ordered to replace it.

But, Malloy acknowledged, a Confederate banner was run up the pole during the last few days of June. That banner, which Malloy said was raised "quite by accident," was not the familiar Confederate "battle flag" with blue diagonal cross bars but the less well-known Confederate "national flag" known as the Stars and Bars, which features three red and white stripes and a circle of white stars on a blue field in the upper left-hand corner.

Malloy told Ward and Supervisor Nancy Walker that he first noticed the flag on June 21, but did not recognize it as a Confederate symbol. Initially, he said, he was simply pleased that the empty hole in the display had been filled. Ward and Walker said they, too, did not recognize the flag.

The flagpole flying the Confederate banner was cut down with a torch June 29. Members of the Spartacist League said today they do not know who cut down the pole but whoever it was "deserves a medal."

The flagpole was repaired on Tuesday, according to Malloy. Later, during testimony by members of the Sparticist League, Ward said she did not believe Malloy's story that the Stars and Bars were raised by accident.

"I am certain there is more to the story," she said. "I do not accept that it got up there inadvertently."

Ward elaborated after the hearing, saying she suspected a Park and Recreation employee raised the Confederate flag deliberately.

"I don't believe that the person who put it up there didn't know what it stood for. I can't prove it, but I really believe that," she said.

Ward and Walker agreed to send a letter to the Recreation and Park Commission, which has jurisdiction over the display, asking that the commission consider changing the configuration of flags to better reflect local and state history.

Immigration...

(continued from page 12)

are refugees from political terror. The U.S. government welcomes *gusano* scum fleeing victorious social revolutions in Cuba and Vietnam, but will make no room in the "land of the free" for oppressed and persecuted working people from Haiti, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras or other right-wing terror regimes backed by the U.S. Now the INS has launched a drive to break up the church-sponsored sanctuary movement that shelters political refugees. Last month, Stacey Merkt, a Catholic social worker, was sentenced in Brownsville, Texas to two years probation for the "crime" of transporting a group of Salvadorans to a sanctuary in San Antonio. If deported, these unfortunate refugees face the prospect of being press-ganged into serving in that country's brutal army or becoming victims of the sadistic death squads which have already killed 50,000 civilians in the raging civil war.

The real effect of Simpson-Mazzoli and the racist campaign behind it is to further terrorize immigrant workers and to divide them from their natural allies in the U.S. working class. The boom-bust-profit system cannot provide full employment, and during the down cycles the capitalists slash wages and put the squeeze on the reserve army of the unemployed. Foreign-born workers, valued by the capitalists during boom times as cheap, unorganized labor, are made scapegoats. Thus the last major immigration bills were passed in 1929, at the beginning of the Depression, and during the 1952 recession.

Key to the struggle to protect foreign-born workers from deportation is the mobilization of organized labor in the U.S. to defend their class brothers and sisters. And this means a direct struggle against the AFL-CIO tops whose only "answers" to increased unemployment are chauvinistic protectionist poison and racist calls, echoing Reagan's own, to "regain control of our borders." The AFL-CIO supported Simpson-Mazzoli until the House added a provision that would revive the "bracero" program for Mexican agricultural laborers. Their "alternative," proposed by House Hispanic Caucus member and Democrat Edward Roybal, is no better. While calling for better enforcement of labor laws against sweatshop conditions, the Roybal bill also called for beefing up the brutal thugs of the Border Patrol and the INS, notoriously the most venal agency of the U.S. government, who have for years acted as a law unto themselves.

Outraged Hispanic community leaders are now calling for demonstrations against Simpson-Mazzoli at this week's Democratic National Convention in San Francisco, but it was the Democrat-controlled House which just approved the bill. In fact even the so-called liberals were prominent backers of the bill, with Massachusetts Democrat Barney Frank warning against "a permanent Marxist army of the unemployed across the border" (*New York Times*, 17 June). For election purposes, all three Democratic presidential candidates—Mondale, Hart and Jackson—opposed Simpson-Mazzoli on paper, while the Democratic-controlled House was passing the racist bill.

Meanwhile, attempting to attract a Hispanic component to his Democratic Party pressure group, the so-called "Rainbow Coalition," Jesse Jackson capped a week of campaigning in Southern California with a big rally in Los Angeles May 19, where he attacked the Simpson-Mazzoli bill. But Jackson supports the Royhal bill with its build-up of the vicious *migra*. The vote hustler for the Democrats tried to play off the various ethnic parts of his "Rainbow" by cynically stating Hispanic workers aren't any threat to black employment anyhow. "That's a bunch of lies—ain't no blacks looking to pick no tomatoes at $1.90 an hour," Jackson said (*Los Angeles Herald-Examiner*, 17 May). But supposedly it's okay for the desperately poor Latino workers to do this super-exploitative, miserable stoop labor!

Criminally, most of the left supports Jackson's campaign. Particularly gross was the centrist Internationalist Workers Party (IWP), followers of Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno, which claims to oppose Jackson but marched in his campaign rally May 19. The Morenoite IWP distributed a slavishly flattering "open letter" to the "civil rights activist," stating "we are here today to fight with you against the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill" and moaning how "unfortunate" it was Jackson had not "taken the road to breaking with the Democrats." Even if he did, this shill for Mondale would still be a capitalist politician—and the fight against racist immigration laws must necessarily be a fight against the capitalist system they are designed to protect. Labor must mobilize to defend the undocumented workers and reverse the bosses' anti-labor offensive! Stop the deportations! Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers! Down with the INS!■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Anti-Slavery Flag Flies in S.F.

Victory for Black Freedom!

WV Photos

Longshoreman Peter Wooiston (left) and Richard Bradley celebrate the destruction of Confederate flag of slavery and racist terror. Now "California Hundred" flag of the first Union Army volunteers from California flies over San Francisco Civic Center.

SAN FRANCISCO, July 6—All opponents of slavery, racism and Ku Klux Klan race-terror can claim a real victory today. The "California Hundred" flag was raised in San Francisco's Civic Center today on the same flagpole which previously flew the Confederate flag. The "California Hundred" flag is a unique standard from California's Civil War history, the banner of the first 100 California volunteers who paid their own way back East to join the fight against the slave owners. This victory comes only after a three-month-long fight to get down and keep down the hated banner of racism and slavery, the Confederate flag.

The battle was joined on 15 April 1984 when Richard Bradley, black member of the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense, climbed a 50-foot flagpole in the Civic Center. Clad in a uniform of a Union soldier, Bradley tore down the Confederate battle flag that was flying as part of a display of 18 "historic" flags and hurled it to the ground, where it was burned.

That same day, an all-white jury for a second time acquitted Klan/Nazi killers of the 1979 murder of five civil rights and labor organizers in Greensboro, North Carolina. Bradley also cited the successful fight just last year by heroic black students at the University of Mississippi—"Ole Miss"—to stop the school's official flying of the Confederate flag, stating, "If it's not going to fly at Ole Miss, it sure as hell is not going to fly in San Francisco!"

The next day, when the arrogant administration of Mayor "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein put up another Confederate flag, Bradley went right back up the flagpole and tore the racist banner to shreds. For a second time, he was arrested. On April 29 he climbed the flagpole a third time and hoisted a replica of the 33-star Union flag that flew at Fort Sumter, South Carolina. The Spartacists donated the historic Fort Sumter garrison flag to the city because of its heroic role in the fight against slavery—the opening shots of the Civil War were fired against this flag.

But Democratic mayor Feinstein seemed determined to go to war against the whole course of American history. On the day after it was donated, the Fort Sumter garrison flag was removed on Feinstein's personal authority and was

continued on page 11

Down with Racist Simpson-Mazzoli Bill!

Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign-Born Workers!

The racist campaign by the U.S. ruling class against undocumented workers climaxed late last month as the House passed the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration "reform" bill. The bill, which offers a limited amnesty while laying the basis for mass expulsions of foreign-born workers, now goes to a House/Senate conference committee to determine just how limited the amnesty provision will be. Already in April the Supreme Court okayed the Gestapo-like police raids by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) cops in factories in search of "illegals." And in recent weeks the Reagan administration has escalated its racist rhetoric about hordes of brown-skinned "feet people" as it tries to whip up anti-communist frenzy for its unpopular and losing wars in Central America.

The Simpson-Mazzoli bill provides a 45 percent increase in manpower funds for the hated *migra*. It also allows the government to deport foreign workers without a hearing if they fail to produce the proper identification. The vast majority of the undocumented workers arrive here from Central America, Mexico and the Caribbean, where imperialist economic policies have created living hells for the working masses. In Mexico, for example, only half the workers can find full-time jobs, and that might only be at the starvation minimum wage of 55 cents an hour. Those who make it past the armed INS border guards and computerized closed circuit TV monitors are often beaten or robbed by bandits on the American side of the border or abandoned by ruthless "coyotes" in the desert.

WV Photo

Salvadoran refugees thrown into California concentration camps.

An increasing number of "illegals"

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 360 — 3 August 1984

Big Brother Reagan Attacks Democratic Rights

Fight Cold War Terror Scare!

Sygma

UPI

Victims of government's "terror" scare: liberal protesters brutalized at San Francisco Democratic convention.

Labor, Blacks— Break with the Democrats!

Build a Workers Party!

Big Brother Reagan's 1984 campaign slogan: "war is peace." Bringing the imperialist drive toward anti-Soviet nuclear holocaust home with a vengeance, Reagan & Co. have launched a campaign of actual and threatened *state terror* designed to intimidate the population into ideological conformity behind the rulers' "Cold War II." Walter Mondale and the Democrats, who launched the current anti-Soviet crusade under Jimmy Carter, chime in with more denunciations of Soviet "totalitarianism" while questioning the administration's "preparedness" for nuclear war against the Russians.

The rulers of this country are desperately attempting to reverse the decay of U.S. imperialism. The gang who came to office proclaiming it would "get the government off our backs" is trying to remove all legal restraints on police power. They want to institute more than the kind of witchhunt that existed in Joe McCarthy's America. But Reagan's wishful thinking to the contrary, this is not the 1950s! The McCarthyite witchhunts were conducted in an atmosphere of apparent ideological seamlessness: America, the big victor in World War II, was the unquestioned hegemonic ruler of the "free world"; the dollar was "as good as gold"; economic prosperity was here to stay; social protest was simply "un-American" while communists were perceived to be as alien and irrelevant as creatures from outer space. Labor was beheaded and muzzled by the anti-red purges: under the sway of the union misleadership that rose by smashing the militants, organized labor was indeed about the last sector of the U.S. population to go over to opposing the losing Vietnam adventure.

Those days are gone and so far Reagan and the Democrats haven't had much success trying to bring them back. Bourgeois politics is manifestly unstable, while at the base millions of blacks and other working people know the government is their enemy. America's "foreign policy" aims are met with massive distrust and widespread fear while on the home front the indications of economic "recovery" have touched off a wave of industrial militancy. A revolutionary leadership could weld the working people, the minorities and their defenders into a force capable of bringing down Reagan and shaking this repressive and racist capitalist society to its very core. It is this, more than chimerical fantasies of crazed Libyan hit-men stalking the White House bunkers, which has Reagan and his Republican and Democratic cohorts running scared.

Cold War II on the Home Front

From the halls of the Supreme Court to the streets of San Francisco and Los Angeles, the attempt at regimentation through fear means military measures aimed at crushing domestic political opposition and dissent, no matter how tame. Seeking to whip up public hysteria, the Reaganites surrounded the White House with sand-filled dump trucks and built concrete barriers to repel "terrorists," hid Stinger surface-to-air missiles on the grounds (supposedly to stop the Russians) and even installed plastic snakes in the trees outside the presidential mansion to scare off bomb-carrying pigeons. The campaign against "terrorism" has everything but the purported terrorists. *The real terrorists are in the White House* and have made their intentions "perfectly clear" with this summer's super-security mobilizations at both the Democratic Party convention in San Francisco and the Olympics in L.A.

The necessary corollary to any serious

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PAGE 6

Defend Nicaragua— Smash Capitalist Fifth Column!

PAGE 7

Report From Nicaragua

PAGE 8

Minneapolis 1934: How the Workers Won

Phelps Dodge: Cops Were Out for Blood

San Francisco
July 12, 1984

Editor, *Workers Vanguard*

Dear friends,

I very much appreciated reading *WV*'s coverage of the Arizona Copper Miners' strike. Along with several other trade unionists from California, I attended the June 30th rally in Clifton and I wanted to add a couple of points to the report in *WV* No. 358 [6 July].

The cop attack on the strikers and supporters was indeed a vicious provocation. The DPS [Arizona state police] and Phelps Dodge were looking for blood that day. Prior to launching their assault, the DPS paused momentarily and posed for the media. Then they started to hit fist against palm in a rhythm, as if gearing themselves up for the charge. Behind riot shields the front line of DPS knelt down and shot the initial rounds of tear gas. None of us in the area heard any warning.

Before the attack, one of the members of the women's auxiliary gave me her binoculars so I could see that the mountain ridge (near the mine) was lined with snipers. As the attack began, helicopters flew in close and dropped off additional snipers at much closer range. A striker told us that after dark, when the barricades went up, she overheard a request on a police band radio to "activate" sharpshooters.

As *WV* reported, the DPS blockaded Clifton. They also blocked the road to Copper Verde Park (where the "official" rally was taking place). This prevented any strikers or supporters in the park from coming down to aid their brothers and sisters under attack on Hwy. 666.

Everyone in Clifton, from old people down to the smallest kids, is united against Phelps Dodge. Several strikers told us that prior to the strike, Hispanics and whites were racially and socially divided (for example, they went to separate bars). But since the strike, these barriers have virtually disappeared. None of us saw any racial hatred, just hatred of the scabs, the company and its cops.

A year of hard class struggle and the courageous role of the women's auxiliary have made a big change in the consciousness of women. There was an anecdote in one of the papers which caught this. It was about a court case against Beverly Cole, the wife of a striker, who was given a ticket for littering on the picket line, and then a felony charge for giving a false name to the cop. She signed the ticket with the name of "Sue Robillard," who is the wife of a scab. At the trial the real Sue Robillard told the *Arizona Daily Star* (June 1):

> "Beverly Cole was a good Christian woman, and then the strike started and she changed. I haven't seen her but twice (since the strike) and she gives me the finger. She drives by my house slowly and points it out to other people."

When the paper asked Mrs. Cole why she signed Robillard's name, she said it just popped into her head, adding: "But then, she is a scab."

The copper strikers really detest the bosses' press. No wonder. After the strikers, their wives and children endured a three-hour tear gas barrage by the cops (they shot a 70-year-old man with a pacemaker in the chest with a wooden bullet), an editorial headline in the July 3rd *Arizona Republic* said "Unions Excuse Mob Rule" and referred to the strikers as "Animals"! The *Republic* also started the rumor that "the trouble" at the June 30 rally started when a striker threw a Molotov cocktail at the DPS. Everyone who was there knows this is just a figment of some cop's imagination. The miners were so furious at the filthy lies pumped out by the media that they stoned one TV van at the demonstration.

It was extremely important to them that *WV* was there to tell *their* side of the story. During the three-hour battle, the strikers saw the *WV* combat photographer going up to the front and yelled out, "Hey, there's the *Vanguard*. Now we'll get some good photos." The press team shot film until well into the night, taking a break only to get wet towels when they couldn't take the gas anymore. While the battle was going on and there was a danger of arrests, the strikers put several rolls of our film under lock and key, promising to get it to New York in case anything happened to the reporters.

WV Photos

Above: State police launch three-hour barrage of tear gas against striking Phelps Dodge miners. Miners welcomed Workers Vanguard, voice of militant class struggle.

Unfortunately, as *WV* said, the PD strikers are essentially leaderless. They are militant and courageous, but they can't beat Phelps Dodge union-busting alone. Their strike needs to link up with the labor struggles that are going on in all parts of the country. And they need concrete union action—hot cargoing struck copper and joint strike action—to win this strike. This will take revolutionary union leadership committed to mobilizing and using our labor power to smash the union-busters. Labor's got to play hardball! Victory to the Phelps Dodge strikers!

Fraternally,
Kathy Ikegami

Italian Metal Union: Solidarity with Arizona Copper Strikers

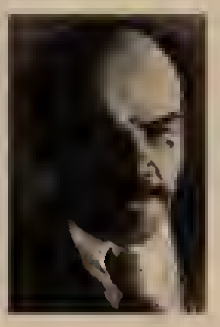
To: Women's Auxiliary,
Sina Ramón
International Association
of Machinists
Clifton, Arizona 85533
U.S.A.

"The Federation of Metalworkers of Milan in name of 100,000 workers express solidarity to Phelps Dodge workers in strike till the victory."

FLM, Milan

Imperialist War and Anti-Red Witchhunts

TROTSKY



LENIN

As it was entering the second imperialist world war, the liberal Democratic administration of Franklin Roosevelt framed up and imprisoned the leaders of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party. Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon called for class struggle against the government's regimentation of the population for war.

We are unremitting fighters in the interests of labor. We fight for the preservation of all democratic rights and civil liberties, against every form of inequality and injustice. As revolutionary socialists, we are principled opponents of the Roosevelt administration and criticize it from the standpoint of the socialist and labor movement.

These are our crimes in the eyes of the administration, and they add to their crimes in attacking us for them. The Roosevelt regime claims to oppose fascism but it collaborates, when expedient, with the fascists. It claims to be defending the four freedoms while trying to deny these freedoms to its political opponents. We Trotskyists, however, are defending democratic rights here at home against Roosevelt's assault upon them. We are fighting for the freedom he hypocritically pretends to be safeguarding.

But we are not defending these rights for ourselves alone. We are fighting on behalf of the entire labor movement in the United States.

—James P. Cannon, *The Socialist Workers Party in World War II* (1975)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 360 **3 August 1984**

ET Exposes Itself

June 10, 1984
Golden Valley, MN

WORKERS VANGUARD
TO THE EDITORS.

Dear Comrades,

Thanks to the S.L. for the May 5 midwest educational "WARS AND REVOLUTIONS." The talks were excellent.

I also found the discussion period very interesting. A few members of the "External Tendency" used the discussion to present several criticisms of the S.L. During the discussion someone from the E.T. claimed that the S.L. refuses to answer the criticisms from the E.T. Every E.T. member who attended the educational was given speaking time during each of the three discussion periods. The E.T. did not link their discussion to the educational subjects in any manner.

The E.T. claims to be loyal to the S.L., yet they did not participate in the educational in any positive manner. They used all of their speaking time to criticize the S.L. When someone announced her intention to join the S.L. the E.T. members did not applaud along with those who are S.L. supporters.

The E.T. charges that the S.L. took a social patriotic position during the intervention in Lebanon by raising the slogan "U.S. Marines Out of Lebanon Alive!" During the discussion the E.T. was forced to defend the logical conclusion of their position, that there is no economic draft feeding the U.S. military. It became clear to me during the discussion that the E.T. position is essentially racist and anti-worker.

The educational and discussion periods were an excellent example of Leninist democracy and direct, open political struggle.

Comradely,
Steve S.

Feds Set Up DeLorean

The John Z. DeLorean cocaine trial, which finally got underway this summer, has been a real circus for the media and ever-hungry autograph hounds of Los Angeles, who've been hanging around the courtroom trying to get to the silver-haired "automotive genius," a former glamour executive with General Motors, and his beautiful wife Cristina Ferrera. But behind the pop media's attempts at moralizing about the supposedly deadly influence of "life in the fast lane," behind their gossip column tidbits about Mrs. DeLorean's fashion model clothes and their gleeful wallowing in the couple's trouble, there's something really dirty. The fact is, the FBI set up and entrapped DeLorean, and the implications are pretty scary.

The FBI has been consciuusly turned loose to set up criminal plots and entrap prominent individuals in an attempt by this nation's rulers, spearheaded by Reagan, to terrorize everybody. That's what ABSCAM (short for "Arab Scam") was all about: an explicit attempt by the central directorate of the ruling class to terrorize Congressmen and Senators who might get out of line with the threat of "investigation" and targeting with bribery offers and entanglement in criminal activities.

ABSCAM was the FBI's revenge for Watergate and the exposure of their dirty COINTELPRO attacks. This new and expanded program of offering bribes and spreading the word that prominent Congressmen or judges are under investigation is often enough to taint a politician's career for life, as South Dakota Senator Larry Pressler bitterly learned. (The poor guy *turned down* an ABSCAM bribe but got his name smeared all over the headlines anyhow.) The presumption is supposed to be where there's smoke, there's fire, right? Not necessarily; the particularly horrible thing about this FBI assault is that they're going after people whom they don't even *suspect* of anything, in order to destroy them. Which is of course a most effective terror technique.

Why DeLorean? We don't know who decided to go after him, but it's clear he deeply embarrassed General Motors and the Thatcher government in Britain. A "maverick" who broke with GM, he wrote a scathing attack in *On a Clear Day You Can See General Motors* (formally signed by his co-author J. Patrick Wright) on the criminal uneoncern for safety, general stupidity, sluggishness and mismanagement of the GM tops. He didn't fit their "team player" image (he had a facelift, hung out with "the beautiful people," actually had fun). Further, when he broke with the corporate monolith he set up his own competing sports car company in Northern Ireland, to make what he called an "ethical" sports car, the gull-winged DMC-12 with a stainless steel skin and corrosion-resistant underbody. The British Labour government had poured millions into financing his Belfast plant, which employed 2,600 in the industrially devastated area and was popular with the workers. Thatcher pulled the rug out from under him by shutting down the financially troubled plant the day after he was arrested (the Conservatives were tipped off the month before that DeLorean was being investigated by the FBI for possible ties with the IRA). And after all, he's the son of immigrant auto workers and utterly self-made, with none of the old family and ruling class connections which smother news of many a scandal and crime within our "finest families." (And Mrs. DeLorean, the *New York Times* reminds us, is for all her good looks and fine clothes "the daughter of a butcher." But she's got plenty of class: what's wrong with dressing up to stand by your man?)

Zanger/UPI

John Z. DeLorean and his wife, Cristina Ferrera.

But above all DeLorean's troubles resulted from his particular misfortune in having as a neighbor in Los Angeles a long-time FBI informer anxious to make another "big score" for his masters, besides getting a few bucks himself. So when DeLorean's Belfast factory got into financial trouble, there was the "friendly neighbor," the FBI's own captive cocaine importer and informer James T. Hoffman ready to make DeLorean "an offer he couldn't refuse." They kept after DeLorean with a whole crew of FBI agents and finally got what they wanted: DeLorean lured into a hotel room looking at a suitcase of cocaine while FBI agents next door videotaped (they were so hot to get him they actually set off a fire alarm from smoking so many cigarettes while waiting to close in).

The Anatomy of a Set-Up

DeLorean was arrested that night, 19 October 1982 (they taped the actual arrest too: instant Eliot Ness fame, not to mention the perverse pleasure of watching over and over again their victim being taken). It came out at the trial that they hadn't bothered to get authorization for their home movie and that the FBI backdated authorization records to cover up. DeLorean was thrown in jail until he could make bail, on charges which could put him away for 72 years. The press had a field day blasting away at him, digging up every piece of dirt they could find (or were fed) for two years, until the government finally opened its case this summer. What the trial reveals is a nasty web of FBI and government entrapment.

On July 31 former federal drug agent Gerald V. Seotti testified he'd heard a heated argument between DeLorean's prosecutor and FBI agents the night before DeLorean's arrest, in which someone said, in Seotti's paraphrase, "...this thing is going clear to the White House, that they got Meese in on it" (*New York Times*, 1 August). Earlier in the trial, it was brought out that the government's "star witness" James T. Hoffman, who was paid over $32,000 during his targeting of DeLorean, had threatened at one point to pull out unless the FBI gave him a 10 percent cut of any assets seized from DeLorean! Judge Robert M. Takasugi noted after this surprise admission that "If there is such a thing as a smoking gun in terms of the credibility of Mr. Hoffman," this outrageous demand was it, noting it was "quite offensive" that the prosecution had tried to hide this mercenary motive (*New York Times*, 27 July).

Not just greed but also fear kept the bounty hunter in line: he knew, as FBI agents admitted, he could be prosecuted for past heroin violations any time his work didn't please his masters. It came out at the trial that Hoffman had made a lot more phone calls to the auto executive than he'd admitted. The defense contends these unrecorded calls (which Hoffman at first denied existed, then admitted he'd discussed with the FBI before the trial started) were in fact threats against DeLorean's family and specifically his daughter if he tried to back out of the thickening plot.

FBI agent Benedict J. Tisa, who'd played the part of a legitimate banker to lure DeLorean in, was forced to admit that he "misspoke" when he told the court he had "no doubt" DeLorean was into a drug deal—turned out he wasn't so sure after all. Tisa further admitted it was Hoffman who initiated the first contact with DeLorean—a key fact in terms of entrapment—and not the other way around, as the local FBI agents first insisted. Tisa further admitted "that's a possibility" when asked whether DeLorean's telling Tisa in September 1982 that he didn't have $2 million available might have meant DeLorean was trying to get out of the deal. And it was the government's own chief prosecutor, James P. Walsh, Jr., who approved Hoffman's next offer to DeLorean to accept collateral instead of cash, thus keeping the pressure on.

DeLorean's attorney Howard L. Weitzman told the press, "John was in a pathetic frame of mind during that time period. The agents knew it. These guys are calling him day and night, day and night" (*Newsweek*, 4 June). And finally they apparently got him with the coke. Nobody's denying it; the key issue is the set-up entrapment, which is deadly serious business.

The FBI: Criminal Conspiracy as a Way of Life

Beginning under Carter, the FBI's budget for "undercover" sting operations has mushroomed fantastically (from $1 million in 1977 to over $12 million in 1984, at least according to what they officially report—who knows how much more is obscured). They're getting back for Watergate with a vengeance, putting politicians on notice it isn't just the left anymore who can be smeared. On one level we suppose it's possible the FBI, about the most felonious outfit in the country, just got sick and tired of all those years of endless investigations, black-bag jobs, break-ins, phone-tapping of socialist organizations without ever coming up with *any* single thing they could convict anybody for, and decided to drum up a little action by getting into the crime business for itself.

The House of Representatives just concluded hearings, chaired by Don Edwards, into FBI undercover operations, noting in their "Report of the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights" published this April that "the spectacle of the United States Government spending large sums of money to tempt people into committing crimes; and the atmosphere of fear, suspicion, and paranoia which develops as the use of the technique expands, are all anathema to the values protected and cherished in our Constitution." Yeah, mainly this time it looks like it's *their* ass on the line.

Using the techniques refined and honed against the left for decades, the FBI's full-scale launching of criminal enticement operations is a very conscious attempt to intimidate and terrorize potentially influential political opponents, even within the range of bourgeois polities. The DeLorean case is a continuation of the purposes of the ABSCAM operation, designed to prove *nobody* is safe from the FBI if they decide to get you. For us, democratic rights are indivisible: just as socialists defended the French officer Dreyfus against an anti-Semitic witchhunt, so it is in our interests to defend a capitalist entrepreneur like DeLorean against FBI terror and entrapment. Because if they can get away with it against DeLorean and his fancy lawyers, there's no limit to what they'll do to the working stiff and the welfare recipient. That the bourgeois state's secret police has now grown into a monster which devours even members of the bourgeoisie itself (after all, any one individual is always expendable in some higher interest, theorists of "authoritarian" states must agree) is a chilling indication of the growing appetite toward sheer state terror against the entire society on the part of this decadent and corrupt ruling class. ■

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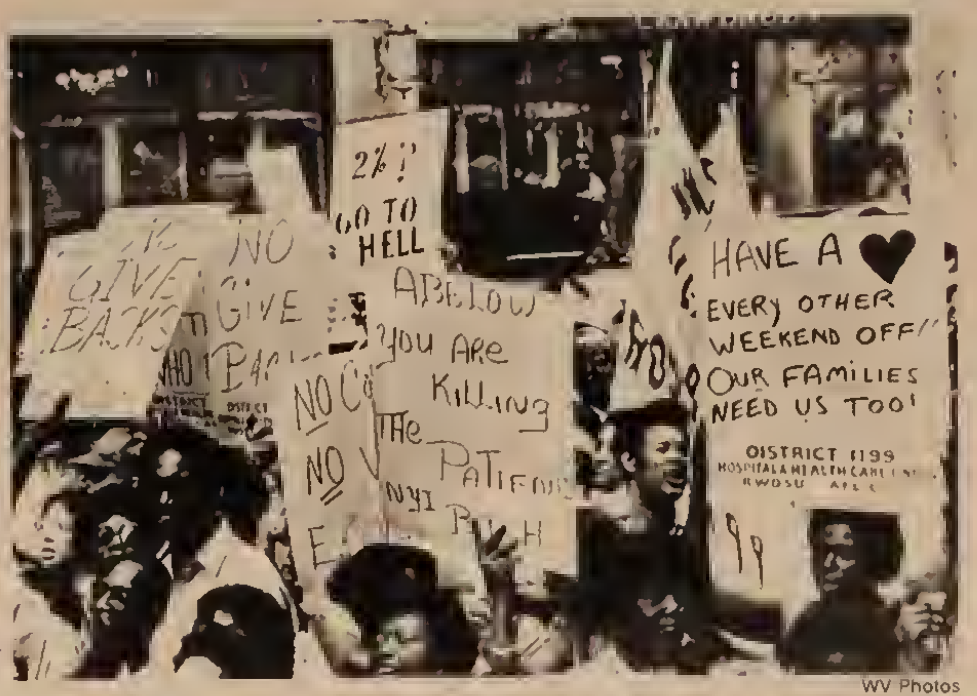
Black, Hispanic Workers Fighting Reagan/Koch Attacks

Shut Down All NYC Hospitals!

NEW YORK—Nearly two weeks into a walkout against 70 private hospitals and nursing homes, some 8,000 striking members of District 1199, RWDSU (Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union) rallied here July 25. The spirited strikers jammed into a block on West 40th Street, but after two hours of wind from local union bureaucrats including 1199 president Doris Turner and Central Labor Council chief Harry Van Arsdale, somebody yelled, "Let's go to 42nd Street!" What followed was a labor rally the likes of which the Big Apple hasn't seen for quite a while.

Chanting, "Hey, hey, what do you say—1199 is here to stay!" "No contract, no work!" and "EOWO! Every other weekend off!"—a key union demand—the overwhelmingly black and female crowd took to the streets, totally disrupting midtown traffic. At Grand Central Terminal the strikers surged past the police and headed toward the Roosevelt Hotel, site of the currently broken-off negotiations with the League of Voluntary Hospitals and Homes. Chanting, singing and carrying hand-lettered signs, balloons and banners, the demonstrators surrounded the hotel, and then marched down the middle of Fifth Avenue to disperse at the Public Library. The exuberant march gave a hint of what thousands of determined strikers can do.



WV Photos

Militant hospital strikers tie up NYC midtown for hours during July 25 rally.

The medical slumlords are ruthless. 1199 organizer Tom Dawes told *WV* that he was sideswiped by a scab-driven car on the picket line at Long Island College Hospital July 21. The previous Wednesday Dawes and four union delegates narrowly missed being struck by another scab car. Pickets at Beth Israel Hospital told *WV* of supplies being snuck in via ambulance and of scab laundry deliveries accompanied by armed guards brandishing guns.

Aided by the capitalist press, the bosses are trying to whip up hysteria about a medical emergency to discredit the strike. It is the League of Voluntary Hospitals which is holding the sick and the elderly hostage! Everyone who genuinely cares whether patients live or die must be for granting the obviously just and *necessary* demands of the hospital workers. What's needed is to shut down solid *all* NYC hospitals now, bringing out all workers, including nurses and doctors. Union officials are now starting to talk about closing emergency and critical care facilities and stopping scabs and deliveries. This should have been done from the first day of the strike!

The nurses from five hospitals who joined the strike and courageously ignored a Federal court order to return set an example for the entire labor movement. Several hundred AFSCME DC 37 members attended the July 25 rally and the crowd erupted into applause and cheers as a contingent from the Amalgamated Transit Union arrived with signs saying "Greyhound Workers Support 1199." But amid the rank-and-file solidarity, there was the city workers' DC 37 president Victor Gotbaum shooting off his mouth: "If you take a beating at the picket line, then we'll take a beating at the bargaining table." Sure, for this cynical social democrat, "solidarity" means fighting to the last member of the other guy's union. Meanwhile Gotbaum is refusing to bring out the thousands of AFSCME workers in the municipal hospitals.

Today the hospital strikers occupy the front line against Koch and Reagan's racist war on labor. The outcome of this struggle will set the pattern for hundreds of thousands of New York City municipal workers. It's time for a working-class offensive! A sign carried by a militant transit worker pointed the way to victory: "All NYC Labor Must Back Up 1199 Strikers with Action!" Teamsters: Stop the Scab Deliveries! AFSCME, Nurses and Doctors: Join the Strike! 1199—Stay Out and Win! ■

Defend the TWU—Stop the Victimizations!

Transport Workers Union (TWU) militants Paul Mitchell and Tracey Devlin are fighting for their jobs at the 207th Street subway repair shop in Manhattan. They are the latest intended victims of a Transit Authority (TA) intimidation campaign in which 207th Street boss Ronald "Jefferson" Davis disciplined more than 350 workers in his first six weeks on the job. Eighteen workers are currently suspended. It's all part of the TA's program for NYC: break the back of the union and let the mass transit system go to hell. The Mitchell/Devlin case is a union-management dispute because in solidarity with fellow workers they advocated the elementary right to refuse slave conditions of overtime, a right which is in the contract. Mitchell and Devlin are members of the Committee for a Fighting TWU which has been standing up to a management union-busting drive. That's why the TA went after them, and that's why their fight is the fight of every union member. These militants must not stand alone!

In an effort to intimidate the traditionally militant 207th Street shop, Davis has particularly attacked the workers in the truck gang. Disregarding seniority, he's assigned men to jobs outside their classification, to different shifts and even to other parts of the city, handing out more write-ups there than have been handed out to any other department. In solidarity with the truck shop, workers in the Running Repair Gang refused overtime. That's why Davis, whose idea of labor relations is best symbolized by the bullwhip he hung in his office, was out to get Mitchell and Devlin. "They went after the [TWU] Shop Committee leadership," Mitchell told *Workers Vanguard*, "and they've gone after anyone else who attempts to lead a fight in defense of the members' rights."

Speedup and harassment mean rushing unsafe equipment back onto the rails. Four TWU members have been slaughtered on the job so far this year. As the Committee put it in a July 17 leaflet: "No matter how hard [transit czar Robert] Kiley's clones may try, slave labor conditions cannot substitute for quality tools, production machinery, upgrading and training." Since the first of the year, 122 fires have broken out in the electric switchboxes "repaired" at the 207th Street and Coney Island yards. In April, five elected union officials of the Track and Power Division, including chairman Benny Foster, were summarily fired by the TA from their safety committee posts. Ex-CIA spymaster Kiley and TA president David "Hired" Gunn are trying to substitute the sweat, blood and lives of the TWU membership for the billions of dollars needed for decent subways and buses. It's the likes of these, along with Mayor Koch, Governor Cuomo and the parasites on Wall Street who are destroying the NYC transit system.

In order to prepare the union for battle, the Committee for a Fighting TWU demands an end to the dues checkoff system and calls for dues collection by elected shop stewards, the membership's first line of defense on the shopfloor. The Committee calls for militant solidarity between the TWU and the rest of city labor to smash the anti-strike Taylor Law. All city workers must fight for the right to strike over shopfloor and safety grievances during the life of their contracts. The TWU, the most powerful municipal union in the U.S., has the power to beat the capitalist bloodsuckers on the picket line. The battle begins with the defense of the union membership. Drop the charges—full back pay for Mitchell, Devlin and all of Kiley/Davis' victims! An injury to one is an injury to all! ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

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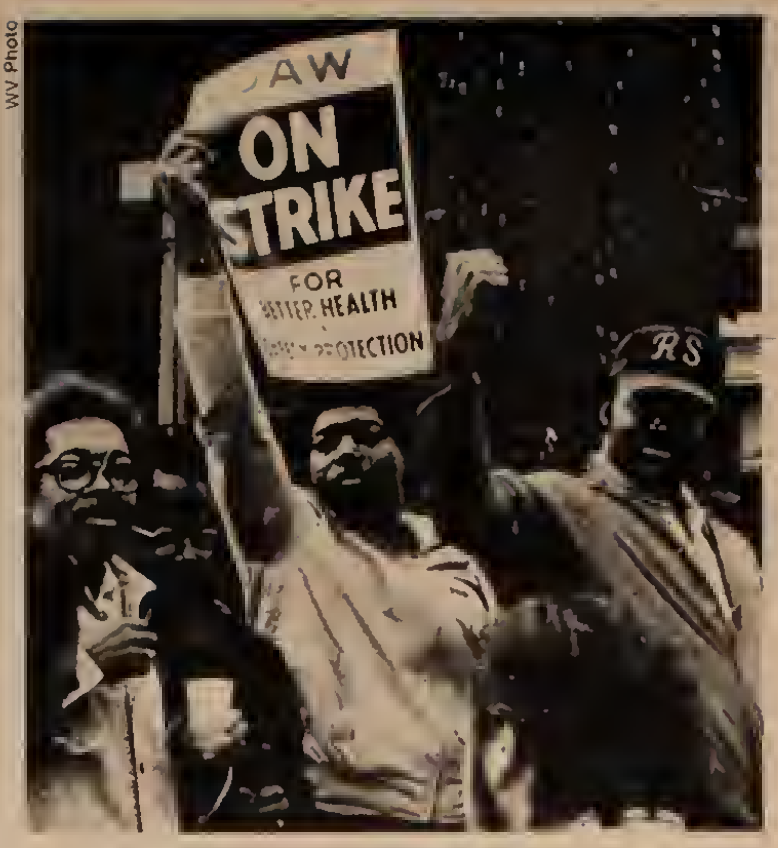
Screw Mondale!

Shut Down Auto!



WV Photo

Detroit's black workers took the lead in Chrysler walkout, September 1982.

DETROIT—Several thousand union members marching under the slogan "Restore and More in '84" ringed General Motors headquarters here July 23. The demonstration was timed to coincide with the opening of the United Auto Workers (UAW) contract negotiations. At midnight on September 14, when GM and Ford contracts expire, the last thing the Big Three bosses in Bloomfield Hills, their Wall Street bankers and, not least, Walter Mondale and the Democrats want to see is hundreds of thousands of mainly black, militant auto workers on the picket lines. That would really shake up this country. *That's* how to strike a truly powerful blow against the entire union-busting and racist offensive in Reagan's America. Auto workers must demand a nationwide strike of the Big Three. Reopen the Chrysler contract. No contract extensions, to hell with "pattern bargaining" and screw Walter Mondale—just shut down the whole damn industry and win.

Back in the 1950s Eisenhower's secretary of war, Charlie Wilson, stated that what's good for General Motors is good for America. In fact, the auto industry stands at the core of modern American capitalism. And ever since the rise of the CIO in the late 1930s UAW contracts with the Big Three have set the pattern for industrial unionism in this country. The 1979 Chrysler bailout set the pattern for the givehack contracts not only at GM and Ford but throughout U.S. industry. Faced with the worst depression since the '30s, the Solidarity House gang gave back *$5 billion* in wages and benefits, claiming this was necessary to "save jobs." Soon the same thing was happening in the Teamsters, Steelworkers, in union after union.

But with the present economic upturn producing record profits, the workers are not taking it anymore. The situation is especially explosive in auto, where already in the first half of 1984 the major companies posted $6.5 billion in profits, more than in all of record-breaking 1983 (*Detroit News*, 3 July). GM executives, for example, recently awarded themselves $180 million in salary increases, bonuses and stock options. In fact, throughout the Big Three the average executive bonus was $2,000 more than an auto worker's annual salary! Workers are particularly angry and bitter at Chrysler, where the givebacks came earlier and went deeper than at GM and Ford. A UAW placard laments: "All this million-dollar talk makes it almost impossible to convince the rank and file that GM and Ford can't step up to the table and make a fancy settlement. It's a bad scene" (*Detroit Free Press*, 29 April). Bad for whom?

Recent months have seen a resurgence of working-class struggle in this country. However, the most militant labor battles have been geographically remote from the main centers of union power (copper miners in Arizona, hotel workers in Las Vegas) or involved relatively small groups of workers, such as the AP Parts plant in Toledo. The Big Three auto workers stand right at the heart of American industrial unionism. Moreover, just two weeks after the GM and Ford contracts expire so does that of the United Mine Workers, the other pillar of the old CIO industrial unions. A nationwide auto strike would certainly spur the traditionally militant coal miners to go out, too. And an auto and coal strike this fall could trigger an explosion of all workers fed up with years of giveback contracts, the desperate and impoverished black and Hispanic masses—everyone who hates what has happened to them in Reagan's America.

What's Good for Mondale Is Bad for Auto Workers

Now is the time to strike the Big Three. For the first time in years sales are outpacing production. The *Wall Street Journal* (5 July) reports:

> "A walkout of any length would cost GM or Ford hundreds of millions of dollars in lost production....
> "With demand for new cars continuing to exceed their ability to supply them, GM and Ford are expected to have uncomfortably low inventories on hand when the UAW contracts expire—weakening their bargaining position."

But while even the big-business press is saying that auto workers have the Big Three bosses on the ropes, the Solidarity House gang still does not want a strike. UAW vice president Don Ephlin, head of the union's GM department, states, "there are times when you go into bargaining with a strike issue staring you in the face.... We have no such issue this time" (*Detroit News*, 2 May). If givebacks that bleed the workers alongside robber-baron profits are not a strike issue, for Ephlin there never will be one.

Apart from the fact that these sellout artists never want to fight, there is an additional factor behind the UAW tops' "no strike in '84" line. They don't want to embarrass Walter Mondale in an election year. For this "friend of labor" will be an enemy of an auto strike, especially in the middle of his presidential race. Sitting across the bargaining table, Ford's vice president for labor relations, Peter Pestillo, observed that UAW officials "realize they would impose a great liability on [Walter Mondale] by shutting down the industrial Midwest in the middle of the campaign" (*Wall Street Journal*, 5 July). Auto workers can now see that the Solidarity House bureaucracy's support for the Democratic Party is directly taking money from their pockets to swell the Big Three's profits. Break with the Democrats—Build a workers party!

And just what is Mondale offering auto workers in return for eating another rotten contract? Higher taxes

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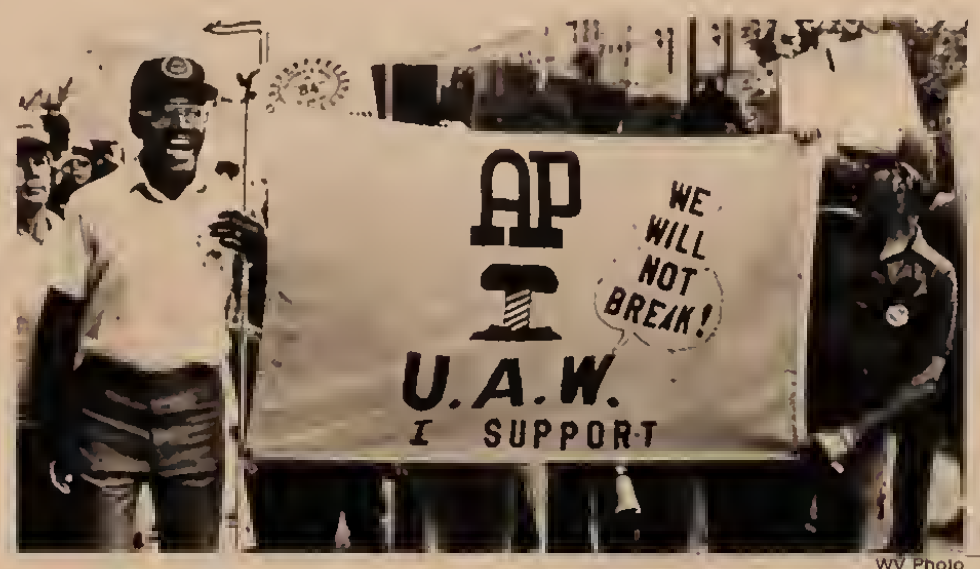
Defend the Toledo 37! Win AP Parts Strike!

Last May 21 striking United Auto Workers (UAW) members at Toledo's AP Parts plant and several thousand of their union brothers from all over northwestern Ohio fought like hell and beat back the cops, the scabs, the hired goons from "Nuckols, Inc." Squad cars went up in smoke, a 14-wheeler car carrier rammed through the plant gate, the workers came within inches of a plant occupation. This explosion of labor militancy shook up everybody from company officials to the city fathers to the UAW bureaucrats. In the aftermath, the cops arrested 44 militants, cordoned off the area, slapped injunctions on mass picketing and set up a police-state pass system on blocked-off Matzinger Road. Now, on July 3, a Lucas County grand jury has come down with 37 indictments against picketers in the May 21 battle.



WV Photo

Toledo strikers at UAW rally in Detroit, July 23. Last May AP Parts workers and fellow unionists beat back scabs, cops and hired goons.

There's far more at stake in the AP strike than mufflers. The auto bosses want to hand the UAW a stinging defeat in Toledo as a message for the September contracts. GM provided a war chest for AP management, in the form of a $30 million contract on the condition they gut the union. And they have mobilized state power to "teach a lesson" to the strikers and their supporters. In the face of this act of revenge by the bosses and their government, all labor must come to the aid of the combative unionists. The UAW must mobilize throughout the region in a heavy display of *class power*. The real defense of these victimized militants is to pull out the union's big guns and win this strike solid!

AP provoked the strike on May 2 when they decreed a *$5.84 an hour* pay cut, ripping up the pension and changing the work rules in the UAW Local 14 contract. Pushed to the wall, the strikers dug in, but their leaders have criminally done the opposite. The confrontation on May 21 scared the pants off UAW president Owen Bieber, who turned heel and called off the Toledo local's planned June 24 march from the big militant Jeep plant to AP Parts. Instead the UAW tops want to divert militancy into pressuring the city government into turning the cops—the armed fist of the capitalist state—into glorified school crossing guards. Last month the UAW tried to get the Toledo City Council to pass "municipal neutrality" laws to prevent police from being assigned as scabherders at struck plants. Guess what? On June 28 the city ruled that the UAW's proposals were contrary to city, state and federal law.

But even Bieber has figured out something had is going on in Toledo. His personal rep to the negotiations, Frank James, told the *Toledo Blade* (7 July) that at AP Parts, "There seemed to he a game plan on the part of the company to actually destroy the union." Right. The point is what to do about it. The June 30 *Blade* reported that union officials had now agreed to the $5.84/hour concessions, but the company is now holding out for more! While the UAW says they are fighting for amnesty for indicted picketers, this only includes AP Parts strikers. Even this only refers to company sanctions against the workers and not at all to the railroad job being carried out in the courts. This is even more despicable since the core of the workers at the May 21 solidarity action came from other Toledo plants, particularly Jeep. Thus Danny Wilson, chairman of the 6,200-member Jeep unit of UAW Local 12, charged with "inciting violence," and Tom Joseph of the Toledo Area Solidarity Committee both face up to 18 months in jail.

To get the indictments, the state dragged in videotapes made by the hired thugs of Nuckols, Inc., and the testimony of over 40 cops. They want to send the message that workers who fight for their rights and their class will be sent up the river. They tried the same tactics back in 1934 during the great Toledo Auto-Lite strike, but it didn't work then, and it *must not* be allowed to work now.

This is Union Country—the heart-

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Defend Nicaragua—
Smash Capitalist Fifth Column!

On July 19 more than 150,000 Nicaraguans gathered in the Plaza de la Revolución in Managua to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the popular Sandinista revolution which overthrew the hated dictator Anastasio Somoza. Junta coordinator and Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) candidate for president Daniel Ortega announced that the state of emergency would be eased for the upcoming elections. Meanwhile the Pentagon dispatched the aircraft carrier USS *Kennedy* (with 85 combat aircraft) to cruise just off Nicaragua's Caribbean coast as a "subdued military, diplomatic and political campaign" (*New York Times*, 18 July). Ronald Reagan, who had been denouncing "Sandino-Communists" for not holding elections, now dismisses the November 4 Nicaragua vote as a "sham." And if Reagan is himself re-elected in November, everyone from the Democrats to the Sandinistas is worried about a "December surprise." But resolutions by imperialist "doves" are not going to stop a U.S. invasion. What's needed is to mobilize the American working class to refuse to move U.S. weapons to Central America, to strike against direct intervention.

The Sandinista victory put an end to 45 years of tyranny by the U.S.-backed Somoza family, who slaughtered 50,000 Nicaraguan youth in the last two years of fighting. But contrary to Reagan's "Communism"-baiting, the FSLN represents radicalized petty-bourgeois nationalists who are more than willing to live with a "national" bourgeoisie. Following the trinity of a "mixed economy, political pluralism and nonalignment" they have religiously refused to take over capitalist enterprises other than those of Somoza or those whose owners have fled the country. Yet although well over half the economy remains in capitalist hands, the capitalist *state* was shattered as Somoza's mercenary National Guard fled before the triumphant Sandinista forces in July 1979. This raised imperialist fears of "another Cuba," and indeed under the blows of Reagan "destabilization" and aggression the petty-bourgeois regime in Managua is being pushed toward consolidating a (bureaucratically deformed) social revolution.

The Sandinistas are currently counting on their elections to revive support among the European social democracies and the Latin bourgeois states in the area. However, "solidarity" from fair weather bourgeois "friends" will not be enough to defend Nicaragua from Yankee imperialism. With the future of the revolution at stake, what's urgently required are resolute measures to *smash the capitalist fifth column* inside Nicaragua and prepare a *revolutionary war throughout Central America*. And the petty-bourgeois FSLN regime, while proclaiming "All arms to the people!" and "Everything for the front!"—while responding bit by bit to the campaign of pro-imperialist sabotage—still holds back the workers and peasants from unleashing a thoroughgoing social revolution at home.

As Reagan has run into flak in Congress over aid to the *contra* mercenaries, the administration has responded with a combination of empty talks with the Sandinistas and gunboat diplomacy. In addition to the *Kennedy*, the U.S. currently has the nuclear carrier *Eisenhower* and both its operational battleships (the *Iowa* and the *New Jersey*) floating around the Caribbean. Anonymous "private sector" aid (from "the Company"?) is now reportedly flowing to the Nicaraguan *contras*. And the Pentagon has announced a series of company-sized "training exercises" in Honduras, continuing the nearly constant U.S. maneuvers that have kept up to 5,000 American ground troops just over the border from the Sandinistas and the Salvadoran leftist guerrillas of the FMLN.

War on the Home Front

Within Nicaragua, attacks by the *contras* have escalated sharply. In March an estimated 10,000 mercenaries entered the country in their biggest offensive yet. While they were defeated in their goal of capturing a piece of Nicaraguan territory (in order to establish a "provisional government" that could then appeal for aid from the Marines), even the Sandinista army estimates there are now as many as *6,000* Somozaist counterrevolutionaries based inside the country. According to Daniel Ortega (*Barricada*, 5 May), in three years of fighting Nicaragua has suffered over $200 million in material losses. In 1983, material damage inflicted by the U.S.-backed terrorists amounted to almost a third of Nicaragua's total export income. This year it was necessary to devote one-fourth of the national budget to defense. And in his July 19 speech, Ortega reported that 7,391 Nicaraguans had been killed by the *contras* since 1981. Proportionately (compared to the total population) that's more than twice as many as all American dead in World War II.

An example of the CIA-backed mercenaries' ability to inflict serious damage (and a disturbing indication of internal collaboration) was the June 1 *contra* attack on Ocotal, a provincial capital near the Honduran border. While U.S. secretary of state George Shultz was all smiles and handshakes during his surprise PR trip to Managua, Reagan's "freedom fighters" were busy murdering and destroying upcountry. Nearly 500 *contras* penetrated Ocotal's defenses while the local garrison was on patrol. The toll was devastating: the main grain-storage center (filled with rice, beans, corn and powdered milk) blown up, an important lumber mill destroyed along with the town's coffee processing plant and part of the broadcasting equipment of the area's only radio station. These facts were reported in an on-the-spot account by the Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* (29 June). But the implications were so disturbing that the next week the *Militant*'s editors denounced their own reporters for giving "an inaccurate picture of the social and political situation," and reprinted a couple of Nicaraguan government handouts to gloss over the danger.

The *Wall Street Journal* (20 June) reports that "when their guard is down, coffee growers are astonishingly frank about supporting the Contras." These Nicaraguan kulaks, together with the businessmen's association COSEP, the reactionary right-wing newspaper *La Prensa*, two U.S.-backed yellow unions and the Catholic church hierarchy, form the backbone of a counterrevolutionary "internal front" intimately linked to the terrorists. In late June one CIA-directed network was broken up including Catholic priest Luis Peña. Sandinista security officials caught Father Peña red-handed, while delivering a tote bag filled with hand grenades, explosives, counterrevolutionary propaganda and a yellow and white flag (the Vatican colors) of the Nicaraguan Democratic Front (FDN). This did not stop Archbishop Obando y Bravo from calling a demonstration protesting Peña's house arrest at the papal nunciatura. When ten foreign priests participating in that provocation were ordered to leave Nicaragua, Pope John Paul Wojtyla unleashed what is described as the Vatican's "biggest protest campaign since the Polish crisis."

A major focus of the fight against internal counterrevolution has been the "Patriotic Military Service"—conscription. By the end of this year a total of 30,000 men will be called up to fight against the imperialist-financed invaders. And the Catholic church not only calls for "dialogue" with these professional killers (who have murdered no less than 150 teachers during the last three years), it openly supports draft dodgers. The response of the FSLN regime has been to promote the so-called "popular church" (grassroots congregations who reject the authority of the Catholic hierarchy), and to boast that Nicaragua is presently the only country in the world where the ministers of education, culture and foreign affairs are priests! Certainly it is vital to exacerbate the contradictions between

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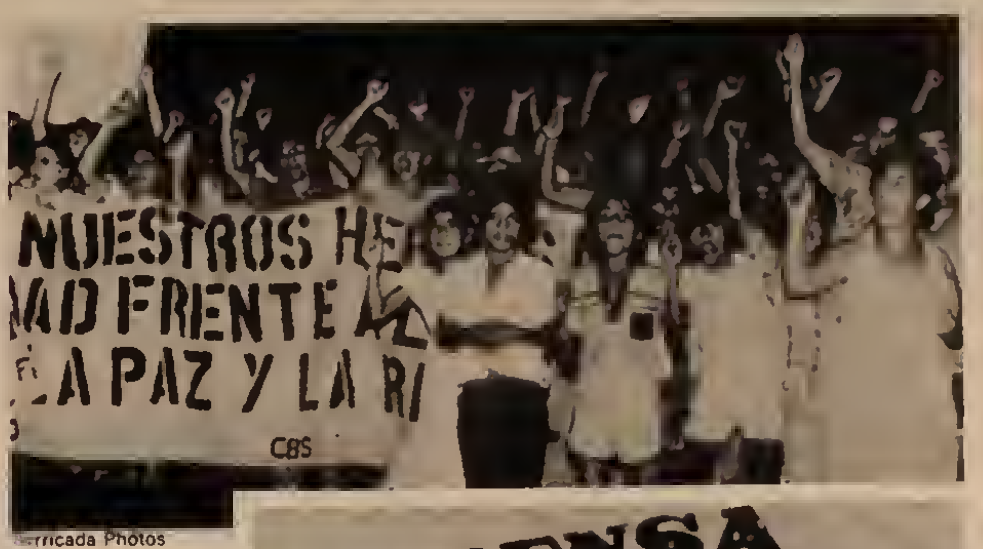
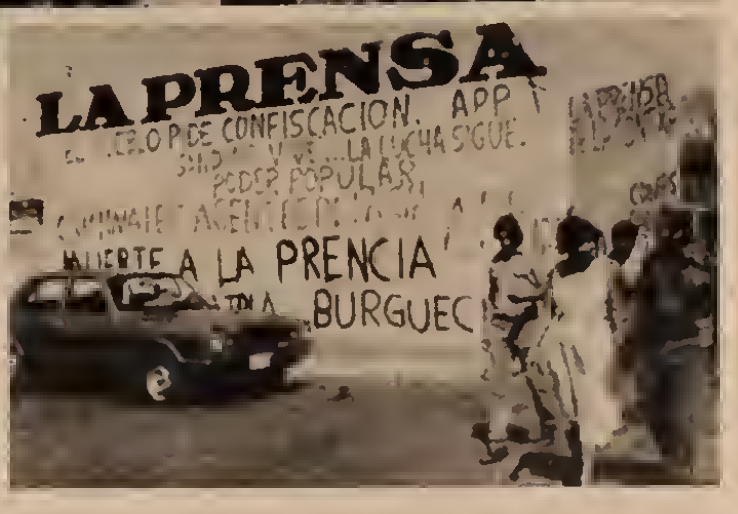


Barricada Photos



Angry demonstrators in Managua denounce right-wing newspaper, La Prensa, voice of the counter-revolutionary "internal front."

Sandinista newspaper, Barricada, publicizes New York Spartacist protest last November against "Contra Zero," Edén Pastora. Nicaraguan people say: Pastora to the wall!

Report From Managua

Embattled Nicaragua

We print below an account by a French trade unionist and Trotskyist militant of her recent trip to Nicaragua.

My first impression on arriving in Nicaragua: it is a poor country, *very* poor. You see misery everywhere. The houses are more or less shanties and there are very few which have solidly built roofs or walls. While the adults are basically adequately clothed, the kids are really very poorly clothed—the adults have shoes, but many children don't.

On the economic level they are in a catastrophic situation. Even if there's no open, complete blockade by the Americans, the counterrevolutionary guerrilla war means that all the money they have is used for the war effort and the country's economy is very shaky. On the other hand, and this is interesting, there is very little unemployment. But there is also very little public transport. They have buses which are veritable moving museums. You wonder how they stay in one piece. One day I waited two hours to get a bus. They were all completely packed, and the taxis, too.

The Sandinista government has passed a law concerning the black market which is very important. Since there are a lot of imported goods, or goods manufactured from imported materials, which are expensive, and since given the shortages the state fixes prices, there's an enormous black market. They have been forced to pass a law to try and stop it. Black marketeers now run the risk of enormous fines: if a truck is used for contraband it will be confiscated, which represents a fortune in a country like Nicaragua. On the other hand, according to the June 1 *Barricada*, the government subsidies for basic products (including rice, beans, corn and soap) will be cut in half. This will mean roughly doubling the cost of these items, a tremendous increase in the cost of living for the poor.

The new law will introduce state control over the distribution of a range of goods, which will still be distributed by private firms but supervised by the state, except for nine essential products which will be directly distributed by the state. This shows the process underway in Nicaragua: simply to defend the revolution they have been forced to take a step toward the monopoly of internal trade.

On the political level, when you arrive the first thing you see is the graffiti all over the walls, all Sandinista slogans. One day I saw a big number 4 with a rifle and wondered what it was. Then I saw the slogans, "For the Fourth Anniversary of the Revolution" and "All Arms to the People." Anti-imperialist consciousness is widespread. When I went to the movies they were showing *The Deer Hunter*, about Vietnam. So when the U.S. is evacuating some troops and Robert DeNiro and his buddy fall out of the helicopter, the audience shouted and cheered. They really hate the U.S., but not Americans. There are a lot of American volunteers there, you see many of them in the streets.

I was able to have a lot of discussions, including an interview with a woman from the AMNLAE, the Sandinista women's group, and an official of the CST, the Sandinista trade-union federation. But also with ordinary people, since I stayed with a family. There's an enormous contrast between talking to the bureaucrats and talking to the people like the ones I stayed with. The latter are openly for socialism and against their own bourgeoisie, while the

WV Photo

May Day, 1984: Nicaraguan workers want revolutionary change, but Sandinista leaders still make concessions to bourgeoisie.

bureaucrats have a much more nuanced vocabulary when they talk about the struggle against imperialism. The Sandinista cadres make a sharp distinction between the struggle against imperialism and against the "national bourgeoisie." They're really two separate things for them.

You can see the contradictions which exist in a revolutionary situation where people really want things to change and the leadership does everything it can to make concessions to the bourgeoisie, to imperialism and to the church. So there is always a lot of publicity when the Sandinistas distribute a few parcels of land to the peasants. It's on television and in the newspapers. In fact it's only a question of land that was earlier confiscated from Somoza. It's really a small thing, since the estates still belong to the large landowners. The same with the factories: except for the Somoza properties, there have been no nationalizations, only state intervention.

The masses are mobilized, but even so, the level of mobilization has probably dropped and obviously those who remain are the activists in the FSLN [Sandinista National Liberation Front]. People are organized in the CDS [Sandinista Defense Committees] and the Sandinista People's Militias. The CDS have many military functions, such as patrols. In Managua it's above all against street crime, but in the countryside it's much more against the counterrevolutionaries. So once a week you go on patrol in your neighborhood and once a week you guard your factory. In talks I had with people, they felt that the FSLN completely controls the bourgeoisie. They say "the Sandinista Committees are watching them, watching their homes." I have the impression it's like Cuba, the process of transformation. If imperialism were less hard on Nicaragua, it wouldn't be on the road to a deformed workers state. But in all probability the result will be a deformed workers state, because it would be really tough to turn back.

The interview with the official of the CST was the most interesting when I asked him questions. It's important to know that before 1979 the level of unionization was 6.5 percent. Now they're at 87 percent, which is enormous. The unions are completely politicized. Each party has its own union: the CST for the Sandinista Liberation Front. (There are also unions for different sectors linked to the FSLN, such as the peasants union, the teachers, journalists, health workers and white collar unions, but not part of the CST.) There is a union linked to the Socialist Party (pro-Moscow CP) called the CGT; the CAUS of the Communist Party of Nicaragua (dissident CP), a Christian Democratic union supported by the bourgeoisie, the CUS which is clearly financed by the CIA, and there is Frente Obrero, the ex-Maoists' labor front.

The bureaucrat explained the CST's line to me, for example on wages. Presently they're based on the level of skills—equal pay for equal work—whether for men or women, which is a real change from before. This is for both the private and state sectors. So I asked him: when you raise wages, don't you get opposition from the bosses? He said, "Of course not! The bosses who have stayed here want to rebuild the national economy, so they're for it." This was the only time I heard someone defend the bourgeoisie, and it's not an accident that it was a bureaucrat.

In fact, on the level of the economy, they've only confiscated 30 percent of industry, which is not much. And as always it's the companies in the worst shape which get taken over. For example, in the sugar industry there are six refineries. One is privately-owned and five are state-owned. The five state-owned ones barely succeed in producing as much sugar as the private one, since they don't have the machines, everything is old and broken down, etc. With such profitability, he said, the bosses can permit themselves to pay their workers more than in the state sector. That way, they can undermine the morale of the working class. This refers to the San Antonio sugar mill, owned by the Pellas family. And what the CST official *didn't* say, was that the higher wages there were won through hard strikes in February and November of 1980, initially led by Frente Obrero, and an illegal walkout this spring. The Sandinistas did their level best to break the workers' actions [see "Nicaragua on the Razor's Edge," *WV* No. 277, 27 March 1981].

The interview with the woman from AMNLAE was even more of a rehash of the official FSLN line. She took out her notebook and read me what she had written there: a prepared speech. The most interesting was when I asked about abortion. She told me, "Oh, here there's no problem." I explained that in France a limited legalization of abortion had been won, which even so represented progress, since before that illegal abortions had had terrible medical and psychological effects. We started talking about something else and five minutes later she came back to it and said, "Well, actually, abortion has not been legalized, we have never passed a law on abortion." She presented it as though they had just forgotten. I believe that above all, they don't want to get into trouble with the church. They don't want the church on their backs. It's true that there's no repression against women who get abortions, or the doctors, which is already a good thing. But they haven't legalized abortion and it's clear that their whole policy is for the conservation of the family.

A law has been passed on "Relations

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no credit

Militia women on guard against contra raids.

Class Struggle and Revolutionary Leadership

MINNEAPOLIS 1934: HOW THE WORKERS WON

Minnesota Historical Society

Workers defense guards routed scabherding cops and Citizens Alliance vigilantes during Minneapolis Teamster strikes.

"Toledo, Las Vegas, St. Croix, Arizona Mines—Class Battles Flare in Reagan's America," we said a couple of issues ago. With this upsurge of labor struggles, militants must look to the great struggles of the past for lessons to guide their actions today. Exactly 50 years ago, in 1934, America was shaken by three almost simultaneous citywide strikes, all led by avowed socialists, which paved the way for the CIO organizing drives. Then, as today, the country was emerging from the depths of depression, and with the revival of industry the workers regained confidence in their ability to fight *and win*.

In Toledo, Ohio supporters of radical labor organizer A.J. Muste, then forming the American Workers Party, led auto workers and the unemployed in the explosive Auto-Lite strike (see "The Battle of Toledo, 1934," in *WV* No. 358, 6 July 1984). On the West Coast, dock workers led by the Stalinized Communist Party fought pitched battles with the SF police (see "The 1934 San Francisco General Strike," *WV* No. 109, 14 May 1976). And in Minneapolis there was the "Teamster Rebellion," led by the Trotskyists of the Communist League of America (CLA).

In Minneapolis, under the guidance of CLA leader James P. Cannon, they solidly organized the strike (something the old-line AFL bureaucrats didn't even know how to do) and above all prepared the strikers for the inevitable confrontations with the capitalist state. The Trotskyists, including veteran local trade unionists Carl Skoglund, the Dunne brothers (Vincent, Grant and Miles) and the young Farrell Dobbs, established their credentials by organizing Minneapolis coal yard workers. An effective three-day strike in February 1934 paralyzed the coal yards and won union recognition for Teamster Local 574. With the unwavering support of local president Bill Brown and rejecting the narrow craft union mentality of the Teamster International under Daniel Tobin, these class-struggle militants quickly organized truck drivers and "inside" workers on an industrial union basis. On 15 May 1934, after the bosses refused to deal with the growing local of 5,000, the union struck.

The bosses didn't count on the class-war tactics of the Trotskyists, such as the "flying squad" of pickets, adopted by the CIO in the late '30s. All trucking in the city was halted except urgent services (such as milk deliveries) given a permit by the union. The rest of labor was mobilized: in late May 35,000 building trades workers struck in sympathy with the Teamster drivers, and even the conservative Central Labor Union had to vote support. The climax came May 22, when the union battled 2,200 "special deputies" and virtually the entire city police force, who tried to run scabs through the picketers. The bosses' thugs were smashed in "The Battle of Deputies Run," and the companies quickly settled the strike, recognizing the union.

But the bosses soon forced a new strike in July. On "Bloody Friday," July 20, the cops opened fire on the strikers, killing two and wounding 67, most of them shot in the back. Some 40,000 union supporters marched in the funeral for Henry Ness, Local 574's first martyr. Then, as part of an orchestrated red scare, the cops arrested Trotskyist leaders James P. Cannon and Max Shachtman and sent them to a military stockade. And in a pre-dawn raid, the "Farmer-Labor" governor Olson sent in the National Guard, which seized strike headquarters and arrested strike leaders, including Bill Brown. Vincent and Miles Dunne. This action by the "friend of labor" governor exposed Olson's capitalist loyalties, and the union militants exploited the contradiction between his words and actions to press the strike forward. Even after Olson had penned up over 100 strikers in the state fairgrounds, the Teamsters led by the Trotskyists defied the troops and maintained mobile picketing. On August 22 the bosses gave in to the union's main demands, including union membership for inside workers.

By their militant action and determination, strikers won tremendous gains in the 1934 strikes. Soon workers in the mass production industries were flocking to union organizing meetings. Because old-line craft unions of the AFL turned their backs on the unskilled, this led to the birth of industry-wide unions, frequently under radical leadership, and the formation of the CIO. The ruling class saw industrial unionism was on the way, and would either be headed by "sensible" leaders or "reds." In Minneapolis, during the 1934 strikes and for years after, the bosses tried to split and defeat the militant Teamsters with redbaiting. But this failed—the Teamsters stuck by their revolutionary leaders. Finally, on the eve of World War II Roosevelt, spurred on by corrupt Teamster leader Tobin and the treacherous Stalinist CP, jailed the Minneapolis 18—Socialist Workers Party (SWP) leaders and class-struggle unionists—under the notorious Smith Act for their courageous opposition to the imperialist war.

In 1942 Cannon, leader of the then-Trotskyist SWP, gave a series of lectures on the history of the Trotskyist movement which were subsequently collected into a book. We reprint below excerpts from Cannon's talk on Minneapolis, delivered when he was already under federal indictment. These lessons remain a beacon for today's labor struggles, and we encourage our readers to obtain Cannon's lectures (*The History of American Trotskyism*). We would also like to thank the Minnesota Historical Society in St. Paul for the photos (part of a collection on the 1934 strikes) on these pages.

The class-struggle traditions of Minneapolis 1934 are today embodied in the Spartacist League. This is *our* heritage.

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*EXCERPTED FROM JAMES P. CANNON, **THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM** PIONEER PUBLISHERS, NEW YORK, 1944*

This May general strike shook Minneapolis as it had never been shaken before. It shook the whole country, because this was no tame strike. This was a strike that began with such a wallop that the whole country heard about it, and about the role of the Trotskyists in its leadership—the bosses advertised that widely, and also hysterically.

There was no essential difference, in fact I don't think there was any serious difference at all between the strikers in Minneapolis and the workers involved in a hundred other strikes throughout the land in that period. Nearly all the strikes were fought with the greatest militancy by the workers. The difference was in the leadership and the policy. In practically all the other strikes the militancy of the rank and file workers was restrained from the top. The leaders were overawed by the government, the newspapers, the clergy and one thing or another. They tried to shift the conflict from the streets and the picket lines to the conference chambers. In Minneapolis the militancy of the rank and file was not restrained but organized and directed from the top.

All modern strikes require political direction. The strikes of that period brought the government, its agencies and its institutions into the very center of every situation. A strike leader without some conception of a political line was very much out of date already by 1934. The old fashioned trade union movement, which used to deal with the bosses without governmental interference, belongs in the museum. The modern labor movement must be politically directed because it is confronted by the government at every turn. Our people were prepared for that since they were political people, inspired by political conceptions. The policy of the class struggle guided our comrades; they couldn't be deceived and outmaneuvered, as so many strike leaders of that period were, by this mechanism of sabotage and destruction known as the National Labor Board and all its auxiliary setups. They put no reliance whatever in Roosevelt's Labor Board; they weren't fooled by any idea that Roosevelt, the liberal "friend of labor" president, was going to help the truck drivers in Minneapolis win a few cents more an hour. They weren't deluded even by the fact that there was at that time in Minnesota a Farmer-Labor Governor, presumed to be on the side of the workers.

Our people didn't believe in anybody or anything but the policy of the class struggle and the ability of the workers to prevail by their mass strength and solidarity. Consequently, they expected from the start that the union would have to fight for its right to exist; that the bosses would not yield any recognition to the union, would not yield any increase of wages or reduction of the scandalous hours without some pressure being brought to bear. Therefore they prepared everything from the point of view of class war. They knew that power, not diplomacy, would decide the issue. Bluffs don't work in fundamental things, only in incidental ones. In such

Minnesota Historical Society

Silverman/Minneapolis Star—Minnesota Historical Society

Minnesota Historical Society

Trotskyist leadership guided historic victory in Minneapolis general strike. Above left, from left: Grant Dunne, Bill Brown (president of Teamsters Local 574), Miles Dunne, Vincent Dunne, Albert Goldman. Above right: Max Shachtman and James P. Cannon.

"Battle of Deputies Run," 21-22 May 1934 (left).

things as the conflict of class interests one must be prepared to fight.

Proceeding from these general concepts, the Minneapolis Trotskyists, in the course of organizing the workers, planned a battle strategy. Something unique was seen in Minneapolis for the first time. That is, a strike that was thoroughly organized beforehand, a strike prepared with the meticulous detail which they used to attribute to the German army—down to the last button sewn on the uniform of the last individual soldier. When the hour of the deadline came, and the bosses thought they could still maneuver and bluff, our people were setting up a fortress for action. This was noted and reported by the *Minneapolis Tribune*, the mouthpiece of the bosses, only at the last moment, a day before the strike. The paper said: "If the preparations made by their union for handling it are any indication, the strike of truck drivers in Minneapolis is going to be a far-reaching affair.... Even before the official start of the strike at 11:30 P.M. Tuesday, the 'General Headquarters' organization set up at 1900 Chicago Avenue was operating with all the precision of a military organization."

Our people had a commissary all fixed up. They didn't wait until the strikers were hungry. They had it organized beforehand in preparation for the strike. They set up an emergency hospital in a garage—the strike headquarters was in a garage—with their own doctor and their own nurses before the strike even broke. Why? Because they knew that the bosses, their cops, and thugs and deputies would try in this case, as in every other, to beat the strike down. They were prepared to take care of their own people and not let them be sent, if injured, to a city hospital and then placed under arrest and put out of commission. When a fellow worker was injured on the picket line they brought him to their own headquarters and doctored him up there.

They took a leaf from the Progressive Miners of America and organized a Women's Auxiliary to help make trouble for the bosses. And I tell you, the women made lots of trouble, running around protesting and scandalizing the bosses and the city authorities, which is one of the most important political weapons. The strike leadership organized picketing on a mass basis. This business of appointing or hiring a few people, one or two, to watch and count and report how many scabs have been hired, doesn't work in a real struggle. They sent a squad to keep any scabs from going in. I mentioned that they had their strike headquarters in a garage. This was because the picketing was put on wheels. They not only organized the pickets, they mobilized a fleet of picketing cars. Every striker worker, sympathizer and trade unionist in town was called upon to donate the use of his car or truck. The strike committee thus had a whole fleet at its disposal. Flying squads of pickets on wheels were stationed at strategic points throughout the town.

At first the pickets went out barehanded, but they came back with broken heads and injuries of various kinds. Then they equipped themselves with shillalahs for the next trips. A shillalah, as any Irishman can tell you, is a blackthorn stick you lean on in case you suddenly go lame. Of course, it is handy for other purposes too. The attempt of the bosses and the police to crush the strike by force culminated in the famous "Battle of the Market." Several thousand special deputies in addition to the whole police force were mobilized to make one supreme effort to open up a strategic part of the town, the wholesale market, for the operation of trucks.

Those deputies, recruited from the petty-bourgeois and the employing classes of the town, and the professions, came to the market in a sort of gala holiday spirit. They were going to have fun down there just beating up strikers. One of the special deputies wore his polo hat. He was going to have one hell of a time down there, knocking strikers' heads around like polo balls. The ill-advised sportsman was mistaken: it was no polo game this time. He and the whole mob of deputies and cops ran into a mass of determined, organized pickets of the union supplemented by sympathetic unionists from other trades and by members of the unemployed organizations. The attempt to drive the pickets from the market place ended in failure. The counter-attack of the workers put them to flight. The battle has gone down in Minneapolis history as "The Battle of Deputies Run." There were two casualties, and they were both on the other side. That was one of the features of the strike that lifted Minneapolis high in the estimation of the workers everywhere. In strike after strike of those days the same story had been monotonously repeated in the press: Two strikers killed; four strikers shot; twenty strikers arrested, etc. Here was a strike where it wasn't all one-sided. There was one universal burst of applause, from one end of the labor movement to the other, for the militancy and resoluteness of the Minneapolis fighters. They had reversed the trend of things, and worker militants everywhere praised their name.

The May strike lasted only six days and a quick settlement was reached.

Then the bosses came to the conclusion that they had made a mistake; that they should have fought longer and broken the union, so as to teach the workers of Minneapolis the lesson that unions could not exist there; that Minneapolis was an open-shop slave town and should remain that way.

The bosses remained obdurate. They raised the "Red Scare" in a big way, denouncing the "Trotsky Communists" in screaming advertisements in the newspapers. On the union side, preparations went ahead as in the May strike, but on an even more highly organized plane. When it became clear that another strike could not be avoided without sacrificing the union, our National Committee decided that the

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Minnesota Historical Society

Mass picketing and flying squads were key to Minneapolis victory. Above: Vincent Dunne arrested during National Guard raid of strike headquarters.

Luxton—Minnesota Historical Society

Minneapolis...

(continued from page 9)

whole Communist League of America would have to go all-out in its support.

In our movement we never played with the absurd idea that only those directly connected with a union are capable of giving assistance. Modern strikes need political direction more than anything else. If our party, our League as we called it then, deserved to exist it would have come to the aid of the local comrades. As is always the case with trade union leaders, especially in strike times, they were under the weight and stress of a thousand pressing details. A political party, on the other hand, rises above the details and generalizes from the main issues. A trade union leader who rejects the idea of political advice in the struggle against the bosses and their government, with its cunning devices, traps and methods of exerting pressure, is deaf, dumb and blind. Our Minneapolis comrades were not of this type. They turned to us for help.

We sent quite a few forces into the situation. I went there about two weeks before the outbreak of the second strike.

The strike began July 16, 1934, and lasted five weeks. I think I can say without the slightest exaggeration, without fear of any contradiction, that the July-August strike of the Minneapolis truck drivers and helpers has entered into the annals of the history of the American labor movement as one of its greatest, most heroic and best organized struggles. Moreover: the strike and the union forged in its fires are identified forever in the labor movement, not only here but all over the world, with Trotskyism in action in the mass movement of the workers. Trotskyism made a number of specific contributions to this strike which made all the difference between the Minneapolis strike and a hundred others of the period, some of which involved more workers in more socially important localities and industries. Trotskyism made the contribution of organization and preparations down to the last detail. That is something new, that is something specifically Trotskyist. Second, Trotskyism introduced into all the plans and preparations of the union and the strike, from beginning to end, the class line of militancy: not as a subjective reaction—that is seen in every strike—but as a deliberate policy based on the theory of the class struggle, that you can't win anything from the bosses unless you have the will to fight for it and the strength to take it.

Pioneer

The Minneapolis 18, unionists and leaders of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party imprisoned during World War II as the Roosevelt administration sought to mobilize the working class for imperialist war.

The third contribution of Trotskyism to the Minneapolis strike—the most interesting and perhaps the most decisive—was that we met the government mediators on their own ground. I tell you, one of the most pathetic things observable in that period was to see how in one strike after another the workers were outmaneuvered and cut to pieces, and their strike broken by the "friends of labor" in the guise of federal mediators.

Our general strategy in the strike was to fight it out, not give anything away to anybody, to hold on and fight it out. That was Trotskyist contribution number four. It may appear to be a very simple and obvious prescription, but that is not the case. It was not obvious to the great majority of strike leaders of the time.

The fifth and crowning contribution that Trotskyism made to the Minneapolis strike was the publication of the daily strike newspaper, the *Daily Organizer*. For the first time in the history of the American labor movement, strikers were not left dependent on the capitalist press, were not befuddled and terrorized by it, did not see public sentiment disoriented by the capitalist monopoly of the press. The Minneapolis strikers published their own daily newspaper. This was done not by a half-million coal miners, a hundred thousand auto or steel workers, but by a single local union of 5,000 truck drivers, a new union in Minneapolis which had Trotskyist leadership. This leadership understood that publicity and propaganda are highly important, and that is something very few trade union leaders know. It is almost impossible to convey the tremendous effect of this daily newspaper. It wasn't a big one—just a two-page tabloid. But it completely counteracted the capitalist press. After a day or two we didn't care what the daily papers of the bosses said. They printed all kinds of things but it didn't make that much difference in the ranks of the strikers. They had their own paper and took its reports as gospel. The *Daily Organizer* covered the town like a blanket. Strikers at the headquarters all used to get it straight from the press. The Women's Auxiliary sold it in every tavern in town that had working class customers. In many saloons in working class neighborhoods they would leave a bundle of papers on the bar with a slotted collection can beside them for contributions. Many a dollar was collected that way and carefully watched by the friendly bartenders.

The Organizer, special strike daily, was the workers' voice against bosses' lies.

The *Daily Organizer* was the greatest of all the weapons in the arsenal of the Minneapolis strike. I can say without any qualification that of all the contributions we made, the most decisive, the one that tipped the scale to victory, was the publication of the daily paper. Without the *Organizer* the strike would not have been won. ■

Auto...

(continued from page 5)

and economic war against Japan. Import protectionism is the Democrats' *only* answer to Reaganomics. The climate of anti-Asian hysteria whipped up by the Democrats and UAW tops is so poisonous in Detroit that two years ago a Chinese American, Vincent Chin, was bludgeoned to death by a racist auto foreman. National protectionism, which pits U.S. workers against their class brothers in Japan and Europe, "protects" only the banks and stockholders while auto workers at Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue plant and Ford's River Rouge slave 56 to 60 hours a week without even a pretense of union defense on the shopfloor.

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

UAW president Owen Bieber & Co. are trying to sell another sellout by arguing that what's important is not a big money settlement—this after years of wage gouging!—but job security. Auto workers should remember that the $5 billion in givebacks since 1979 were also sold in the name of "saving jobs." During this period a *quarter million* auto workers were laid off. Despite the present boom, 80,000 GM and Ford workers with recall rights are still on layoff while for another 74,000 recall rights have run out. At the same time, their union brothers fortunate enough to have a job are working endless forced overtime. The March issue of the UAW's *Solidarity* calculates that the overtime worked in one month last fall "would have provided jobs to 95,000 workers—almost wiping out indefinite layoffs." UAW members must demand unlimited recall rights and no forced overtime.

Job security is indeed a key issue for auto workers. Wall Street auto analyst Scott Merlis estimates that through attrition and automation the Big Three will reduce their labor force by *over 20 percent* during the next three-year contract. How to fight this? Through a militant struggle for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay—30 for 40. But can anyone imagine Bieber & Co. leading such a struggle? It's unthinkable.

Over the years the UAW has seen more than its share of house opposition-ists claiming to speak for the discontented ranks. A typical example of this type was Pete Kelly, who is now close to Solidarity House as a local president and member of the union's national bargaining committee. It was Kelly and his friends who initiated the recent demonstration, which Solidarity House later took over, at GM headquarters. These small-time bureaucrats did not call for a strike but did prominently sport Mondale-for-president buttons. Indeed, many of them must have rushed back from the San Francisco Democratic convention to make the demo, where they sang, "Bieber is our leader, we shall not be moved." One thing is sure. With Bieber as their leader these officials will not be moved to wage the necessary fight against the auto bosses this fall.

As the showdown with GM and Ford approaches the Detroit Spartacist League has been widely distributing the *Workers Vanguard* supplement, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win," among the city's heavily black auto workers. The "Hardball" supplement is an argument for a new, fighting leadership of labor capable of rallying working people in support of the brothers and sisters on the picket lines. Real solidarity is backing up the elementary principle that "picket lines mean don't cross" with the tactics which built the UAW—tactics like secondary boycotts, sitdowns, flying squads and mass picket lines to face down scabs and their cop protectors. These questions are posed in Arizona where Chicano and Indian copper miners have waged a year-long bitter strike against Phelps Dodge. They are posed in Toledo, Ohio where workers have seen that massive and united labor action is the key to picket lines that stop scabs.

And they are certainly posed in Detroit auto. UAW locals must begin now organizing elected strike committees, generating new leaders and mobilizing labor's allies, above all, Detroit's impoverished black community, for the fight against the auto bosses. As in the 1930s, when the union was built, labor must organize the unemployed and champion the oppressed. Key to successful class struggle and ultimately workers revolution in this racist, capitalist society is linking the ghetto to the factory in struggle. Detroit's black proletariat will certainly be in the vanguard of a nationwide auto strike, which could turn this country around. ■

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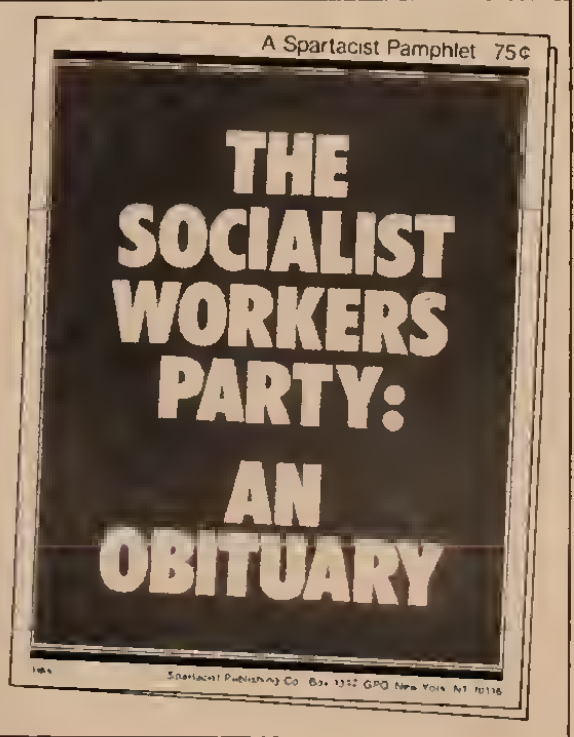

Defend Nicaragua...

(continued from page 6)

pro-imperialist church leaders and the traditionally religious populace, whose sons are being killed by the *contras*. But conciliation of the Catholic hierarchy can only aid the *contras*. From Poland to Nicaragua, the Vatican is an agency of counterrevolution.

Another crucial battlefield in the fight against the capitalist fifth column is food production and distribution. Already more than 10 percent of Nicaragua's granaries have been destroyed, and with growing shortages of basic products the price-gouging by speculators has become rampant. This is alienating not only the middle class but also the poorest sectors who don't have maids to wait in long food lines or the money to pay exorbitant black market prices. As conflicts with market vendors multiply, on June 1 the Council of State passed a law regulating the distribution of eight basic products (see "Embattled Nicaragua," page 7). But since they are

Boyd/Gamma-Liaison

Oil depot at port of Corinto after being hit by CIA-run contra terrorists.

still attempting to maintain a "mixed economy," the Sandinistas simultaneously drastically cut food subsidies in order to maintain prices to the peasant producers.

In the fall of 1917, Russia likewise faced the spectre of drastic shortages, economic chaos and famine as bourgeois "democrats" threatened to open the way for the return of the tsarist generals. V.I. Lenin laid out what had to be done in his pamphlet, "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It":

> "In point of fact, the whole question of control boils down to who controls whom, i.e., which class is in control and which is being controlled. In our country, in republican Russia, with the help of the 'authorised bodies' of supposedly revolutionary democracy, it is the landowners and capitalists who are still recognised to be, and still are, the controllers.... We must resolutely and irrevocably, not fearing to break with the old, not fearing boldly to build the new, pass to control *over* the landowners and capitalists *by* the workers and peasants."

Lenin's answer was the October Revolution, a proletarian revolution led by the Bolshevik Party, which gave all power to the soviets. In Nicaragua today the economy is still largely in private hands, from wealthy landowners to thousands of small-time entrepreneurs. To prevent hoarding, black marketeering and ultimately starvation, the Nicaraguan working masses must be mobilized through their unions, militias, neighborhood committees—not only to watch over the middlemen but to expropriate the capitalists whose constant sabotage of production and distribution is every bit as dangerous as the CIA terrorists.

Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

Yankee imperialism is using every point of support it can find—from middle classes who want to imitate the "American way of life" to impoverished Miskito Indians under the sway of their U.S.-trained pastors—to undermine, undo and ultimately overthrow the Nicaraguan revolution. Fundamentally, however, the FSLN is still stronger than the forces of reaction inside the country so long as it can bring out hundreds of thousands of peasants, workers and urban poor who have benefited from literacy drives, free medical care and other gains of the revolution. Counterrevolution from within would require a split among the Sandinista *comandantes* (and there are tensions, reputedly between a go-slow wing—the "tortoises"—headed by Daniel and Humberto Ortega and the "hares" led by interior minister Tomás Borge). Meanwhile, the FSLN line appears to be hardening. Comandante Jaime Wheelock recently declared that "the time has now come to take stronger measures against enemies of the revolution who are trying to turn back the people's conquests" (*New York Times*, 22 May).

Today the counterrevolutionary threat is first and foremost military, not only from the *contra* bands attacking from both north and south (reportedly viewed by the CIA as a "holding action") but directly from U.S. forces. "An invasion of Nicaragua is not impossible," declared the American ambassador to neighboring Costa Rica last December. And the Sandinistas know it. For the last two years the rad-lib "solidarity" milieu has screeched with horror over the Spartacist slogans "Stop Reagan's Bay of Pigs—Nicaragua Needs MIGs!" and "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!" Russia has got nothing to do with Central America, they yell, trying to keep their "movement" safe for the Democrats. But in late June FSLN junta coordinator Ortega visited Moscow hoping to obtain urgently needed jet fighters "be they Soviet-built MIGs or Mirages made in France" (*Barricada*, 11 June). Certainly the idea that social democrat Mitterrand would send jets to Nicaragua to be used against his NATO ally Reagan is a mirage.

And the idea of a "nonaligned" social revolution that would be accepted by the imperialists is a dangerous illusion. The present administration in Washington has made it abundantly clear that it seeks to "roll back" the Sandinista revolution as part of its global drive for war against the Soviet Union. And while they don't go in for Reagan's "evil empire" rhetoric, the Democrats have made it clear they're just as anti-Soviet as the next imperialist. It's just that the U.S. got burned in Vietnam and they want to avoid another *losing* war. So they are looking for a peaceful road to counterrevolution in Central America, through "Contadora" negotiations and imperialist-imposed "elections." The upcoming vote in Nicaragua is largely a propaganda exercise designed to appease the Democrats in Congress.

In Nicaragua (and not just there), "free elections" has always been a watchword and cover for Yankee intervention. In 1856, Confederate freebooter William Walker was invited in by Nicaraguan Liberals and promptly established English as the official language, legalized slavery and held "free elections" to elect himself president. In 1912 the Marines were sent in to guarantee the election of Adolfo Diaz, an accountant for an American mining company, as president. Under U.S. occupation which lasted almost continuously until 1933 there were several "free elections" in which the candidate picked by Washington always won. And from 1934 until 1979 the Somoza dynasty regularly had a family member (or one of their flunkeys) duly elected. No wonder the Nicaraguan masses are not overly impressed by Reagan's denunciation of Sandinista "sham" elections in November.

In fact, through these elections the FSLN's past and present conciliation of the domestic bourgeoisie comes back to haunt them. The bourgeois opposition non-candidate, Arturo Cruz, is a former member of the governing junta, a banker who would have no political authority except that the Sandinistas chose him as a representative of the "democratic" bourgeoisie. Now he is the standard-bearer of "democratic" counterrevolution. (Likewise *contra* leader Rohelo is a former "patriotic" junta leader who now works openly for the CIA.) While petty-bourgeois nationalists like the Sandinistas seek political collaboration with sections of the capitalists, communists organize the working masses independently of and *against* their exploiters. The Trotskyists fight for the soviet democracy of workers and peasants councils, which can replace the whole edifice of the oppressive bourgeois state.

Recent reports from Managua claim that the Sandinistas "have reconciled themselves to the likelihood that President Reagan will be re-elected" and that the FSLN is looking for "survival as the only revolutionary government in the region" (*Guardian* [London], 23 July). This is a program for disaster. To begin with, this is the hour for bold action. Even the war-crazy Reagan is not about to send in the Marines during the election campaign; and if re-elected the last thing the Hollywood rough rider in the White House will be interested in is "coexistence" with Nicaragua. Moreover, the Sandinistas' present tightrope balancing act is manifestly unviable. Simply to defend the gains achieved so far it will be necessary to carry out a profound social upheaval, and that could escape the control of the Sandinista comandantes, going beyond the limits even of a deformed workers state on the Cuban model and unleashing permanent revolution.

To liberate the impoverished masses of Central America it is necessary to fight for workers revolution, led by Leninist-Trotskyist parties, extending beyond this impoverished region to Mexico, with its several million strong industrial proletariat, and to the imperialist heartland of the United States. This is the task above all of the North American revolutionaries, who look not to the Democrats but to the workers, calling for "hot-cargoing" U.S. arms to Central America, for political strikes against American intervention and for militant labor action to bring Reagan down. This is what the Spartacist League fights for. ■

Embattled Nicaragua...

(continued from page 7)

Between Father, Mother and Children" which legislates the kind of relationships which should exist inside the family. It's to reinforce the family, although it grants women certain legal rights, very important for a Latin country. In virtually all Latin American countries, in case of divorce or separation it's the father who has the right to the children. But in Nicaragua now it's the mother who has custody and the father is obliged to pay child support.

The living conditions for women today are extremely difficult. This really affected me, since where I was staying I could see the situation for young women. They have a triple workday. Because of Latin culture there has been very little evolution inside the couple. So the women do the housework, helped out by their daughters (who start working at the age of eight). They go to work and in addition they engage in political activity—including armed patrols. It's really a triple workday with the added burden of taking responsibility for the children.

And the children are at school only half of the day. Because there are not enough schools and not enough teachers, the children go to school in shifts—some in the morning, some in the afternoon and others in the evening (the hours are something like 8-12, 1-5 and 6-9). If both parents work the children are alone the whole day. One woman I met has six children. The eldest is grown-up, a man, so he doesn't take care of the house. The daughter, 12 years old, watches the children the whole day. It's terrible for women to have to leave their children all day long, alone in the street, risking an accident just by crossing the street—and people drive like crazy there. Anything can happen.

And the machismo is really awful. A guy comes home at night, puts his feet up on the table, and his wife prepares dinner and gets his pack of cigarettes, which are only a few feet away, because he's used to getting what he wants. But these women have a lot of political consciousness. They're trying to fight with their husbands to get them to change. They also know that women's liberation can only come about by the integration of women into productive life, which is very important. I believe that women are bearing the greatest weight in the revolution, especially the militants.

Here's the problem. The FSLN succeeds in putting this over because of the war: their constant argument is that because of the war everything must be geared toward winning the war. The rest will have to wait. So they postpone a whole series of immediate measures, not to mention expropriation of the bourgeoisie, which a genuinely revolutionary leadership would undertake forthwith.

American imperialism is running a counterrevolutionary guerrilla war in Nicaragua. It's not a full-scale, constant war, but it forces the Sandinistas to maintain a constant military mobilization and to spend enormous sums of money on armaments. The imperialists know very well they're in the process of economically undermining Nicaragua. There will soon be food shortages inside the country and the rightist parties are beginning to use these shortages for their anti-Sandinista propaganda (the church advertises the distribution of rice and beans at Sunday mass).

After what I saw, I believe we're going to see the creation of a deformed workers state in Nicaragua. It would take such a U-turn in American policy to reverse this process that it seems difficult to imagine even if Reagan isn't re-elected. People in Nicaragua are quite anxious about the American elections, worrying that Reagan will be re-elected. If he loses, they think they'll breathe easier. Which is not necessarily the case!

What's happening in Nicaragua is a confirmation of our views. I had the feeling I was seeing concretely a contradictory situation where the masses hope for a real revolution, to go forward to socialism and liquidate the bourgeoisie. One day I said to someone, "If you want to defend your revolution you are going to be forced to take measures against the bourgeoisie, because it's against the revolution and it's plotting with the CIA against you. If only to defend yourselves you're going to be forced to take measures against them." He replied, "Yes, we're going to do it." ■

ET Follies

Over the spring, the Spartacist League held regional educational gatherings taking up "Wars and Revolutions: Historical Materialism in Practice." These public meetings, held in New York, Berkeley and Chicago over successive weekends, heard and discussed presentations on "From the Great French Revolution to the Paris Commune," "World War I and the Russian Revolution" and "Germany 1919-1933: Revolution and Counterrevolution." The presentation by comrade Joseph Seymour on the French Revolution is featured in our youth paper, *Young Spartacus*, this summer while comrade George Foster's presentation on Germany will be a highlight of *YSp* next fall.

The rich presentations were however rivaled in educational value by the illuminating opportunity to watch the so-called "External Tendency of the international Spartacist tendency" go into action. The ET is an amalgam of exmembers and others of generally very rightist political coloration, *quitters* who like to posture as victims of supposed bureaucratic purges and still claim to be loyal critics, indeed, the last best hope for our organization, while

WV Photo

At Spartacist educational in Berkeley, Richard Bradley (left) celebrated putting up historic Union flag at SF Civic Center. Twice Bradley ripped down Confederate banner. ETer Bob Mandel credited Mayor Dianne Feinstein.

engaging in downright sinister provocation against us. At bottom fugitives from the "Russian question" in the Reagan years, they profess an orientation to the SL but their appetites lie in the direction of the racist labor bureaucracy. Most SL comrades are familiar with the ET in at least a literary way, having studied their documents mainly through our own internal bulletins, but seeing them in loathsome living color at the educationals in California (April 28-29) and the Midwest (May 5-6) was an education in itself.

For a short course in the ET's origins and unsavory profile, see "From Cream Puffs to Food Poisoning," *WV* No. 349, 2 March. As we wrote then: the "ET has been useful as a crystallization of everything that is backward and wrong in the SL.... We use the ET to keep us on our toes." Too, the ETs on the hoof have a way of revealing more than they mean to. Speaking from the floor, the ETs themselves stripped away their window-dressing of professed solidarity with our party and exposed their utter contempt and outright hostility to our best work—some real victories against racism and Reagan reaction which have won us the respect and kindled the hopes of many thousands of working people and defenders of labor and black rights. At the Midwest meeting, the ETs' interventions brought about some important political struggle with our contacts on the principle of workers democracy: why it would be wrong to physically eject the ETs from the hall, as some of our prospective recruits were urging.

The West Coast educational was held in the aftermath of two significant anti-racist victories in the Bay Area. First, a labor-centered mass defense campaign had won, after eight months of struggle, the dropping of serious felony assault charges against Bay Area phone workers Ray Palmiero and Lauren Mozee. Lauren, a former Black Panther, and her companion Ray were singled out by the phone company and Alameda County D.A.'s office in a vicious, racist vendetta after they defended themselves and their picket line against a racist scab attack during last summer's national phone strike. The two militants had faced years in prison for doing their duty as unionists.

Secondly, Spartacist spokesman Richard Bradley had twice scaled a 50-foot flagpole in San Francisco's Civic Center to rip down the Confederate flag, the banner of slavery and the KKK. Bradley arrived at the educational after spending five and a half hours in jail for climbing the pole yet a third time to put up a historic Union flag. The participants at the educational responded to his arrival with a standing ovation. Both the successful defense activism for Lauren and Ray and the removal of the Dixie flag—to which the city government had finally to accede—were met with broad popular support, particularly among blacks and other working people. But the ET intervened to blame the attempted frame-up of the phone militants not on the bosses but on SL "substitutionalism," while belittling the action against the Dixie flag and crediting the mayor for its removal!

We found the remarks of ET leader Bob Mandel so damning that we also played the tape for the benefit of the subsequent Midwest meeting. Here is Mandel on Ray and Lauren, on the defense of longshore union militant Stan Gow and on the Confederate flag:

> "...and suddenly the SL leadership had to change tack and start polemicizing against ET, because ET's trade-union document intersected some opposition in that fraction. Opposition which has continued, opposition which included people realizing that substitutionalism was going on during the CWA [phone] strike, which led to abnormally high arrests in that fraction. People who were aware of the fact that what Stan [Gow] did was heroic, but it ended up with a trial. And you want to know about the flagpole? I'll tell you what I think about the flagpole. Damn good thing that the mayor felt compelled to get it down, because it is the flag of racism. Goddamn good thing."

At the Midwest educational, comrade Reuben Samuels observed in his remarks:

> "'Goddamn good thing Mayor Feinstein took down the flag, because...' —because what if she hadn't? (laughter) Perhaps 10,000 people would have shown up the next time to take that flag down. Perhaps Mayor Feinstein would be in a very funny position in the Democratic Party convention in San Francisco, with Jesse Jackson on the one hand and the Dixiecrats on the other hand, over the fact that there are thousands of people demonstrating in that city around the question of 'Finish the Civil War!' Goddamn good thing for Mayor Feinstein, or else her political career...in San Francisco at least (after all, she is also of Jewish background, so her possibilities for a career, let's say in Selma, are rather limited) but in San Francisco, in a major Northern city, it would be over. "Goddamn good thing *for Bob Mandel* that the Democratic Party politicians saved Feinstein's career by not putting the flag back up. Brother Mandel should be reminded—as brother Charles indeed reminded us—that it was Richie Bradley, it was the Labor Black League for Social Defense, it was the Spartacist League in the Bay Area that took that flag down. An act applauded by every decent person in that city.
> "So what Mandel came to do at the West Coast conference was not to address the political issues of the French Revolution or Lebanon or the KAL provocation, but to put forward a statement that the Spartacist League gets trade-union militants and black militants into trouble, that it sets them up through adventurist stunts for arrests, for provocative actions, resulting in trials within their own unions. And that was the *real* purpose, and that's the theme that pervaded his entire intervention into that meeting. It was a statement to whom? What alien forces is the ET acting upon, to make such a statement, after such victories? He can't even mention the names of the people involved—Ray and Lauren—because they symbolize, not victimization, but *victories*. Because they symbolize not simply bourgeois persecution but defiance and triumph over bourgeois reaction in this period....
> "So you had better watch where you are going, because your mentor, Bob Mandel, has already declared what his purpose is. Which is to violence-bait, provocateur-bait the finest work, in the trade-union arena, around the black struggle, the question of 'Finish the Civil War!' that this party—and not just this party, but the working class and oppressed people everywhere—can take pride in."

The ET is strident in its calls for bloody "struggle"—so long as someone else is doing it and it's very far away (see ET letter below and our reply). But closer to home, they condemn as "substitutionalism" any effort to offer leadership which risks potential victimization. Marxists understand that social struggle entails risks of state repression, nor is this news to veterans of the civil rights movement, to former Black Panthers, to strikers in Arizona battling the copper bosses' cops. Repression is a fact of life in the class struggle, one which Leninists seek to minimize by picking our shots intelligently. We know that we will be a target for repression so long as we are doing our job as revolutionists in this racist, capitalist society. And we are justly proud of our record of victories against some very determined attempts by the enemies of the working people to victimize our members and supporters.

So it's not too surprising that when an ETer at the Chicago educational demanded an answer to the ET's cynical request for "readmission" to the party, he was answered by a resounding cry of "No! No!" from the participants. Comrade Ed Clarkson added wryly, "Of course, you understand that this is just an informal poll of the membership." ■

Who's a Pig?

ET Letter

July 5, 1984

Workers Vanguard

Dear Comrades:

It's a funny thing about bad political positions—sometimes they just won't go away. In this connection, we found your article on the case of U.S. Marine Corporal Alfred Griffin (*Workers Vanguard* No. 355, 25 May) of interest. The vindictive punishment of this man by the imperialist military is an outrage. But so is your attempt in the article to link your own cowardly call for saving the survivors of the demolition of the Marine barracks in Beirut with his refusal "to go to Lebanon...to kill fellow Muslims."

Quite a few of the Marines who went to Lebanon to kill Muslims didn't come back. That sometimes happens to those who sign up to fight the dirty colonial wars of imperialism. We don't think it's such a bad thing either—apparently you do. We don't care how many Marines walked out of Beirut and how many were taken out in coffins. All we care about is that they left. You wanted them all out *alive*. So we have a difference. While you were cringing in anticipation of what the Reagan administration might do to anyone who made unpatriotic noises in the wake of the decade's biggest military setback for U.S. imperialism, we observed that those who lived like pigs frequently end up dying like pigs. Our slogan may have been too angular for you—but it was *not* bloodthirsty. (It wasn't original either—as you are well aware.) It is simply an objective encapsulation of the risks run by colonial gendarmes. Corporal Griffin may very well have saved his own life by refusing to go to Lebanon and kill Muslims.

At your educational in Chicago on 5 May, SL Central Committee member Seymour took your revisionism one step further and asserted that the Marines were "no better and no worse" than any of the various communal militias in Lebanon. Coming from the leading theoretician of the tendency this repudiation of the Leninist position on imperialist intervention in "third world" countries is shocking. Presumably Seymour thinks that calling for saving the Marines makes more sense if the issue of imperialism is downplayed. So he blithely announced that the militias of the squabbling semi-colonial peoples of Lebanon are equivalent to the military SWAT team of the world's most dangerous imperialist power.

What's next? Will *WV* begin to worry about the safety of all the poor economic draftees in the British army of occupation in Northern Ireland? Perhaps Seymour thinks that the British army is "no better and no worse" than the IRA and the UDA. Will we soon see a call for "British Troops Out of

Ireland, Now, Alive!" in *WV*? Somehow we doubt it—after all, they're not Americans.

It was remarkable that while joining the Democratic Party chorus calling for getting the Marines out alive, *WV* never once advocated saving the French paratroopers. Why not? They too had their ranks thinned by a Shi'ite truck bomb. We suspect that their nationality was a factor. Social-patriotism begins (and ends) at home.

Corporal Griffin is indeed a man of principle. We applaud his refusal to "live like a pig." But your cowardly flinch (based on the calculation that it is more important to safeguard your "good name" with your own ruling class than your claim to the revolutionary tradition of Bolshevism) is a shameful blot on the record of the international Spartacist tendency. It is reminiscent of Farrell Dobbs' craven expression of remorse over the assassination of imperialist chieftain J.F. Kennedy.

Bolshevik greetings,
External Tendency of the iSt

SL Reply

The self-styled External Tendency (ET) has again displayed its dismissive and contemptuous attitude toward black oppression. Not once in their letter do they mention that Alfred Griffin is a *black* man in a white-ruled racist society—as if this isn't important!—and they disappear the fact that he refused to fight in black Grenada. This Marine corporal's refusal to fight in Grenada and Lebanon personifies a fundamental problem for American imperialism, namely, that a large fraction of its combat forces consist of black men who are deeply alienated from the white ruling class and less susceptible than whites to anti-communist and anti-Soviet prejudices.

Imperialist armies consist of young workingmen sent off to die for the interests of their rulers. Thus every capitalist armed force shows potential contradiction—it can be polarized along class lines between the officer corps and the ranks. This potential is particularly explosive in the dirty, unpopular, no-win colonial wars of decaying imperialism, and in the case of the present U.S. military is exacerbated by the high proportion of black soldiers.

As a Spartacist spokesman put it to the ETs at the Chicago educational referred to in the present ET letter:

> "...one of the most objectively racist speeches I've heard by someone who claims to sympathize with us. Do you think that the fact that a disproportionate number of combat troops of U.S. imperialism are black and Hispanic doesn't matter? This is a social fact of potentially enormous historic importance. Why do these blacks join the Marines? Join the army? Because they want to kill in the service of Ronald Reagan? Is that what you think? No! You have no sense of the *desperation* of black people in this country. You're contemptuous of them. Because the army is the only place they can get three square meals a day, and they get a warm place to sleep and learn a job skill. That's why they're in there. They're the most alienated, they're the people who are least anti-Soviet. So what happens? Reagan sends them over to Lebanon and they get killed. Every interview [in Lebanon] and the interviews in Camp Lejeune say, 'this guy [Reagan] is getting us killed, we want out!' That's the stuff of which mutinies are made. Of course, Nicaragua's different. They go in, we want them to be defeated. Insofar as they have to take casualties, we want the Marines to take casualties. But that's not *just* our program. A revolutionary government in Nicaragua would also *appeal* to these black soldiers, would try to fraternize with them, would try to win over the prisoners of war. [It] would say, look, you are fighting for an unjust cause. That's the stuff that revolution in this country is made of, and you have no sense of that whatsoever."

The Lebanon disaster is universally recognized as Reagan's biggest foreign policy defeat so far. Central to our position on the Lebanese conflict encapsulated in the slogan, "Marines Out of Lebanon, Now, Alive!" is that none of the myriad factions were fighting for a just cause. All sides are squalid, and no side is fighting imperialism. The ET implicitly supported the Shi'ite/Druze/Syrian forces. They do this dishonestly, through the false analogy with Northern Ireland, an analogy they have used repeatedly. In Northern Ireland British troops are the *state power* upholding the Protestant-supremacist (Orange) government which oppresses the Irish Catholic minority. In making the analogy of Lebanon (before the Marines were withdrawn last February) and Northern Ireland the ET is implying that the Shi'ite/Druze/Syrian side was waging not only a war of national liberation against U.S. imperialism but also a just struggle against a reactionary government. This is a cynical effort to prettify the Lebanese reality as do the Stalinists, SWP, Mandelites, Marcyites and revisionist left in general.

The analogy between Lebanon and Northern Ireland is wrong—indeed, absurd—at both levels. To begin with, the Marines constituted a *token* military force, which, moreover, hid in their bunkers during most of the fighting. As former Israeli chief of staff Mordechai Gur explained a few months before Reagan ignominiously pulled the Marines out:

> "...the U.S. hope for establishing a strong central government in Lebanon is unrealistic. No foreign military intervention can accomplish that—certainly not the U.S. Marines, whose force is so small that nobody takes it seriously."
> —*Newsweek*, 19 December 1983

Secondly, the Maronite-dominated Gemayel "government" did not oppress the Lebanese Muslim population for the simple reason that it did not govern them. Apart from the Israeli-occupied south, the effective public force in the Muslim communities since last September has consisted of fellow Muslims (Shi'ite Amal militia in West Beirut, Druze militia in the Shuf Mountains, Syrian army in eastern and much of northern Lebanon). In recent months much of the fighting in Lebanon has been *among* the various Muslim communalist forces.

The present fighting in Lebanon is essentially a continuation of the communalist bloodletting which broke out in the 1975-76 civil war. The presence of a few thousand U.S. Marines guarding Beirut Airport did not change the character of the conflict. The ET sometimes likes to posture that it is upholding the old Spartacist positions against alleged revision by the SL leadership. However, it is the ET's line on Lebanon which in substance repudiates our position on the 1975-76 Lebanese civil war, which was then and remains a touchstone of our opposition to the Stalinists, nationalists and New Leftists who applaud the empty "anti-imperialist" posturing of oppressive, *pro-imperialist* Third World factions and regimes.

When we raised the slogan "Marines Out of Lebanon, Now, Alive!" it was coupled with the slogan, "U.S. Out of Grenada, Dead or Alive!" This fact—which simply refutes the ET's contention that we seek to make ourselves palatable to social-patriots—illuminates our Marxist opposition to the vicarious bloodthirsty ET posture on the Marines: "live like pigs, die like pigs." Over Grenada, where unlike Lebanon there *was* a just cause at stake—the defense of the rights of the people of Grenada against the imperialist, racist U.S. invasion—our distaste for violence and loss of life is subordinated to our support for the victory of the just cause, by whatever means are necessary, against the violence of the oppressors. But even here, we unlike the ET do not claim to enjoy the fact that sons of the working class—black and white, American and French and what have you—must die for the crimes of their rulers. ■

Postal Workers...

(continued from page 16)

against this threat is to wage a solid strike. But after APWU leader Moe Biller and NALC head Vincent Sombrotto bombastically walked out of the negotiations on July 21, when the contract expired, they stuck their heads in the sand. Biller told his members in a nationwide telephone hotline message to "stay cool" and conduct "no wildcat strikes, no job actions." Instead, the members are supposed to wait for the upcoming union conventions on August 19. These bureaucrats thought they could coast on the old contract while the issues went to time-consuming arbitration. But contracts are enforced by *power*. Bolger, sensing union weakness, went ahead and unilaterally tore up the contract by announcing that USPS would hire new workers at 20 percent below union scale. The union answer must be: no contract, no work! On strike, shut it down!

Labor fakers like Biller & Co. want to bury the memory of the successful 1970 strike because they want to hold onto their privileged, cushy positions as agents of the bosses in the workers movement, reflected in their many ties to the capitalist Democratic Party. The 1970 strike was essentially a wildcat as the bureaucrats repeatedly tried and failed to send the workers back to work—NALC leader James Rademacher was hung in effigy, and New York workers booed Biller off the podium at the Statler Hilton. Biller, a former Communist Party supporter and 22-year APWU Metro local president who recently rose to national office, has a long history of treachery. In 1978, for instance, when the Bulk Mail Center in New Jersey went out, Biller let them get crushed in isolation rather than call out New York and create a nationwide strike. He slanderously denounced the BMC strike leaders as "FBI agents," "labor spies" and "agents provocateurs"; New York NALC leader Sombrotto carefully followed behind Biller. Thus Biller & Co. helped management in its sanitizing operation and thus paved the way for the current union-busting offensive. Now these traitors hide behind the PATCO defeat as an excuse for not striking—in fact, they contributed to PATCO's defeat by their deliberate haste to accept a rotten contract in the summer of 1981 in order to avoid striking alongside PATCO against Reagan. Now the chickens come home to roost.

What passed for a "left" in the postal unions over the years of the '70s all had one thing in common—they never tried to be anything more than a pressure group on the incumbent bureaucrats. Some, such as ex-Maoist Kenny Leiner, made it into the bureaucracy (he's an APWU vice president). Some of the social-democratic supporters of the defunct International Socialists huddle in the pan-union *Labor Notes* newsletter along with petty bureaucrats, promoting the bureaucracy's utter defeatism. For instance, the May 23 article on the postal negotiations by Paul D. Roose, president of NALC Branch 1111, ends by noting that "the political climate is bleak" and that "a strike... could be another PATCO magnified fifty-fold." *Labor Notes* might serve as a "left" cover for aspiring bureaucrats, but it offers no fighting program for militant workers.

PATCO lost because it was isolated against the full weight of the federal government, due to the treachery of the AFL-CIO tops. But Reagan can be beaten, *if* the battalions of labor are mobilized against his union-busting and racist austerity. The postal workers, a large and heavily integrated union, is in a good position to call upon all of labor and the unemployed, black and white, to defend its picket lines and shut it down! In fact, the postal workers provided a number of the militants who attended the Spartacist-initiated labor/black mobilization to stop the Klan in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982, foiling Reagan's provocatively racist attempt to let the KKK march down Constitution Avenue.

Such power can also defend the unions—Bring down Reagan with labor/black action! The APWU and NALC ranks can prepare now by electing strike committees to organize mass picket lines. The upcoming August union conventions should be turned into a strike mobilization meeting. A class-struggle strategy can only be taken by a revolutionary leadership which breaks with the bosses' parties to build a workers party and fight for a workers government. As the 1970 strike showed, you can't sort mail with hayonets. ■

Toledo 37...

(continued from page 5)

land of the industrial Midwest. Toledo is only 50 miles from Detroit. Solidarity House's "solution" to the log-jammed AP Parts negotiations was to send a couple of busloads up to Detroit for the toothless July 23 demonstration to pressure management on opening day of the Ford/GM bargaining. This was the

Toledo Union Journal

Jeep transport—a "workers tank"—blocks Toledo AP Parts plant gate.

same line as those aspiring bat boys for the bureaucracy, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), whose representative in Toledo, one Mark Friedman, has the dubious claim to fame of *debating* KKK terrorist Tom Metzger. The SWP's only comment on Bieber's criminal cancellation of the June 24 march was to politely suggest it be rescheduled.

Bieber & Co. just want to roll this strike into the national negotiations and hope everybody forgets about it. But the best way to show the auto bosses the union means business on September 14 is to defend the guys at AP Parts to the hilt. On May 21, Toledo labor showed it has the power to stop scabbing cold, and stuck it to the arrogant owners of AP. They must not stand alone. The UAW should be pouring thousands of union members into Toledo in caravans and buses to go back to AP with mass pickets and finish the job! Bring out Jeep, link up with Sun Oil strikers and turn Toledo labor into a spearhead of resistance to stop the union-busters. Drop the charges—Defend *all* the victimized Toledo unionists! Victory to the AP Parts strike!

Workers Vanguard **encourages readers to send contributions to: AP Parts Defense Fund, UAW Local 14, AP Parts Unit, 5411 Jackman Road, Toledo, Ohio 43613.** ■

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard skips an issue in August. Our next issue will be dated August 31.

Terror Scare...

(continued from page 1)

preparations for war is the suppression of effective dissent at home. While there is no mass, activist opposition to the war drive, neither is there much support. Most Americans do not want "another Vietnam" and most realize that Cold War II is a move toward nuclear armageddon. No longer does the U.S. have a monopoly on nuclear weapons, to rampage unchallenged throughout the globe, threatening a repeat of the fiery obliteration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The USSR now has rough nuclear parity and, in the face of Washington's bellicose provocations, has sometimes demonstrated a willingness to militarily defend itself. And the so-called "Vietnam syndrome"—the fruits of imperialist military *defeat* when the heroic peasants and workers of Indochina wiped the floor with the U.S. forces—remains alive and well in the consciousness of the American masses.

For the U.S. ruling class, Democrat and Republican, this state of affairs is intolerable. Thus, despite some debates for the record (usually long after the fact), both the disastrous Lebanon intervention and the vindictive and racist invasion of tiny Grenada (to divert attention from the Lebanon debacle) were bipartisan efforts. Such is also the case in Central America, where at bottom "hawks" and "doves" agree that the need to halt the spread of revolution, from Nicaragua to El Salvador and beyond, supersedes any lip service to "human rights" or "legality." What is at issue in the presidential contest between the twin parties of capital is how best and most effectively to mobilize the country—politically and militarily—for war.

Back in the 1950s, the days of the McCarthyite "Cold War I" witchhunt, there was plenty of popular support for the persecution of so-called "subversives," including their being purged from the labor movement by the pro-Democrat giveback artists who now run the unions. But that popular Cold War mood was broken by the emergence of the civil rights movement and the broad opposition to the Vietnam War in the 1960s. With the discrediting of the McCarthyite techniques—the destruction of reputations and livelihoods by "Comsymp" smear jobs and the prosecutions of leftists for "advocacy" thought-crimes—J. Edgar Hoover's FBI shifted over to an immense covert spying and "counterintelligence" program of disruption, slander, violence and outright murder known as COINTELPRO. Initially targeting the Communist Party and later the Socialist Workers Party, COINTELPRO during the 1960s was expanded to get virtually anybody and everybody associated with political opposition to the government's policies, most murderously targeting black militants and their organizations. As we wrote in the last issue of *WV*: "...whereas the COINTELPRO operations were carried out in darkest secrecy, Reagan's anti-terrorist Round Two is right out at center stage."

Round Two: Reagan Needs "Terrorism"

Lacking the ideological conformity of the 1950s, Cold War II needs a "new" kind of McCarthyism which incorporates the direct-hit military measures of COINTELPRO. We have called this "McCarthyism with a drawn gun." And our characterization has proved to be all too apt. There has been a steady strengthening of state bonapartism and diminishing of constitutionally protected civil liberties: the "new" FBI Guidelines which obliterate any distinction between political opposition to government policies and "criminal terrorism"; the recent spate of Supreme Court rulings more appropriate to a police state than a bourgeois "democracy"; the Presidential directives granting sweeping powers to military and secret police intelligence agencies. But one can see in action what this all means in San Francisco and Los Angeles.

An orchestrated scare-campaign predicting "violence" at the Democratic Party convention—repeatedly citing the Spartacist League in dispatches replayed coast-to-coast, despite our public statements of essential indifference to the proceedings of that bourgeois gathering—prepared the way for the real violence of the SF cops and provocations by the far right against various tame demonstrations planned to pressure the Democratic Party. The cops announced that they were going to arrest early and often. Despite our fundamental class hostility to the Democrats, we recognized that the convention itself was a target for "state-supported terrorism"—intimidation via cop brutality against the Democrats' "fringe"—and publicly called upon the AFL-CIO and other labor organizations to defend the Democrats' right to assemble, offering to provide a security team of a dozen trade-union supporters of our own.

Olympics In Reagan's Amarica.

On the eve of the convention, scores of protesters were clubbed and arrested after a vicious cop charge on an anti-Moral Majority demonstration. Throughout the week any demonstrators who ventured outside a specially-prepared concentration-camp corral were dragged off, brutalized and busted. The convention delegates themselves were terrorized from venturing outside the convention site. As the proceedings drew to an end (and no one was watching on prime-time TV) the frustrated cops let loose and arrested nearly 400 on the last day—savagely beating many, most from a "Rock Against Reagan." Had they been given total license, we suspect the cops would have preferred to leave a body or two on the ground, Greenshoro-style, to "nip in the bud" any groundswell of those seeking to exercise their right to assembly and free speech.

The Los Angeles Olympics shaped up as an extravagant Cold War provocation—complete with the crazed "Ban the Soviets Coalition" and their network of "defector havens"—until the Soviets foiled that gambit and had the good sense to stay home, pointing to official encouragement of pervasive threats to Soviet-bloc athletes. The biggest game in L.A. today isn't sports but police-state "preventive terrorism" military mobilization. The $100 million, 17,000-man security force led by LAPD chief Daryl "Choke Hold" Gates and the FBI is armed with silencer-equipped machine guns, 100 military helicopters, armored personnel carriers, a Star Wars scrambler communication system linking 50 police agencies. Even the Goodyear blimp has been dragooned as a "LAPD Skywatch." The Coast Guard is supplying an additional 3,000 men and a 399-foot cutter to guard the Southern California shores from seaborn "terrorists." All these forces will be augmented by each participant country's own "security team" from the grisly Israeli Mossad to the death squads of Latin America.

The atmosphere certainly isn't conducive to sport: when a bald eagle sent by Reagan as a symbol of America arrived in Smog City, it promptly lay down and died of emphysema. The anti-Soviet provocations meanwhile continue: Russian cargo ships have been banned from the Los Angeles harbor for the duration of the Olympics. As we reported in our last issue, those groups planning demonstrations of a liberal or reformist nature will be heavily "monitored" by the cops. Despite persistent disinformation that the SL secretly or openly supports the pathetic liberal gatherings which will no doubt whine about the Soviet absence from these Cold War Olympics, our own view is that it will be more productive for us to circulate *Workers Vanguard* to the heavily black and Hispanic working class of Los Angeles—preferably as far away from the Olympics and its "security" net as possible. And we think the Russians did quite a wise thing in keeping their athletes away from this snakepit.

Supreme Court Über Alles

Overthrowing many of the safeguards of individual rights established following the discrediting of the old McCarthyism, the recent Supreme Court decisions legitimatize the police-state mobilizations in San Francisco and L.A. Liberals were "stunned" at this deluge of rulings according to a recent opinion piece by Anthony Lewis in the *New York Times* (9 July). Stunning they are, as they constitute *wartime* measures—not only stripping elementary democratic rights from the populace, but greatly enhancing the powers of the police and the executive. Liberals looked to the Supreme Court in the 1960s as the defender of civil and democratic rights against government and police abuse. But the Warren Court was only the pale and token reflection of the social struggles of the time, especially the civil rights movement, and its liberalism is revealed as entirely reversible.

In the same fashion, the liberals and civil libertarians like Nat Hentoff who themselves became victims of FBI "excesses" in the COINTELPRO days are shocked to see the supposed "restraints" on secret police spying and "dirty tricks" removed under the FBI's new "Domestic Security/Terrorism" guidelines. A decade after the exposures and reforms of the post-Watergate period—hailed as the answer to J. Edgar Hoover's massive spying and Murder, Inc.—the civil libertarians now look about them and see that COINTELPRO is not only back, but is being "legalized" in order to be conducted on a more massive scale. A recent example is the case of Muhammed Kenyatta, a black civil rights activist driven off the campus of Tougaloo College in Mississippi in 1969 by COINTELPRO "dirty tricks" such as racist threatening letters. In its legal brief, the government asserts that the FBI's actions were legal and "part of the F.B.I.'s law enforcement responsibilities" (*New York Times*, 11 June).

Now you don't have to be read your rights—you just get read the riot act. In effect the Supreme Court threw out the 18-year-old "Miranda" ruling and cops are no longer required to inform the arrested that they have the right to remain silent. The Court also ruled that the Fourth Amendment's proscription of unreasonable searches and seizures no longer obtains and evidence gained from illegal searches will no longer be excluded from trials if it was either seized in "good faith" or would have been "inevitably discovered." The Court also found the exclusionary rule inapplicable to deportation proceedings, sanctioned factory raids and roundups of "aliens" on the basis of their "foreign" appearance, rebuffed a challenge to the racist LAPD choke hold and declared prison inmates to have relinquished all rights of privacy. The recent all-sided assaults on the elementary constitutional principle of separation of church and state are fed by the ruling that the city of Pawtucket, Rhode Island could pay for a Christmas nativity scene. The Court also approved preventive detention for juveniles and isolation of those in custody. And Burger & Co. have added their own direct contribution to the anti-Soviet war drive by upholding Reagan's ban on travel to Cuba as "justified by weighty concerns of foreign policy."

The relish with which the Court has embraced capital punishment has opened a floodgate of executions—mostly of black men. Just as the killer cops carry out street executions in the ghettos and get away with such atrocities as the cop killing of five-year-old Patrick Mason in a Los Angeles suburb, the Supreme Court rulings on capital punishment show that the racist rulers of this country openly do not give a damn about a black person's life. In that mecca of capital punishment, Florida, no one has *ever* been executed for the murder of a black. Last year the Court ruled that an execution may be carried out prior to exhaustion of the victim's appeals process, expressing its distaste for the dilatory tactics of the condemned seeking reprieve from racist American "justice."

War on Labor

Integral to the attempt at *regimentation through fear* is the imposition of draconian anti-labor legislation. In February the Supreme Court declared that a bankruptcy judge can throw out a union contract if a company simply files for Chapter 11 "reorganization." The National Labor Relations Board has ruled that companies can move to non-union "runaway" shops at will, management will not be penalized for harassment of union activity, and you can now be fired just for yelling "scab" at scabs. And everyone from the unions to radical leftists are being prosecuted under the government's RICO "racketeering/corruption" conspiracy law. Continental Airlines has brought out the whole arsenal: first they declared "bankruptcy," ordered a 50 percent wage cut, provoked a strike and fired all the strikers; now they are suing under RICO, accusing the pilots association of "terrorism" against the company and scabs.

From Ohio to California the bosses are literally *murdering* strikers on the picket lines. In the Arizona desert, Phelps Dodge copper miners are facing injunctions, evictions and decertifications, while the National Guard and an army of state police hold the mining camp under virtual military occupation. Encouraged by Reagan's success in busting PATCO, now the post office bosses want to eradicate the gains of the militant 1970 strike and break the postal unions. The postmaster general made outrageous takeback demands, and when the labor fakers refused to call a strike after the contract expired, simply decreed that new workers would be hired at way below union scale. To top it off, using Reagan's all-purpose new McCarthyism, postal management has been warned to be on the lookout for strike agitators from "outside interest groups not in sympathy with USPS [postal service] or our form of government."

The biggest threat to Reagan's terror-scare mobilization for war on the Soviet Union is the restless giant of American labor. The union bureaucrats, tied to the capitalist Democratic Party, have allowed the bosses to wage what AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland calls "one-sided class war," giving away gains won through the blood, sweat and tears of decades of hard labor struggle. As we wrote in the *Workers Vanguard* special supplement "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win":

> "No decisive gain of labor was ever won in a courtroom or by an act of Congress. Everything the workers movement has won of value has been achieved by mobilizing the ranks of labor in hard-fought struggle, on the picket lines, in plant occupations. What counts is power."

Today, militant postal, auto and coal strikes combined with genuine class-struggle solidarity with the Phelps Dodge strikers could not only smash Reagan's assault on labor and democratic rights but also go a long way toward spiking the sinister anti-Soviet war drive. This time around, there could be labor strikes from Day 2 of a U.S. invasion of Central America. This is what the Spartacist League fights for—political strike action against imperialist war.

Reagan's State-Supported Terrorism

The "New Right" blueprint for Reagan's war on democratic rights was drafted in 1980 by the right-wing Heritage Foundation gang, including James Coors (the union-hating beer magnate) and Edwin Meese, Reagan's nominee for attorney general. Using vintage McCarthyite hyperbole the Heritage report, *Mandate for Leadership*, declared: "the threat to the internal security of the Republic is greater today than at any time since World War II." The report called for the elimination of all the post-Watergate restrictions placed on intelligence agencies, emphasizing the necessity of targeting individuals and groups engaged solely in lawful activities. With slight modification the Heritage program has been adopted in near entirety. The "New Right"—whose idea of culture is John Wayne smashing commies from Hawaii to Indochina—has become mainstream, not merely in the Reagan White House and Reaganite Supreme Court, but also in the Democratic-controlled House. But where the report speaks of the classical "threat of subversion," the desperate state of U.S. imperialism has upped the ante: yesterday's subversives are today's "terrorists" to be blown away in the night. Thus the new methods of repression take the ideological criteria of McCarthyism and apply the murderous methods of COINTELPRO.

The day after Klan-endorsed Ronald Reagan assumed office, his then-Secretary of State Alexander ("I'm In Charge") Haig announced to the world: "International terrorism will take the place of human rights as the chief concern of U.S. foreign policy." Reagan sacked Haig because presidential mansions have room for only one Bonaparte. But last April 3, his replacement George Shultz appeared before the Trilateral Commission (U.S., Japan, West Europe) of imperialist personages and schemers to campaign—in his bland, corporate boardroom style—for "preemptive action against terrorist groups." That same day Reagan codified this "shoot first" policy in super-secret National Security Directive 138. This "Presidential Directive to Kill" unleashed U.S. military and intelligence forces to carry out unprovoked "strikes" against "terrorist" targets. Using the Beirut truck bomb that killed 241 Marines as a pretext, the directive was modeled on Israel's criminal "preemptive strikes" and "reprisal raids" against defenseless Palestinians, from Deir Yassin to Shatila and Sabra.

To give his secretary of state the "preemptive" powers he craves, Reagan shortly afterwards sent to Congress a package of "international terrorism" bills so sweeping and repressive that even reactionary witchhunters like Republican Senators Jeremiah Denton (chairman of the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism) and Orrin Hatch called on the administration to clean up its act. The bills would grant the secretary of state "conclusive" power to designate a group, "faction" or government "terrorist"—a designation which cannot be challenged including in the courts—and thereupon anyone found to be aiding or even acting "in concert with" such designated "terrorists" faces a ten-year prison sentence and more.

These sweeping measures are not aimed at the professional terrorists—like the CIA's Edwin Wilson, whose crime in the eyes of the American ruling class was to peddle the murderous skills he had learned in its service to Qaddafi's Libya, one of the few bloody tyrannical regimes in the world the U.S. is not supporting. Their target is the left, even the liberal/radical groups like CISPES which provide small amounts of aid and make tepid propaganda for left-wing nationalist movements and governments. (CISPES, which denied that U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean had anything to do with the Russian question in hopes of winning over the anti-Soviet Democratic "liberals," now finds itself in the crosshairs of the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive.)

Reagan Needs Terrorism

To overcome the "Vietnam syndrome" and mobilize the American people for nuclear showdown with Russia, Reagan needs "terrorism." For the Reaganites, the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam was the result of a "stab in the back" by "soft on communism" types. Military defeat for the U.S. is linked in their minds with an "excess of democracy" at home. Conversely, military victory is coupled with a police-state crackdown. The day after Reagan issued Directive 138 for "preemptive strikes" he was asked at a news conference about his position in favor of a *declared* war in Vietnam. His response was not about quagmires abroad but the war he perceived at home:

> "I said that at a time when it was going on here because of what was going on in our own country, in which none of the rules of warfare could apply with regard to lending comfort and aid to the enemy."
>
> —*New York Times*, 5 April

As Richard Nixon used to say, let's be perfectly clear. Reagan is talking about charges of treason and a wartime mobilization of police and military to crush antiwar activity as codified in his recent "terrorism" bills. Reagan continued with a tribute to General Douglas MacArthur, complaining that during Korea fear of widening the war "prevented us from allowing General MacArthur to lead us to victory." And he ended the press conference with the comment, "Well, maybe General MacArthur was right, there is no substitute for victory." Here Reagan is not only dredging up the "Who Lost China?" accusation once so favored by New Right fanatics. He is holding up the image and right-wing myth of MacArthur, who was removed by Truman because this would-be Bonaparte, this military man-on-horseback, directly disobeyed orders by the civilian authorities in his crusade to lead the U.S. into an anti-Communist nuclear showdown with China and the Soviet Union.

The McCarthyite period mobilized millions of Americans for war on Communism: recall the ticker tape parades for MacArthur. Where has all the confetti gone today, Reagan must wonder as he tries to charge up the American public for war on the Soviet "evil empire." Reagan's Cold War provocations, from the harbors of Nicaragua to the skies over the Sea of Japan to his "Blue Thunder" Olympics in L.A., have not generated the kind of anti-communist and anti-Soviet mass hysteria exhibited in the 1950s. Even the media-hyped "patriotism" over Grenada proved ephemeral. Despite Reagan's best efforts to whip up a full-scale anti-Soviet red scare, it isn't working. And the attempt to find a terrorist "surrogate" for the reds isn't accomplishing all they want either—a population that wants to go to war. So what they lack in support the government is trying to make up for with intimidation. That is why Reagan, the Supreme Court and Congress are putting into place measures far more sinister and dangerous than even those seen under McCarthyism.

Fight the New McCarthyism

Preparation for imperialist war abroad has historically meant repression at home: the Espionage Act of 1917 was used to jail the antiwar IWW Wobblies and Socialists like Eugene V. Debs on the eve of U.S. entry into World War I. The 1940 Smith Act was used to lock up the Trotskyists, leaders of the Minneapolis Teamsters who constituted the pole of revolutionary opposition within the labor movement to U.S. entry into a second imperialist war. Ten years later the Internal Security Act targeted opponents of Cold War and the Korean War, both avowed revolutionaries and liberals, for mass detention and deportation.

The Marxist Spartacist League has been specifically targeted for repetitive "disinformation" smear stories and slanders aimed at portraying us as "violent." We have successfully fought these dangerous attempts to set up our organization and its supporters for state repression. We have sued, we have won retractions, we have published countless statements, written countless letters, organized protest demonstrations and broadly asserted that "A Workers Party Has a Right to Organize!" Precisely because we are (a) forthright in our political stand, including our intransigent defense of the Soviet Union against U.S. imperialism's war drive; and (b) manifestly and obviously neither terrorist nor violent, the secret police and their collaborators in the bourgeois press are forced to fabricate the most outlandish "Big Lie" stories from whole cloth. As we have made clear, we do not intend to be blown away—nameless, faceless victims in the night. Among our efforts against the "new McCarthyism" is the legal challenge we have now mounted against the new FBI search-and-destroy guidelines.

Reagan's "New Right" agenda is nostalgic for a return to the "good old days" of intense anti-Communist hysteria leading up to the Korean War. The witchhunt got its name from the mad dog Senator from Wisconsin who gave it its most extreme but by no means most influential expression. But it was initiated by the Democratic president Truman and directed from the highest quarters of government, the military, industry and the media. And when the witchhunt had accomplished its purpose, especially the purge of reds and militants in the unions, the same forces dumped the outlandish McCarthy and denounced his "excesses."

The Democrats demonstrated their commitment to nuclear war with Russia when at their national convention they could not even bring themselves to renounce "first use" of nuclear weapons. SF mayor Dianne "Jefferson Davis" Feinstein knew what she was doing when she sought to greet her party by flying the Confederate flag of chattel slavery and KKK racist terror in Civic Center. Due to determined and technically effective efforts of the Spartacist League, Bay Area unionists and black activists, that Confederate flag does not now fly in San Francisco; its replacement by the "California Hundred" flag of the first Union Army volunteers from California is a symbolic victory for all defenders of black freedom.

The Democratic Party of imperialist war and racism attempts to pass itself off as the "friend of labor." The alliance between the Democratic Party and the labor bureaucracy began with Roosevelt, but it was really forged during the Cold War and the McCarthyite witchhunt purge of leftists and militants from the unions. That purge is personified by Mondale's mentor, Hubert H. Humphrey, who began his career as mayor of Minneapolis, creating the climate for the Smith Act trial of the Trotskyists and militant unionists who led the 1934 strike, and was responsible for the creation of detention camps during the Cold War.

As James T. Farrell, author of *Studs Lonigan*, put it in defending the Trotskyists and Minneapolis Teamsters jailed for "sedition" under the Smith Act on the eve of World War II: "It is axiomatic that there can be no freedom in a society if labor is not free. The basis of our liberties rests, formally, on the unconditional guarantees given us in the Bill of Rights. It rests actually on the freedom of labor." Labor cannot be free to fight the new McCarthyism, the assault on its rights as well as the rights of the oppressed and the democratic rights that are a legacy of the American political revolution, unless it breaks from the party of imperialist war and racism. The struggle to defend that legacy and the rights of labor is inseparable from the task of working people to forge their own independent party to fight for a workers government. ■

Justice for Japanese Americans!

One of the most revolting crimes of American imperialism during World War II was rounding up and jailing 120,000 Japanese Americans in West Coast concentration camps. More than 40 years later, in 1983, a federal commission piously found that the internment was a "grave injustice" motivated by "race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership." That this is empty hypocrisy was underlined when a federal judge on May 17 dismissed a $24 billion suit on behalf of the victims of this racist atrocity, on the ludicrous grounds that the six-year statute of limitations had expired!

"Memories have dimmed," wrote Judge Oberdorfer smugly. Not for those who were ripped away from their homes and livelihoods, reviled as "Jap traitors" and used as slave labor. For those whose childhood was spent behind barbed wire, memories of Tule Lake and Manzanar are engraved as indelibly as a KZ-number tattooed on the wrist. Twenty-four billion dollars is a pittance—and now even this token gesture is arrogantly dumped.

The Trotskyists, themselves jailed and persecuted for their revolutionary opposition to imperialist war, were among the few who protested the racist atrocity at the time. We also remember the holocaust at Nagasaki and Hiroshima, war crimes of the victorious "democratic" U.S. imperialists intended to intimidate the Soviet Union. And today we fight against the chauvinist poison of protectionism, which pits American against Japanese auto workers, and fight *for* the unity of the international working class against all the bloody exploiters.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Dirty Hypocrites Mug Miss America

Viva Vanessa!

The world's greatest meat rack, the Miss America Pageant, has fired its reigning queen for having bared too much flesh by posing for nude photographs two years ago. The story goes that while working at a photographer's studio, Vanessa Williams—the first black woman ever to wear the rhinestone tiara—modeled nude, including in sexually explicit poses with a white woman. Then when Vanessa became Miss America, photographer Tom Chiapel saw a chance to make some big bucks and sold the pix to *Penthouse*. The September issue, priced one dollar higher than usual, was rushed to the newsstands a week early and instantly sold out. And yes, there she goes... Miss America: a ten-page photo story with delectable black and white nudes juxtaposed to photos of her as reigning queen.

Warned of the impending exposure—not just nudity, but poses depicting interracial lesbian sex—pageant officials met, examined the photos, and unanimously voted to ask for Miss Williams' resignation on the grounds of "moral turpitude" and violation of the "image" of the Miss America Pageant. The pageant—which is truly obscene as opposed to the sexy *Penthouse*—was established in 1920 to prolong the Atlantic City resort season. Now it's a big part of the glitter of the Boardwalk and the plush casinos which rim a decrepit city of slums and misery.

At a July 20 press conference, pageant executive director Albert A. Marks, Jr. said, "The Miss America Pageant has been built on traditional American virtues. For six decades it has celebrated the beauty and vitality of young American womanhood in a fashion that has created wholesome role models for girls and young women throughout the country." In case anyone might be misled by the flaunting of tits and ass during the pageant itself, Mr. Marks made it clear that "wholesomeness" and "traditional virtues" are code words for "no sex." Miss America may not date during the year of her reign and two chaperones accompany her on appearances for the pageant sponsors, Gillette, Pillsbury, Beatrice Foods and American Greetings. These companies have been furiously canceling advertisements featuring Miss Williams since the "scandal" was exposed. Advertising hasn't had such a shock since Ivory Snow's Marilyn Chambers showed up in the porn flick *Behind the Green Door* in 1974 and they pulled her photo off the soap box.

Chiapel/Penthouse

Penthouse photo of first black Miss America, Vanessa Williams, target of anti-sex bigots.

What consummate hypocrisy: those beauty spectacle organizers lamenting "calculated sexual exploitation" because their racket—pimping off Vanessa's sleek black flesh to sell corn flakes and Mother's Day cards—has been disrupted. Their vindictive act in stripping Miss America of her crown is anti-sex, anti-woman and anti-black. It's too bad Miss Williams didn't decide to tough it out and refuse to resign. Those *Penthouse* pictures do a lot more for her and "American womanhood" than anything that's happened in Atlantic City.

You Beat Nixon in 1970

Postal Workers: No PATCO Fiasco! Win Strike Against Reagan Hard!

Ronald Reagan and his appointed flunkeys on the United States Postal Service (USPS) board of governors are out to smash the postal workers unions. The historic 1970 postal strike showed that you *can* strike against the federal government and *win*! Emboldened by his success in firing 12,000 air traffic controllers and smashing a whole union in the 1981 PATCO strike, Reagan wants to eradicate the 1970 landmark for good. The bosses might be able to pick off an isolated PATCO strike, but taking on over half a million postal workers located in every major city of the country would mean a gigantic class war. Even the army and National Guard couldn't save the bosses in the 1970 strike as the chaos in the mail system cost business millions. It can be done again, and it could turn the tide against this wave of union-busting in Reagan's America. No more PATCOs! Strike to win!

Postmaster General William Bolger made clear the government's union-busting intention during the so-called "negotiations" with the two main postal unions, the American Postal Workers Union (APWU) and the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC). Bolger proposed to step up the use of part-time workers below union scale and without fringe benefits, and outrageously demanded a *one-third* pay cut for new hires. On top of this, he provocatively "offered" a three-year wage freeze and cuts in the cost-of-living adjustment and sick pay for current employees. In keeping with the 14-year-old drive to make the Post Office more like a business, Bolger whined like Chrysler's Lee Iacocca that these sacrifices were necessary to stay in the black and remain "competitive" with rivals. (Of course, like the auto bosses, Bolger ignored his own recent financial boasts that USPS enjoyed a $616 million surplus in 1983 and would probably break even in 1984).

Daily World

In 1970 postal workers showed you can strike against the federal government and win. Nixon's strikebreaking troops couldn't deliver the mail.

This was not "bargaining" but a union-busting proposal delivered at gunpoint by the federal government. According to one UPI dispatch (19 July), Bolger "said he notified the White House about their responsibilities[!] for calling in the National Guard if the workers strike"—a not very subtle reminder of what Nixon did in the postal strike of 1970. To heighten the intimidation, the USPS is circulating a "restricted" contingency plan to management personnel, warning them to be on the lookout for strike agitators from "outside interest groups not in sympathy with USPS or our form of government"—presumably the agitators will be hunted down as Moscow-inspired "terrorists." This is dangerous stuff, part of Reagan's plan to use "terrorist"-baiting to suppress union militancy, cut off support for labor struggles, and persecute socialists, blacks and all other potential opponents.

The only way to defend the unions

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 361 — 31 August 1984

Defend the Soviet Union!

No Joke— Reagan Wants War!

Break with the Democrats, "Liberal" Wing of Imperialist War Drive!

"My fellow Americans," began Ronald Reagan, warming up for his weekly radio chat. "I'm pleased to tell you today that I've signed legislation that will outlaw Russia forever. We begin bombing in five minutes." So said the man who has his finger on the button that can unleash 3,000-plus megatons of nuclear weaponry, enough to produce Hiroshima *276,000 times over*. And five minutes is just the time it takes for those Pershing 2 first-strike missiles to reach the Soviet Union from their launch sites in West Europe. It was all a "joke," the White House claimed. Soviet defense minister Marshal Ustinov isn't laughing. He recalls the 20 million Soviet citizens who died throwing back the last attempt to obliterate the homeland of the October Revolution. The European bourgeoisies are not amused. They know that Reagan's "limited" nuclear

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Der Spiegel — Rinascita

He means it. Pentagon plans nuclear first strike against Soviet Union.

Strikes Rip Britain

Bring Down Thatcher— General Strike Now!

LONDON, August 27—Coal is shut down. Now key docks are out. For the second time in a little over a month Britain hangs on the verge of a general strike.

On August 24 Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) leaders called a national dock strike. The strike was precipitated when Scottish dockers at Hunterston, who had been blacking [refusing to handle] coal and iron ore shipments in solidarity with the striking miners, walked off the job after scab contractors and steelmen unloaded a coal-carrying ship. The strategically placed dockers, whose action poses a crippling of this island economy within a few weeks, now join the 140,000 miners who have battled so heroically for nearly six months. And within minutes of dockers' leader John Connolly announcing the strike—threatening to back it up with strike action by TGWU-organised lorry drivers—the rail unions issued instructions to honor dockers' pickets and seamen began blacking cross-Channel traffic.

The British labour movement stands at a decisive crossroads. For 18 weeks the miners fought virtually alone against the bloodthirsty Thatcher and her army of cops, SAS men [British special forces] and scabs. Finally in July the dockers came out. The

continued on page 4

no credit

Out for almost six months, striking coal miners inspire the British working class.

Letters

Taft-Hartley and the Red Purge

Ithaca, NY
March 8, 1984

Workers Vanguard

Editors

Dear Comrades,

In your very interesting article on labor in the March 2, 1984 issue of *Workers Vanguard* [No. 349, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win," since reprinted as a *WV* supplement] it is stated on p. 14 that "This [Taft-Hartley Act 'secondary boycott ban'] was linked to a ban on Communists holding union office" and later that the Act "also banned Communists from holding union office." In fact, Section 9(h) did not han Communists from holding union office, but only, as stated in the article, "Communist-led unions were barred from going to the NLRB."

This is not a distinction without a difference. In fact, the distinction is in strong support of the very thesis that is asserted in the *WV* article. It is my understanding (as an attorney and not a historian I hesitate in such assertions) that some class struggle unions led by Communists refused to file the non-communist affidavits required by Section 9(h), preferring to keep militant leadership than to be able to use the bourgeois labor laws and agencies. Since the law did nothing other than penalize by suspension of these "aids," never of significant value, they continued to struggle under Communist leadership.

In fact, the 1947 Taft-Hartley attempt proved so ineffective that Section 9(h) was repealed in 1959 by the notorious Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure ("Landrum-Griffin") Act and replaced by Section 504 of that Act which *did* ban Communists from holding union office and provided criminal penalties, including up to $10,000 in fines and federal imprisonment, for any Communist who served as a union official. (It should he noted that Section 504 was declared unconstitutional as a Bill of Attainder by the U.S. Supreme Court in *United States v. Brown*, 381 U.S. 437 [1965].)

The story of Section 9(h) of the Taft-Hartley Act can serve as an excellent example of how class struggle unionism can combat repressive measures, and how the state responds by more repressive measures that can then be used to sharpen the class struggle and can ultimately be defeated by courageous labor leaders, such as Archie Brown, the proud Communist who refused to not run for union office, despite the fact it could mean jail, and successfully fought back the state's attempt to imprison him for his beliefs under Section 504.

In struggle,
David S. Bahn

WV replies: The reader's point about the nature of the penalties under Taft-Hartley, and the differences with the Landrum-Griffin Act, is well taken. It must be remembered, however, that

In 1977-78 strike, miners told Carter to shove his Taft-Hartley injunction.

Taft-Hartley was only one of many weapons in the government's witch-hunt arsenal. Don't forget the anti-communist Smith Act, first used against the Trotskyists and Minneapolis Teamster leaders (with the wholehearted approval of the Communist Party) during World War II, and then against the CP in the late '40s. Then there were the harassment techniques—intimidating HUAC "investigations," FBI "visits" to the workplace or home, etc. Even when CP-led unions such as the United Electrical Workers (UE) tried to abide by Taft-Hartley provisions, they were pounded with grand jury contempt citations, deportation proceedings and the like. In this period if you were simply labeled a "commie," any number of serious consequences would result. And one way to get the "communist" label was to refuse to sign the Taft-Hartley affidavits—in effect a government loyalty test.

So if you didn't go along with the "slave labor law," the government did a lot more than simply suspend NLRB "aids." And when the ten CP-dominated unions were expelled from the CIO in 1950, they were raided by anti-communist unions in NLRB-supervised "elections" which excluded the CP-led unions and led to their decimation. To be sure, class-struggle unions would have fought back against such attacks with militant strike action. But the CP had long ago abandoned class struggle

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TROTSKY

The Russian Revolution and the American Revolution

James P. Cannon, a founder and leader of the American Communist and Trotskyist movements, was imprisoned by the Roosevelt administration for the Trotskyists' revolutionary opposition to U.S. participation in the imperialist Second World War. Shortly after his release, Cannon called upon the American working class to assimilate the Bolshevik legacy in order to live up to its historic mission.

LENIN

Here in the United States is the greatest imperialist power, a monster exploiting and oppressing the whole world. That is true, and we take full account of it. But here also is a still greater power—and that is the militant and undefeated American working class. Great historic responsihility surely rests on our shoulders. The two greatest powers of the world—the power for evil and destruction, and the power for the regeneration and salvation of mankind—are both here.

There is only one way for us to do our duty. That is to foresee the revolution and to prepare for it. And the way to prepare for it is to go to the American workers with the message of the party. Go to this source of power that is greater even than the power of American imperialism and teach them the lesson of the Russian revolution. Organize them and inspire them. And lead them to the socialist victory in America which will insure the socialist victory throughout the entire world.

—James P. Cannon, "The Russian Revolution—Twenty-Eight Years After" (1945)

Wobblies and the State

New York, N.Y.
30 June 1984

Editors,
Workers Vanguard

Comrades,

It was with some surprise that upon reading *Workers Vanguard* No. 357 I found such a profound tilt towards anarcho-syndicalism. Having been an unshakeable defender of the anti-political activist IWW for some time am able to see the Wobbly influence in others. Appearing in the party of revolutionary Trotskyism almost (but not quite) shocks me.

Am not referring to your page 2 quote from Cannon but the page 7 hox article "The State and the Strike: No Neutrals Here!" Why, a more sophisticated anarcho-syndicalist position hasn't been put forward since Joe Hill was an ordinary. If only Big Bill [Haywood] had of had such ammo back in '13, why the SP would have been very hard pressed to defend itself.

No, the bourgeois state is not neutral. Neither will the workers state be neutral following our victorious conquest of power. Nor are the present degenerated workers states arbitrators between competing classes. No, comrades, the state will always kick ass. What we must make clear is that our state will kick the asses of the profiteers, manipulators, thieves, murderers and social scum produced by backwardness and decay. We shall also teach, support and lead the ignorant, weak and learning masses so as to bring the day closer when "every cook shall rule" and the state will fade away.

So, comrades, I'm not going to join the FOT (Far Out Tendency) over such a deviation. Just warning you of your slippage and expect you to get back on the communist path. I'm a patient man, as my mentors were with me. You can get on the rock hard red brick road again comrades and I'll be there to help you along the way.

Comradely,
for free love and state power,
Charlie M.

P.S. You did redeem yourself with "The Russians Crushed Nazi Germany." Thank you very much.

WV replies: A tip o' the hat to "Single Slim" for keeping us on our toes. Hope you caught our article "Make the Unions One Big Fist!" in *WV* No. 358 (6 July). ■

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No. 361 **31 August 1984**

Send "Hardball" Supplements!

West Virginia

This is in response to your offer of supplements. You ask if people would he interested in distrihuting some. I would like to try to send out 20.

I am hoping to get these distrihuted where they will do some good come September. Although I don't know if I can. I'll try. Please, I would very much like to see in *WV* a big article laying the groundwork for [Mine Workers] strike coverage. I have a bad—very bad—impression of [UMW president] Trumka, with his KKK buddy and selective strikes (?).

On your recent SWP article ["Barnes Axes Last Veterans of the Old SWP," *WV* No. 353, 27 April]: Don't you think one element of SWP (at least) will return to "Trotsky"? "Trotsky" heing a Shachtmanite anti-Stalin caricature, who would leave a good taste in the mouths of those who have a distaste for heing yet another Stalinist outfit? Mayhe there will yet be a real fight hetween those who want to me-too [Michael Harrington's] DSA and those who want to me-too Castro.

S.I.

Mossad and British Commandos Aid Reagan Flunkey Jayewardene

Protest Mass State Terror Against Lankan Tamils!

U.S. Imperialists Must Not Get Their Hands on Trincomalee!

One year after last summer's bloody pogroms against the Tamil national minority in Sri Lanka, when hundreds of Tamils were burned or beaten to death and tens of thousands driven from their homes, government troops and police have launched a new campaign of mass terror against the civilian population of the Northern Province. The right-wing government of J.R. Jayewardene has enlisted the aid of the Mossad, the Israeli intelligence agency, and British "mercenaries," killer-elite SAS commandos, in his murderous drive against Tamil separatists. Jayewardene's tactics now begin to resemble those of his tutors, who regularly inflict mass armed terror against defenseless civilian populations in Northern Ireland and in occupied Palestinian territory. And the racist South African apartheid regime, as part of the anti-Soviet U.S. imperialist axis, has delivered arms and ammunition for J.R.'s army to use to murder Tamils. But above all, "Yankee Dickie" Jayewardene is Reagan's man in South Asia. J.R.'s drive to crush the Tamils is part and parcel of U.S. imperialist ambitions to dock its nuclear submarines, destroyers and carriers at Trincomalee, in the heavily Tamil Eastern Province. Trincomalee harbor is a key to U.S. control of the Indian Ocean, for its arsenal of death aimed at the USSR and its allies.

The many hundreds killed in last year's massacre were memorialized in late July by a "hartal," a total stoppage by the populace in the Tamil Northern Province. Over the last year, J.R. has greatly expanded his repressive arsenal—Mossad agents, SAS commandos, helicopter gunships supplied by the U.S.—and when they were ready to move, with their massive imperialist materiel in place, they launched a drive, using the small-scale Tamil nationalist guerrilla activities (mainly bank robberies and attacks on the police and Sinhalese army) as an excuse. Armed patrol boats of the Sri Lankan navy bombarded a coastal village in the North, Valvettiturai, on August 5. Convoys of armored vehicles attacked the village, shelling schools, shops and *kovils* (Hindu temples). Naval bombardment killed as many as 100 civilians; hundreds of homes and shops were destroyed; thousands of villagers were forced to flee. Troops rounded up and arrested all the young men over age 12 (some 700 of them) and took them to detention camps 350 miles to the south. In Point Pedro, another coastal village, government forces seized another 300 youths in a house-to-house roundup of suspected "Tigers" (guerrilla fighters for an independent state of Tamil Eelam).

On August 12 in Mannar, 50 miles south of Jaffna, virtually the entire town was burned to the ground by Sinhalese government troops. Hundreds of shops were destroyed; 5,000 were left homeless. "It is like an army of invasion flattening everything in its path," said Mannar's Catholic bishop (*New York Times*, 14 August). Arrested youths suspected of Tiger sympathies have been found dead, their bodies mutilated by torture. Repeatedly, innocent civilians have been massacred to vent the rage of the police and army at their inability to crush the Tamil rebels, who enjoy widespread support among the Tamil populace. Seeking to whitewash the Sinhala communalists and provide a further pretext for outlawing the Eelamist and leftist parties, Jayewardene absurdly accuses the leftist JVP of infiltrating the army and provoking the bloody pogroms.

A grisly example of J.R.'s method of blaming the victims for their own massacre was the bombing of the Chunnakam police station on August 11, where some 22 "suspected Tamil terrorists" were bound and gagged, imprisoned in an evacuated police station boobytrapped with explosives set up to detonate when a rescue was attempted. There is also pervasive suspicion about who was responsible for the bombing of innocent bystanders at the Madras airport on August 2, an act clearly aimed at discrediting support for Tamil rights among Indians and denounced by Tamil separatist groups ([London] *Guardian*, 6 August).

Agitation is widespread among Tamils in India on behalf of the Lankan Tamils. In Madras on August 12, a thousand protesters stoned the U.S. consulate, denouncing American backing for Jayewardene's bloody pogroms. On August 15, the day Indians celebrate their independence from the British, some 5,000 demonstrators were arrested in Tamil Nadu after a demonstration of solidarity with victims of the repression in Sri Lanka. While protesters denounced the Indian government's "attitude of indifference" to the plight of the Tamils in Lanka, Indira Gandhi—with the blood of the Sikhs fresh on her hands—called for national unity "against forces of division encouraged by foreign elements or agencies" (*Le Monde*, 17 August). Gandhi, executioner of the radical nationalist Bangladeshi Mukti Bahini, of Indian religious and ethnic minorities from Amritsar to Andhra Pradesh, will not liberate the Tamils of Sri Lanka. Under the motto "divide and rule," bloody communal divisions were fostered through centuries of colonial domination, and today are nurtured by capitalism in its death agony. Only proletarian revolution, on the island and throughout the Indian subcontinent, can end communalist terror and ensure Tamil national rights.

Our international tendency is known on the island and abroad as a forthright and consistent defender of Tamil rights, including the right to Tamil self-determination—the right to Tamil Eelam. However, our slogan "No faith in Indira Gandhi, butcher of Sikhs and Mukti Bahini!" has elicited opposition in the Tamil exile community, along with attempts to exclude our tendency. This reflects growing political polarizations within the exile movement, with bourgeois forces seeking respectability and accommodation with the imperialist and Indian bourgeoisies while more militant sectors see themselves fighting for a socialist Eelam, and both wings have deep illusions in Gandhi's regime.

The reformist Sinhalese "left," cowering in the face of J.R.'s bonapartism, looks toward a new popular-front coalition. They criminally refuse to support the unconditional right of Tamil self-determination. Of course they bemoan the bloodbath and claim to support concessions to the oppressed Tamil people, "but not if it means splitting the country." Indeed they are tied intimately to the "left" wing of Sinhala chauvinism. In the mid-1950s the Ceylonese left abandoned the Tamil people by forming a bloc with the bourgeois Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), in the name of "fighting the right." To form its popular-front coalition with the SLFP, the "United Left Front," the left dumped its long-standing position favoring equal status for both Ceylon's vernacular languages, Sinhalese and Tamil, and came out for the main SLFP slogan of chauvinism, "Sinhala only." The political splitting of Ceylonese society along communal lines was reflected within the union movement and in the emergence of the Federal Party as the bourgeois electoral voice of the Jaffna Tamils from 1956 onward. The left parties were rewarded by their bourgeois allies with ministerial portfolios, including an LSSP minister for plantations to oversee the super-exploitation of the stateless "Indian

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AP/Wide World

Bomb planted by Sri Lankan government forces destroyed Chunnakam police station, killing Tamil prisoners and their rescuers.

Spartacist Britain

London, July 28—Spartacist League/Britain contingent in 1,000-strong protest against anti-Tamil terror in Sri Lanka.

Britain...

(continued from page 1)

government was rattled. The pound fell to its lowest level, interest rates rose dramatically—the Iron Lady could have been toppled. Then the TGWU leaders capitulated and the bosses again smelled blood. But now the miners' hard and tenacious battle, which has inspired huge sections of the labour movement and the oppressed, has again won them a major ally on the picket line. The dockers' renewed strike means that the power to defeat Thatcher is palpably there. This time there had better not be any retreat: either it's fought through into a hard political challenge threatening this government or it's capitulation to Thatcher and the crippling of British labour.

Today a series of strategic unions are either striking alongside the miners or taking some sort of official action in their support. Militants must call on the leaders of these unions to launch all-out coordinated strike action now. As we wrote a month ago:

> "The NUS, NUR, ASLEF [railway engineers] and TGWU must call all their members out in immediate strike action. If rail, transport, mines and maritime are shut down, that *will be* a general strike. It will lay a powerful basis for pulling out other key sections of workers, especially in steel and power, over the heads of their scabherding misleaders.... A revived, *fighting* version of the Triple Alliance of miners, dockers and railwaymen is the way to organise a *general strike now*, based on united common strike action by these key national unions and over the heads of the craven TUC [Trades Union Congress]."
>
> —"Miners, Dock Workers Shutting Down Britain," WV No. 359, 20 July

Such a general strike must be organised around a set of concrete demands: Victory to the miners—Smash the attack on the dockers union! No more redundancies—No more denationalisations! For a 10 per cent wage rise across the board linked to full cost-of-living indexing! Drop all charges against victimised strikers! These modest demands won't be granted by the existing Tory government. But a determined fight for them can weld together decisive sections of the labour movement in a struggle that topples war-monger Thatcher. The key is a leadership prepared to go all-out in a battle against the capitalist state, a battle which necessarily poses the question of power: *which class rules?*

The TUC and Labour Party leadership fear and hate the prospect of such class struggle above all else—and are doing everything in their power to sabotage it. While the TUC's Cold War right-wing leadership openly scabherds, Labour chief Neil Kinnock has been working frantically to forestall the threatened "big bang" of union struggle in the autumn. "I don't think that the trade union leadership would go for it because it would be such a monumental gamble and because it is not the way British trade unionism works," said the despicable Kinnock of the prospect of a hot autumn of political strikes (*Guardian*, 14 August). Throughout the miners' battle he and his deputy Roy Hattersley have echoed Thatcher in calling for a strikebreaking ballot and denouncing "violence" by strikers.

The same kind of backstabbing defeatism is displayed grotesquely by the outfit called the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), led by Tony Cliff. On the day the Scottish dockers went out, with a national strike about to be launched, Cliff gave a public meeting in London and his entire speech consisted, incredibly, of proving how "isolated" the miners were! Challenged by a Spartacist League supporter and NUR (National Union of Railwaymen) militant who has fought to spread strike action to his union, Cliff responded by boasting of SWP members crossing picket lines at half a dozen steel plants. You'd think this was a meeting of scabs in Nottinghamshire! Cliff has a peculiar theory of the "downturn" whereby the trade unions are supposed to have been decisively defeated for the last several years; he even claims that "the miners' strike is an extreme example of what we in the Socialist Workers Party have called the 'downturn' in the movement" (*Socialist Review*, April 1984). With their disgusting scabbing Cliff & Co. are doing their best to make defeat and downturn a reality.

Spartacist Britain

South Yorkshire: funeral procession for coal miner Joe Green, killed by scab truck on the picket line, June 22.

Look Who's in Bed with the Iron Lady

Walesa Loves Tory Union-Basher Thatcher

Forget the black madonna of Jasna Gora; Lech Walesa's found his true mistress in the Iron Lady, Britain's would-be bloody dominatrix Maggie Thatcher, who yearns to grind the coal miners and their embattled union into the dirt. The head of Solidarność, Poland's counterrevolutionary company union for the CIA, explained in a July 29 interview with the British *Sunday Mirror*, titled "Why Scargill is wrong—by Lech," how "much respect" he has for the vicious prime minister. "With such a wise and brave woman, Britain will find a solution to the strike," said "Lech."

Attacking the coal miners, in a desperate battle for their livelihoods and their union, Walesa said, "I disagree with any violence. The workers should demand the maximum, but not at the risk of bankrupting the employer." As our British comrades noted, "At the beginning of the strike we observed that Scargill [head of the miners union, who had earlier denounced Solidarność], unlike most of the Labour/TUC leaders or for that matter the so-called revolutionaries, could at least spot a scab in Poland as well as in Notts" (*Spartacist Britain* No. 60, August 1984).

"Lech" is a big fan of Reagan's too: When PATCO was smashed, Solidarność said not a word in protest. Walesa however hailed Reagan's 1980 election as "a very good sign for the world and for Poland." Echoing tsar-lover Solzhenitsyn, this "union" leader complained that workers have "too much affluence and laziness in the West." So now he openly backs Thatcher's bloody union-bashing.

Meanwhile, coal shipped by the Polish government is still arriving in Britain. A revolutionary opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy would demand, as the British miners rightfully have, that these scab shipments stop. Instead of scab coal General Jaruzelski should ship scab "Lech" over, so he can get a good taste of what life in impoverished Britain is really like under the Iron Lady's heel.

Build Picket Lines, Don't Cross Them!

The British workers movement today sees a sharp polarisation between those who want to fight and those who believe that the trade unions are beaten or fear to mobilise their power. The Cold War defeatists are prepared to see the unions crippled rather than fight. But millions of workers want to smash the scabberding.

At stake in this fight is the existence of real picket lines and other weapons of labour solidarity without which effective unions are impossible. The bosses have focussed their hatred on the militant, mass flying pickets of the miners—and with good reason. The miners have fought with unrivalled tenacity against state assaults, provocations, thousands of arrests, two picket line murders. Thousands-strong picket lines have seen barricades of flaming tires and burnt-out Coal Board lorries, spreading the strike and stymieing the bosses' back-to-work schemes. It is the deep traditions of trade union solidarity on which Tony Cliff et al. spit that have engendered such broad support for the miners and threatened to blow the Thatcher government away.

Thus when John Connolly announced the second national dock strike, he cited the accumulated rage of his members, who day after day had to rub shoulders with scab lorry drivers earning £140 a day for transporting coal: "Quite frankly, our people at Hunterston got sick of it." Racial and national divisions too have been transcended by a common hatred for a common enemy. Striking miners have marched shoulder to shoulder with Republican militants in Northern Ireland. Young blacks in Brixton have formed defence guards to drive off cops who sought to break up collections by strikers. A general strike would tap massive sentiment throughout society to smash the Tory onslaught on jobs, living conditions and services.

To date, several port areas have not yet joined the dockers' national strike. Militants must fight for mass flying pickets of miners and dockers to ensure all ports are shut tight and to spread the strikes further. Joint elected strike committees, drawing in representatives of other unions taking action alongside miners and dockers, as well as the coal field women's groups, the unemployed and oppressed minorities, can provide organisation at the base and prevent bureaucratic sabotage. Disciplined union defence squads are needed to defeat the cop/scab terror on the picket lines and elsewhere. Striking lorry drivers in their juggernauts could provide a firm antidote to the scab cowboy owner-operators who threatened to burn down the port of Dover in an effort to break the strike last time. Call the TGWU lorry drivers out on strike now! Union security provisions of the National Dock Labour Scheme must be extended to the non-registered ports like Dover and Felixstowe. And no settlement for the dockers which leaves the miners out alone!

The defeatists and backstabbers inside the labour movement are linked by a common attitude toward Thatcher's anti-Soviet war drive. This was established last autumn at the TUC congress, when miners' president Arthur Scargill was roundly witchhunted for his correct condemnation of CIA-backed Polish Solidarność, the favourite "union" of Thatcher and Reagan. TUC general secretary Len Murray and his cohorts used the attack on Scargill to push through their "new realism" policy of lie-down-and-play-dead—and that was the go-ahead for Thatcher to attack the miners. A year later, the most hardened pro-CIA Cold Warriors of the labour movement like Bill Sirs of the Steelworkers and Frank Chapple of the Electricians have been the most vociferous in urging their members to cross miners' picket lines. Similarly, the anti-Soviet SWP is at least consistent in supporting a scab union in Poland and scabbing at home.

The Labour/TUC "lefts," while today compelled by the depth of Thatcher's attacks to put up some resistance, also fear the prospect of all-out conflict with the capitalist state. The dockers' leaders called off the last strike in exchange for worthless paper promises at a time when Thatcher was threatening to call out the troops. The rail union leaders made their own separate pay settlement earlier to avoid striking alongside the miners, and are talking about a work-to-rule to protest British Rail redundancies weeks

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Postal Workers:

Screw Arbitration! You Gotta Strike to Win!

LAS VEGAS—Thanks to sellout union presidents Moe Biller and Vincent Sombrotto, Ronald Reagan had his way at the postal workers' conventions held here August 20-24. In "negotiations" with the American Postal Workers Union (APWU) and the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC), Postmaster General William Bolger demanded a three-year wage freeze, cuts in COLA and sick pay, increased use of part-timers working without fringe benefits and below union scale, and a one-third pay cut for new hires. With over 600,000 members located in every major city, the APWU and NALC ranks don't have to stand for this garbage. Ask Nixon. In 1970, the postal workers struck against the Federal government—and won. That's what's needed today—a solid nationwide strike to spark a labor offensive to reverse the tide of union-busting! But instead the NALC convention explicitly handed its contract over for binding arbitration while the APWU authorized "whatever steps" Biller wants to take. Either way it's a capitulation to the Postal Service.

UPI

Postal union bureaucrats Moe Biller (left) and Vincent Sombrotto work overtime to shove cutback contract down ranks' throats.

Biller Plays Post Office with Bolger

When negotiations with the Postal Service collapsed on July 21, Biller talked tough. "Some union had to stand up against the concessionary bargaining and the antiunion behavior that have been going on ever since President Reagan broke the air traffic controllers' union," Biller said. "We refuse to kowtow." That's a laugh. That same day, when the national contract expired, Biller and Sombrotto told the ranks to "stay cool"—i.e., to keep working, thereby spitting on the principle of "No contract, no work." With "leaders" like these, no wonder postal workers are worried about striking.

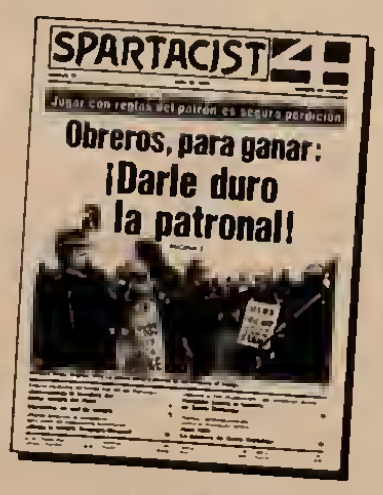
With PATCO in mind, the ranks take seriously Bolger's threat to fire strikers and they have *no* assurance that Biller, Sombrotto & Co. would do anything about it. (These fakers actually contributed to PATCO's annihilation in 1981 by rushing to accept a sellout rather than striking alongside the air traffic controllers.) In Biller's pro-arbitration speech at the convention, he pounded the podium so hard for a sellout that the union's crest crashed ignominiously to the floor. The symbolism unfortunately is all too apt.

In an article before the Las Vegas conventions, the *San Francisco Examiner* (5 August) headlined, "Only 'PATCO fever' keeps angry postal unions from striking." But the postal workers ain't no PATCO. If Bolger tried to fire and replace 600,000 strikers, he'd soon have class war on his hands from coast to coast. That's why Congress for now has rejected Bolger's "two-tier" pay scheme for new hires—the capitalist lawmakers, Republican and Democrat, are *afraid* of a postal strike before the elections. *A joint APWU-NALC strike could win if the power of the postal workers and that of their allies throughout the labor movement is brought to bear.* This means mass picket lines that nobody dares cross and militant solidarity actions by Teamsters, railroad and airline employees to ensure that the mail *must not go through*. Reagan and Bolger would learn, like Nixon did, that you can't sort mail with bayonets!

The postal workers' struggle is above all political: the boss is the capitalist state itself. They're fighting Uncle Sam. But fearful of any sort of "trouble" which might jeopardize their cushy jobs as "labor statesmen," Biller and Sombrotto's advice to the ranks is to elect a new capitalist master. Anti-Reagan, pro-Democratic speeches were the mainstay of both conventions. An endless list of Democratic politicians hammered away with the message "Don't strike, vote Mondale," and the APWU tops tried to raise $50,000 for Mondale and Ferraro by selling campaign buttons at $10 a shot.

Mondale, however, has already *proven* that he's an enemy of postal workers. Under Carter and Mondale in 1978, the U.S. Army released details of "Operation Graphic Hand," a military mobilization in the event of a postal strike. The plan called for the occupation of the post offices by 96,000 Army and National Guard troops backed up by units of the Marines, Navy and Air Force. And guess who was Carter/Mondale's postmaster general? It was Bolger, same as under Reagan. Maybe "Son of Jimmy" Mondale will keep Bolger on the job in light of his long experience as a strikebreaker.

The bankruptcy and gutlessness of the postal union bureaucrats couldn't be clearer. Bolger simply *threatened* to take off the gloves and Biller and Sombrotto ran away. The ranks have no such option, however, and many postal militants are open to a class-struggle alternative. Convention delegates, many of them blacks from the South, bought some 40 introductory subscriptions to *Workers Vanguard* and took more than 4,000 copies of the *WV* supplement "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!" Our salesmen met postal workers from Washington who had participated in the Spartacist League-initiated, 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization in November, 1982 which kept the KKK off the streets of the capital. With auto and coal contracts coming up in September, a strike by the heavily integrated APWU and NALC ranks would spark a labor offensive which could bring down Reagan and his strikebreaking government. Under sellouts like Biller and Sombrotto, the unions have been taking it on the chin for a long time. We need class-struggle leadership so labor can start to return the favor with interest. ■



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No Joke— Reagan Wants War!

(continued from page 1)
war fantasies are to be played out on and over their territory. And large sectors of the American population don't want to be vaporized to fulfill Ronald Reagan's anti-Communist wet dreams.

Right after his "joke" Reagan called for rejection of any interpretation of the 1945 Yalta Agreement "that suggests American consent for the division of Europe into spheres of influence." Three days later, Secretary of State George Shultz repeated the threat—"We will never accept the idea of a divided Europe." Preparing for a new war the U.S. ruling class has dusted off the hoary old anti-Communist battle cry of Cold War I, when Eisenhower and the Dulles brothers vowed to "roll back" Communism in the Soviet bloc. Now the battle cry "overturn Yalta" has been taken up by the new Cold War alliance, from Republican Reagan to French social democrat Mitterrand to the Polish nationalists of Solidarność. "Down with Yalta" is the rally call for World War III.

Reagan's "joke" is no "slip," but a program. And it's not the first time it has come into the open. Just after Reagan took office one of his high National Security Council officials, Richard Pipes, announced that the Soviet Union had the "choice" of either "changing their Communist system in the direction followed by the West or going to war." He got a slap on the wrist for talking out loud. In June the Marine chief of staff for plans, Lt. Gen. Bernard Trainor, said "limited war" with the Soviets was an "almost inevitable probability" in the next few years. He ought to know. As for Reagan's "voice test," the Soviet news agency TASS was authorized to state:

> "The episode has been justly seen as a manifestation of the self-same frames of mind which have already been formulated officially before in calls for a 'crusade,' the doctrines of limited and protracted nuclear wars and in military-political plans of securing world dominance to the United States."

Pravda added, in what must be one of the understatements of the century, "The incident further confirms the need to maintain the highest vigilance before the aggressive plans of the United States and NATO." Absolutely!

Ronald Reagan dubs the Soviet Union the "source of all evil." For this Hollywood huckster of "free enterprise" and the "magic of the marketplace" the very existence of the Soviet Union—where capitalism was overthrown more than six decades ago—is intolerable. But for the billions of oppressed and working people on this planet the Russian October Revolution raises a beacon of hope, showing the way to a future without poverty and degradation. Despite its bureaucratic degeneration under the regime of Stalin and his heirs, the tremendous social and economic conquests of the Bolshevik Revolution remain—the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a planned economy.

To all those misguided peaceniks who call for "Disarmament—East and West," we say: if it were not for Soviet nuclear weapons the U.S. imperialists would be riding roughshod all over the world: Havana would be in the hands of the Mafia and the drug traffickers, Marshal Ky would be goose-stepping in Saigon and doddering tsarist officers would have been dancing on Lenin's tomb. The labor movement in the West would be smashed and every democratic gain for blacks and other minorities crushed under heel. All class-conscious workers and friends of human freedom are duty-bound to defend the Soviet Union—the main military/industrial powerhouse of the deformed workers states—against the imperialists.

Reagan's sinister anti-Soviet war drive can and must be spiked by the restless giant of American labor. The Republicans think they can ride the modest upturn in the U.S. economy back into the White House. But from

Der Spiegel

Reagan and Nancy in the bunker. The man with his finger on the button is not "joking" about plunging world into nuclear war.

NATO

Pershing 2, only five minutes from Russia.

Abortion Clinic Bombings: Moral Majority Terrorism

Ronald Reagan and his ruling class co-conspirators are selling the Big Lie that "state-supported terrorism" is threatening America. They have been busy trying to paint the left as a bunch of violence-prone crazies. But Reagan & Co. haven't said a word about the real wave of arson, bombings, death threats and kidnappings sweeping the country. That's because it's "*their* people," religious nuts of the far right, who are in fact the terrorists. And their target is working-class and poor women.

Abortion clinics across the United States are being hit by an escalating wave of violence. This July 4 the National Abortion Federation office in Washington, D.C. was bombed. Three days later a Planned Parenthood office in Annapolis, Maryland was blown up. Over the summer a family planning clinic in Birmingham, Alabama was smashed with sledgehammers and a Pensacola, Florida facility was bombed by religious fanatics. "There is a reign of terror throughout this country. Patients and staff at abortion facilities are being harassed, clinics are being invaded and machine-gunned," said National Abortion Federation director Barbara Radford. The Abortion Rights League has charged Reagan, stating "that the emotional tenor of his public statements against reproductive choice is fueling unprecedented violence against facilities which provide abortion services" (*Washington Post*, 7 July).

A group calling itself the "Army of God" bragged to the sinister Moonie press *The Washington Times* that it was responsible for the Annapolis bombing, claiming, "We will send every abortion clinic to hell." "Army of God" terrorists also kidnapped an abortion clinic doctor and his wife in Illinois in 1982, terrorizing them for eleven days in an abandoned army bunker before releasing them. The only thing that's going to stop these supposedly "god-fearing" reactionaries from spreading their murderous attacks against poor and working women is to put some *real* "fear of god" into them: next time they try to firebomb and maybe murder some scared kid trying to get out of a bad fix, they ought to be met by a strong workers defense guard protecting women's rights!

no credit

Bomb rips abortion clinic in Pensacola, Florida.

But it isn't just isolated nuts spearheading this terrorist campaign. The Reagan reactionaries have launched a sweeping offensive to force women back into childbearing "good housewife" roles frighteningly reminiscent of Hitler's "*Kinder, Küche, Kirche*" (children, kitchen, church) definition of woman's place. This summer's media-hyped hysteria over sex abuse at childcare centers serves the same end: after every scandalous story, another day-care center gets closed down, while working women are warned the only "safe" place for kids is locked back at home with them. (Disgustingly, even the "mainstream" bourgeois feminist *Ms.* magazine has fallen in line, featuring a very pregnant woman wrapped in the stars-and-stripes on its September cover on "Giving Birth in America": the message obviously being it's *patriotic* to have babies, and probably un-American not to.)

Meanwhile, at the recent United Nations population conference in Mexico City wealthy conservative James L. Buckley, currently president of the CIA-sponsored anti-Communist Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, announced that the U.S. will not support any organizations which "perform or actively promote abortion as a method of family planning." After practically labeling the Planned Parenthood Federation "comsymps," Buckley praised "free enterprise" as the "natural" method of birth control. Sure, through poverty, disease, starvation, war and the "rhythm method" of periodic mass unemployment endemic in the capitalist system!

Of course it's never the wives, daughters and mistresses of the rich men who rule this country who suffer—they've always been able to get their abortions, whether legal or not, in plush privacy with every consideration. The people most hurt by this violent, reactionary offensive are the poor, young teenagers who "get in trouble," and working-class women who simply can't afford to have any more children, who desperately *need* the right to free, safe abortions if something goes wrong. We say: free abortion on demand is a fundamental right.

So, yes, there's some support for "state-sponsored terrorism" in this country. But it's the "right-to-lifers" who are the killers. And it's this reactionary, capitalist state that's breeding and encouraging right-wing terror, whose intended victims are the working people. For labor action to bring down Reagan and smash his terrorist nightriders!

Iacono/Time

War Games in Los Angeles whipped up "Long Boor Freestyle Jingoism" (Sports Illustrated).

the copper fields of Arizona to the auto plants of Toledo-Detroit, that upturn has begun to generate a renewal of industrial struggle recalling the militant class battles that built the CIO. Workers are determined to take back the "give-backs" their misleaders gave to the bosses during the recent depression. Militant postal, auto and coal strikes, combined with genuine labor solidarity with the heroic Phelps Dodge strikers, can bring down Reagan. But the power of the racially integrated labor movement is shackled by an ossified labor bureaucracy forged in the McCarthyite Cold War and tied to the Democratic Party of racism and imperialist war. The "answer" to Reagan of AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland and his cronies—"don't strike and vote Democratic"—is to march for Mondale on Labor Day and vote for his watered-down version of Reaganism on election day.

Just as black struggle for equality shattered McCarthyism, so labor and black struggle can shatter the far more dangerous Cold War II of Reagan and Mondale. Black people, socially segregated at the bottom of this society, are the most alienated from "American dream" illusions and have the most to gain from smashing the racist, imperialist status quo politically represented by both Republicans and Democrats. The Achilles' heel of U.S. capitalism is the powerful position of black workers in strategically key industries. Black unionists now constitute 31 percent of the AFL-CIO membership, concentrated in Detroit auto, Chicago steel, East and Gulf Coast longshore and New York subways. These black workers are integrally tied to the ghetto poor whose liberation is manifestly impossible without the destruction of the capitalist system and a radical redistribution of social wealth under workers' rule.

To unchain the integrated labor movement, working people must break with the Democrats and form their own class-struggle workers party. Black workers will be in the forefront of the emancipation of American labor. U.S. workers don't need a reformist party like the British Labour Party, which while based on the unions aspires to administer the capitalist state for the bosses. The central lesson of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky is that the social emancipation of American labor, this most powerful yet politically backward working class, requires a proletarian vanguard of class-conscious fighters steeled and united by the Leninist-Trotskyist program of world revolution.

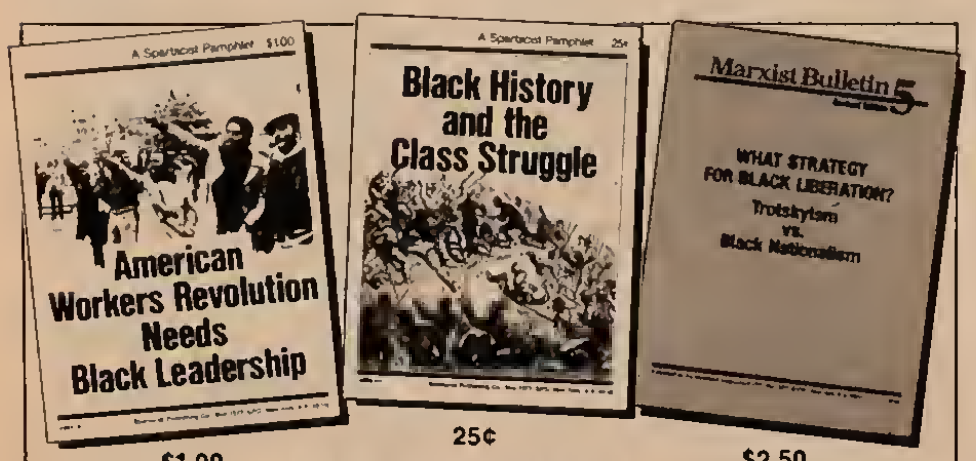
Third World War Games

A couple of months ago Reagan declared the Los Angeles Olympics would be "a great morale builder—a chance to wave the flag together." The White House was determined to have its display of hate-the-Soviets jingoism even without the Soviets there to be abused and threatened. So as August

continued on page 8

WV Photo

Labor/black struggle is needed to spike Reagan union-busting, anti-Soviet war drive.



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FBI/KKK/New York Times...

Disinformation, Inc.

In early July a letter signed by the Ku Klux Klan was mailed from the Washington area to 20 African and Asian countries. Titled "Olympic Games for Humans, Not Apes!" the disgusting hate sheet boasted, "We have forced the Soviets out of the Olympics. We shall not permit the apes to be present either!" and threatened "If your curs dare to come to the Summer Olympics in America, they will be shot or hanged." It was the all-too-familiar language of American racism, yet the instantaneous opinion of Secretary of State Shultz was that "it is hard to believe" the KKK did it! A few weeks later the FBI blamed it all on the Soviet KGB (secret police). And then the "responsible" *New York Times* lent its authority to this latest anti-Soviet smear campaign in an August 9 editorial, "Olympic Sabotage."

"The F.B.I.... is now satisfied that the hate mail was actually produced by the K.G.B.," say the *Times* editors. The proof? "Attorney General Smith and F.B.I. Director Webster say" they are "sure"...and anyway, "The Klan denies writing the hate letters"! Following the classic unanswerable smear technique, the FBI is withholding the "evidence" for reasons of state, and we are supposed to simply take the feds' word for it! In its July 11 article on the letters the *Times* claims that they "contained expressions not commonly used in American speech." Like the hate sheet's references to "whites only," or "death to the blacks," or its threats that "apes" will be "shot or hanged"?

The fact is, this kind of murderous racism is unfortunately as American as apple pie. During the '60s civil rights movement, Judge W. Harold Cox of Jackson, Mississippi (appointed by the Kennedy administration) complained about blacks registering to vote: "Who is telling these people they can get in line and push people around, acting like a bunch of chimpanzees?" Racism is at the core of American bourgeois politics, as KKK-endorsed president Reagan knows all too well. After all, it was "democratic" U.S. imperialism that stripped Jim Thorpe of his Olympic medals and banned Jesse Owens from competition shortly after his triumph at the Berlin Olympics.

"This is hardly the first time the K.G.B. has been convincingly accused," the *Times* editorializes. We suppose they are referring to their own front-page article last June 10 by "journalist" Claire Sterling blaming the attempted assassination of the pope on the KGB. The *Washington Post* (18 June) conducted its own investigation and soon discovered that the *only* "evidence" for this assertion is the coached "confession" of the assassin Agca—not exactly a sterling character. But the "Terror *Times*" is more than willing to take the word of a fascist assassin, or a Claire Sterling (who for years worked out of the *Rome Daily American*, an acknowledged CIA "asset") or the KKK/FBI, if it serves the purpose of smearing the Soviet Union.

It was clear this was U.S. government disinformation from the beginning: when the hate letters started turning up in early July, even *before* the FBI launched its so-called investigation," Secretary of State Shultz and State Department spokesman Alan Romberg were already spreading innuendoes that the Soviet Union was to blame. The FBI "report" followed a few weeks later, neatly timed to coincide with the "anti-terrorist" Olympics, whose flag-waving atmosphere has encouraged every jingoistic, racist nut in the country. Now the *New York Times*, the snooty "grey old lady" of the "free but responsible" bourgeois press, drops its mask of objectivity to peddle this "story" cooked up in the J. Edgar Hoover Building. It only shows how witting they are in the government-orchestrated "news" conspiracy.

To cite the FBI and Attorney General Smith as "authorities" on racist terror is like quoting Jack the Ripper on sex murders. Which secret service is it, after all, that has proven ties to the KKK killers? The FBI's agents/informers have been involved in Klan terror for decades—the beating of Freedom Riders, the murder of civil rights workers like Viola Liuzzo, the 1979 Greensboro massacre, you name it, the feds were in on the racist murder. At Greensboro, the FBI's "informer" rode in the lead car, yet this act of government-sponsored Klan/Nazi terror witnessed on TV by millions was evenhandedly dismissed by the oh-so-"objective" *Times* as a shootout between two "fringe" groups!

Under Reagan, the FBI has been explicitly forgiven for these previous so-called "excesses" and unleashed with a host of sinister new powers—as DeLorean's jury can tell you—and Attorney General Smith was the author of the FBI's new "guidelines." But the feds' say-so is good enough for Sulzberger. No doubt this explains the *Times*' curious silence over the KAL 007 affair in recent months. After having dutifully spread the Reaganite propaganda about Russian "murderers" last year, the *Times* has maintained an ostentatious silence on the subject even as a mountain of evidence has accumulated pointing to the White House as the source of the 007 provocation (see *WV* No. 357, 22 June, "Yes, KAL 007 Was On U.S. Spy Mission"). Evidently the Attorney General and the FBI can not only plant stories in the *Times*, but spike them as well.

The Soviets have rightfully dismissed this latest smear as the "delirious myths" of a government drunk with anti-Soviet hysteria. Seldom has there been a clearer case of the thief crying foul—here are the past and present masters of assassinations, the accomplices of KKK lynchers, the trainers of Cuban *gusano* terrorists, the suppliers of the Salvadoran death squads and paymasters of the Nicaraguan mercenary *contras*, accusing the *Soviets* of one of their favorite tricks of the trade! And now *the* authoritative news organ of the American ruling class repeats such smears as good coin.

Echoing Reagan's Cold War "terror" scare, the *Times* editorial ominously ends with the accusation that the Soviets have practically committed "an act of terrorism" on American soil. This is not just yellow journalism but war propaganda of the sort that used to come out of Goebbels' *Völkische Beobachter*. It demonstrates the ominous breadth of the bourgeois consensus over the anti-Soviet war drive: from the far-right *National Review* crowd to *New York Times* "liberals." Disinformation, Inc. is intimately tied to the CIA/FBI's Murder, Inc. and it will take workers revolution to put the whole stinking gang out of business.

Reagan...

(continued from page 7)

began, frenzied crowds were chanting "USA! USA! USA!" in an orgy of "new patriotism" at the L.A. games. Two weeks later at the Republican Party rally in Dallas, they were chanting "Four More Years!" The conservative London *Economist* dubbed it "Reagan's Coronation," but to many it was reminiscent of Mel Brooks' parody "Springtime for Hitler," when Reagan proclaimed a "springtime of hope for America."

There hasn't been such a flag-waving, saber-rattling summer since 1936, when Hitler staged the Berlin Olympic games before crowds snapping the "Sieg Heil" salute and singing "Deutschland über Alles" as the Olympic torch was carried into the stadium. This jingoism prepared the social climate for German remilitarization leading to World War II. When Reagan opened the '84 Olympics telling the crowd to "Win it for the Gipper," he wasn't talking about amateur sports. These were war games, Third World War games, with full audience participation.

The way the Olympics were presented, they practically had Leni Reifenstahl trying to do *Triumph of the Will* nightly on TV, retitled *Going for the Gold*. "It's U.S.A. *Uber Alles*, on the Tube," wrote *Los Angeles Times* correspondent Howard Rosenberg on August 2 of ABC's disgusting jingoist coverage. *Sports Illustrated* (13 August) suggested the network ought to get "medals for Large Boor Freestyle Jingoism," adding that "foreign athletes came to be dismissed as foils, necessary evils such as Joe Louis's Bums of the Month or the Harlem Globetrotters' Washington Generals." Even America's "free world" allies were repulsed. ABC's bully-boy chauvinism was so extreme it prompted an unheard-of public protest letter from International Olympics Committee head Juan Antonio Samaranch.

Without the participation of the Soviet bloc athletes who would have won from half to two-thirds of the events, all the prattling about a "new American dominance" at the games is manifestly garbage. In May the Russians announced they were pulling out of the Olympics, citing the campaign incited and sanctioned by U.S. rulers of intimidation, harassment, possible kidnapping and right-wing violence against Soviet athletes. We hail Moscow's decision to stand up to Reagan: "Moscow finally said 'Enough!' and told Reagan to take his Cold War games and shove 'em.... Now the 'first capitalist games' will explicitly be nothing but the 'NATO Olympics'" ("Soviets K.O. Cold War Olympics," *WV* No. 355, 25 May).

The U.S. rulers tried to intimidate domestic opposition with their "Blue Thunder Olympics," whipping up a "terrorism" scare to justify a 17,000-man security force, FBI machine gunners, helicopter squads, the works. Ominous threats were leveled against left groups including the Spartacist League. The government's "preventive terrorism" was nothing but a cover for a massive police-state military mobilization. It turns out the only act of "terrorism" at the Olympics was committed by the police. The police chief hailed the heroism of an LAPD cop who discovered and disarmed a bomb in a bus carrying Turkish athletes to an Air France jet. Later the "hero cop" confessed he was the one who planted the bomb in the first place!

Sloan/Newsweek

Mondale gladhands racist LAPD cops. Party of Dixiecrats and Vietnam War cannot spike Reagan reaction.

S.F. and Dallas—Tale of Two Cities

For the last several months the U.S. population has been subjected to the quadrennial, multimillion-dollar spectacle of American bourgeois politics: the presidential "race" pitting Democrat vs. Republican.

It was a tale of two cities. In liberal San Francisco, there was a string of gay, labor and peace demonstrations representing different "constituencies" trying to influence the party of the American popular front. The cops set off a mini-concentration camp behind a cyclone fence to pen up protesters; of those who ventured outside, hundreds were arrested and many got their heads bashed as well. The Democratic delegates—17 percent black, 26 percent union members—if they ever made it out of the underground bunker of the Moscone Center might head for a strip joint in North Beach or visit a leather bar in the Castro district.

In Dallas, they held prayer breakfasts where Reagan declared politics and religion inseparable, and one after another evangelical preacher proclaimed the almighty was on the side of the G.O.P. Moral Majority pulpit-pounder Jerry Falwell hailed the convention's commitment to the "liberation of the unborn" and declared the Republicans "God's instruments in rebuilding America." This was a revivalist convention of the right-wing crackpot fringe, where Reagan was a middle-of-the-roader. Falwell's prayer contained what the *New York Times* (24 August) called "a veiled threat against Vice President Bush, a moderate." Support for abortion was equated with communist revolution. And privately the delegates were grooving on the fact that Dallas was where Kennedy was assassinated. On the last night of the convention someone set fire to the Texas School Book Depository.

AP

Moscow "Friendship Games" 1984—Soviet-bloc athletes leave "free world" Olympic medalists in the dust.

The Democrats no less than the Republicans had everybody draped in the stars and stripes. Besides threatening to bore the American populace to death for the next four years, Mondale is campaigning as if his constituency were the Council on Foreign Relations, the Fortune 500 and the Trilateral Commission—incredibly calling for a tax *increase*, and generally trying to show he would be "more responsible" than Reagan at the helm of American imperialism. He wouldn't even stand up for his running mate Geraldine Ferraro by going after Republican fat cats like Bush who with their oil depletion allowances barely pay a dime in taxes. This could be interpreted as an attack on the "free enterprise system," you see.

Above all, Mondale & Co. are for the anti-Soviet war drive down the line. Under Reagan the "defense" budget has soared from $117 billion in 1979 to $264 billion in 1984. This is described as the largest peacetime military buildup in history, because in fact it is a *war* buildup. Yet in San Francisco, Mondale repeatedly proclaimed his support for continued growth in military spending—anyone who suggested that the defense budget could be trimmed even a little was ruthlessly squashed during the platform fight. As Andrew Cockburn wrote in the *New York Times* (13 August), Mondale above all wants to avoid being called "soft on defense" by the "Conqueror of Grenada." Cockburn noted that "all existing programs to develop new weapons systems, with the single exception of the B-1 bomber, were begun in the Brown Pentagon," under the Democrats.

Over El Salvador, with Duarte now installed as the CIA's front man for "death squad democracy," the Democrats fell into line, voting for $70 million additional military aid to Reagan's butcher army. In an astute article, "Mondale's G.O.P. Latin Policy" (*New York Times*, 24 August), Alan Tonelson, associate editor of the influential bourgeois journal *Foreign Policy* wrote that the Democrats' bottom line acceptance of the Republican policies in Central America "could make deeper United States military involvement inevitable no matter who wins in November." He points out that the Democrats' platform reference to "the strategic importance of Central America" indicates that "the party would support military intervention as a last-ditch effort to stave off a leftist takeover." It appears, he says, that "the only significant difference between the Republicans and Democrats over intervention in Central America is the speed and the amount of guilt with which they would approve it."

The dangerous illusion of a "limited war" with the Soviets is clearly what Washington policy is aiming at, from the MX to the Middle East, and above all in Central America. In Dallas, Reagan, Bush and America's Madame Nhu, Jeane Kirkpatrick, repeatedly hellowed about their great "success" in invading tiny Grenada. And on the eve of the Dallas convention, Washington threatened to do to the new Managua airport what it did to the Cuban-built airfield in Grenada. One befogged delegate, recalling jingoist schemes as far back as Aaron Burr, even called for

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Down with S.F. Chronicle FBI "Correction"!

We print below a letter to the San Francisco Chronicle *by Valerie C. West, Spartacist League counsel.*

Valerie C. West
Attorney at Law
Oakland, CA
24 August 1984

Mr. Phelps Dewey
Assistant to the Publisher,
Administration
San Francisco Chronicle

Re: Spartacist League Demand for Retraction

Dear Mr. Dewey:

The so-called "Correction," published August 2, to your July 13th articles "Police Battle Anti-Falwell Groups," repeats the libel contained in the original articles. On July 13th the *Chronicle* wrote:

> "The protest began at 4 p.m. when about 1000 demonstrators from the Committee Against the Moral Majority, a leftist group made up of such groups as the Revolutionary Communist Party, Freedom Socialist Party and the Spartacist League gathered in Union Square. Chanting and waving their fists, they then marched a block away to picket the Moral Majority's so-called Family Forum gathering at the Holiday Inn.
> "When they returned about 6 p.m., they were met by 100 grim-faced police in riot gear and 18 officers on horseback ...the protesters marching from the Holiday Inn clashed with police at Sutter and Powell streets."

Earlier in the same article the *Chronicle* wrote:

> "'Several of them threw rocks and bottles at my men,' Police Chief Con Murphy said. 'If they act like that, we are going to respond'."

In the so-called "Correction" you wrote:

> "In two articles July 13 about a violent confrontation between police and demonstrators in Union Square, the Spartacist [sic] League was identified as one of the groups that organized the demonstration. Contrary to the report, although one member of the Spartacist [sic] League did take part in the demonstration, the league was not one of the organizers."

You failed to retract the false statements that the Spartacist League attacked the police or in other ways provoked violence at the protest and thus you perpetuate those false statements. These false and damaging allegations are the substance of the demand for a retraction delivered to you on July 18. As a matter of fact, three supporters of the Spartacist League were present at the demonstration solely for the purpose of selling its newspaper, *Workers Vanguard*.

This is the second time in a three-month period that the *Chronicle* has published false and damaging stories about the Spartacist League. A remarkable fact about these false stories is the spectacular speed, beyond that one would normally expect from the wire services, with which they were picked up and further embellished by East Coast papers. In both April and July your libels quickly precipitated an escalating frame-up against the group—in April in a column by one Niles Lathem in the *New York Post* and in July in a *New York Daily News* article.

In addition, the so-called "Correction" has a noteworthy and more sinister feature. The name of the Spartacist League is misspelled as Sparticist. In our experience this spelling is generally not merely a matter of typographical error. It is also a spelling found in F.B.I. reports about the Spartacist League obtained pursuant to the Freedom of Information Act. This is the only occasion on which the *Chronicle* has used this spelling; you spelled it correctly in the original article and in prior articles. The other occasions when such spelling appeared in the press were instances of false and libelous reports about which the Spartacist League had strong suspicions of F.B.I. influence. It is well known that in the investigations of the COINTELPRO activities of the F.B.I. the record is replete with cases of false stories planted by the F.B.I. to discredit and destroy political opponents.

The Spartacist League issued a press release on July 13 in response to your libelous article. It included these statements:

> "But for the powers that be, evidently centered on the F.B.I. as chief instrument, our real absence from these scenes of police brutality means nothing. The press, very possibly in good faith and on the basis of information received, keeps putting us there anyway."

A genuine, prompt and factually accurate correction demonstrates good faith. The *New York Daily News* published a prompt and satisfactory apology. You received copies of this apology prior to publishing your so-called "Correction." History shows that when the press has taken upon itself to be in the service of government lies, it has not been popular when uncovered.

The original article as well as your so-called "Correction" demonstrate malice. There was no rational or factual basis to believe the Spartacist League had participated in, much less was planning, disruption or violence at any demonstration associated with the Democratic Party National Convention or otherwise. In April, in response to the *Chronicle*'s false report about police "fears" of "violence" from the Spartacist League at the convention, the Spartacist League told the *Chronicle* that it had no interest in demonstrating or even selling its paper at the convention. You published a letter to the editor to that effect. In the letter the Spartacist League stated that while it defends the right of those who wish to demonstrate to do so, it has no interest in lobbying this party of racism and imperialist war.

In early July the Spartacist League delivered another statement to you again notifying you that it did not intend to demonstrate or sell its paper at the convention. The July statement also warned that the danger of violence during the convention did not come from the groups planning to protest, but from the F.B.I., San Francisco Mayor Feinstein and her police. It was pointed out that the barrage of newspaper articles reporting police "concerns" about "violence" were a "bald attempt by the police to exonerate themselves in advance for cop riots and to send a clear message of intimidation to the whole populace." The attack by the police on the anti-Falwell protesters was a confirmation of this warning.

The Spartacist League is a Marxist political organization with a 20-year history of political activity in the United States. It takes seriously false accusations made about it. At stake is not only the reputation of the Spartacist League as a Marxist, not a criminal, organization, but the safety of its members and supporters. Characterizing the Spartacist League as an organization engaged in violent conduct against the police subjects the organization to potential police and right-wing violence, acts as a justification for government surveillance, infiltration and harassment, and has the effect of discrediting the organization as a Marxist political organization by isolating it from potential supporters and members in the community.

The Spartacist League has spent substantial effort successfully fighting the current governmental attempts to define Marxists and other political opponents as violent and as terrorists. Similarly, as you already know, where newspapers have carried allegations of violent conduct the Spartacist League has taken steps to secure a corrective record.

In June of 1980, a well-known supporter of the Spartacist League, Jane Margolis, received an apology and $3,500 from the Secret Service. In 1979, she had been dragged off the floor of the Communications Workers of America national convention to which she was an elected delegate, to prevent her from criticizing then-President Jimmy Carter. In 1981, the Spartacist League sued then-Attorney General of California George Deukmejian for including the Spartacist League in the "Terrorism: Left-wing" section of the 1979 Report on Organized Crime. Deukmejian's office issued a correction and sent a statement to law enforcement agencies throughout the country that the inclusion of the Spartacist League in the terrorist list was in error. Most recently, the *Washington Times* accused the Spartacist League of provoking violence against the police at the November 27, 1982 anti-Ku Klux Klan demonstrations in Washington, D.C. In response to a libel lawsuit, the *Washington Times* retracted its charges.

The Spartacist League has filed a federal lawsuit against the Smith F.B.I. Domestic Security Guidelines, seeking an injunction against any surveillance, disruption or investigation of the Spartacist League pursuant to the Guidelines. The suit is in defense of the basic constitutional rights of free expression, association and assembly against a definition of lawful political protest as support for "terrorism"; and Reagan's demand for "preventive or preemptive actions against terrorist groups before they strike" in the U.S. and abroad. It is part of the Spartacist League's fight against what it has called "McCarthyism with a drawn gun."

In this context the history of false stories in the *Chronicle* about the Spartacist League has grown, despite our efforts at correction. Proof of malice is cumulative. You have been and are again advised that reports that the Spartacist League has been involved in or provoked violence should be viewed as suspect.

Yours truly,
Valerie C. West

cc: Spartacist League

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the annexation of Mexico so that the U.S. could supposedly share a common border with El Salvador! Meanwhile the Pentagon has concentrated task forces off the Caribbean and Pacific coasts of Central America. The administration may hold off until after the U.S. elections, but both Mondale and House Speaker Tip O'Neill have warned of a "December surprise"—an invasion of Central America—if Reagan wins in November.

A U.S. occupation of Central America will be no Grenada-style walkover but a long, dirty colonial war. And despite all the hoopla about the "new patriotism" (fueled by an Olympics without any competition), the American people do not want another Vietnam. Reagan's biggest imperialist adventure to date, sending the Marines into Lebanon, ended in a complete debacle after the Marine headquarters was blown up killing 241 U.S. servicemen. Moreover, a large percentage of U.S. combat forces consist of black and Hispanic youth, who certainly do not want to die for Yankee imperialism. Militant internationalist struggle by the American working class in alliance with their class brothers fighting in Central America can knock Reagan's rough riders out of the saddle and stop Yankee imperialism in its tracks.

Ruiz/Miller

101st Airborne hits the beach in Honduras. U.S. forces prepare for invasion of Nicaragua, attack on leftist guerrillas in El Salvador.

For Class Struggle Against Imperialism—At Home and Abroad!

The fighting raging in El Salvador and Nicaragua is not, as the muddle-headed CISPES rad/libs and assorted reformists see it, simply some narrow national fight for "self-determination." Central America is the hot spot of the new Cold War, the front line of the fight to prevent Reagan from "rolling back" revolutions, from Havana to Hanoi and Moscow. This is what all the talk of Yalta is about. Reagan wants to rewrite the final act of World War II, by unleashing nuclear holocaust.

From Moscow to Havana to the petty-bourgeois Sandinistas in Nicaragua and leftist guerrillas in El Salvador—the Stalinists and nationalist reformists all look to Walter Mondale as a "lesser evil." Anyone but a blind man can see that there is more than "a dime's worth of difference" between Mondale and Reagan, yet despite their tactical disputes *both* are capitalist candidates, campaigning for the anti-Soviet war drive which threatens the future of humanity. The imperialists only understand the language of power! The Democrats' hesitations over Central America are due to fears of sinking into another *losing* war like Vietnam. No negotiated sellout in El Salvador, but a rip-roaring guerrilla offensive—*for military victory to leftist insurgents!* In Nicaragua step one in securing the country against a counterrevolutionary invasion is to wipe out the domestic "fifth column" by expropriating the bourgeoisie: *defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan revolution!*

Above all there must be class struggle at home. The pro-capitalist labor fakers and black misleaders treacherously tie American working people to the Democratic Party—the party of Vietnam, Taft-Hartley anti-labor laws and Dixiecrat racism. Reagan must be brought down through mass militant labor/black action! U.S. imperialists hands off Central America! Hot cargo all U.S. arms to Central America—For labor strikes against a Yankee invasion! Oust the labor fakers, break with the Democrats, the "liberal" wing of the anti-Soviet war drive! Build a workers party that fights for socialist revolution in America and the world! ■

Taft-Hartley...

(continued from page 2)

in favor of class collaboration via Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. For many years the Stalinists had preached reliance on the "friend of labor" FDR and the NLRB, and when their liberal "friends" turned on them with the onset of the Cold War the CP reacted not by fighting back but by trying to hide—literally trying to go underground. In the UE, for instance, CP organizers were at one point told to quit the party or quit the union.

Where we differ is basically over the role of the Communist Party. In fact, by the time Taft-Hartley was passed the CP was pretty discredited in the labor movement, particularly due to their gross class collaboration during World War II (upholding the CIO no-strike pledge to the bitter end, denouncing miners as "fifth columnists" and even recruiting scabs during the 1943 coal strike). In January 1944, CP general secretary Earl Browder announced "we are ready to cooperate in making capitalism work effectively in the postwar period.... We Communists are opposed to permitting an explosion of class conflict in our country when the war ends." These were not empty words. In the 113-day 1946 GM strike, the Stalinists and the CP-supported Thomas/Addes UAW leadership dragged their heels and even sabotaged the fight—allowing social democrat Walter Reuther to appear as a militant, and subsequently get elected auto union president.

The CP's dogged loyalty to the liberal Democrats aided in their own destruction, as exemplified by what happened at the CIO national convention in 1946. Here CIO head Philip Murray declared: "We resent and reject efforts of the CP or other political parties and their adherents to interfere in the affairs of the CIO." Yet three well-known Stalinists were part of the six-man committee which drafted Murray's declaration and voted for it! CP supporters did, of course, bear the brunt of the Cold War red purge in American labor. ILWU leader Harry Bridges and CP longshoreman Archie Brown were prominent among the targets. Australian-born Bridges fended off several attempts to deport him, and Brown won an important legal victory against Landrum-Griffin. But that does not make them class-struggle unionists. Not by a long shot.

Bridges and his errand boy Brown followed every treacherous twist and turn of CP policy. During World War II, Bridges tried to break the Montgomery Ward strike. The CP's West Coast *People's Daily World* (27 May 1944) proudly headlined Bridges' call for "No Postwar Strikes." In 1970 Brown boasted of killing Trotskyists in Spain during the 1936-39 Civil War. And inside the ILWU he always tried to torpedo class-struggle action proposals put forward by the Longshore Militant group, supported by the Spartacist League, such as implementation of a union boycott of Chilean cargo in 1974. The long decline of the ILWU can be traced to the giveaway "mechanization and modernization" contracts pushed through by Bridges with the help of Brown, eliminating tens of thousands of longshore jobs (see "Requiem for a Class Collaborator," *WV* No. 140, 14 January 1977).

The key to successful class struggle by the labor movement today is to oust the "labor lieutenants of capital" and their fake-"left" henchmen. In one of his last writings, the Russian Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky noted the tendency of reformist-led unions to merge with the capitalist state, declaring: "In the epoch of imperialist decay the trade unions can be really independent only to the extent that they are conscious of being, in action, the organs of proletarian revolution" ("Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay," August 1940). As for how to deal with capitalist labor laws, Appalachian coal miners showed the way during their heroic 1978 strike by simply ignoring Taft-Hartley injunctions (imposed by the Democratic Carter/Mondale government) and ripping up sellout contracts negotiated by UMW chief Arnold Miller. The CP supported Miller, as they had ever since he was installed with the help of Nixon's Labor Department in 1972, while the miners burned this class traitor in effigy. ■

Britain...

(continued from page 4)

in the future when *now* is the time to act. Leading Labour "left" Tony Benn withdrew his brief call for industrial action alongside the miners when the party executive slapped him on the wrist. And Scargill, despite his genuine desire to win the strike and willingness to stand up against the anti-Soviet war drive, was locked away in worthless talks with the Coal Board during the last dock strike, when he should have been out addressing mass meetings of transport, railway and maritime unions. He refused to stand at the head of his class and organise for necessary classwide action when it counted.

Now the "lefts" are spending their time trying to cook up resolutions for next week's TUC congress in Brighton, when what is needed is immediate joint strike action by the TGWU, railwaymen and seamen with the miners. To hell with Len Murray & Co.—no militant worth his salt would entrust his fate to these backstabbers. Let's have a situation where not a train, not a lorry, not a ship is moving in or around Britain, and then a hundred thousand strikers descending on Brighton to inform their right-wing bureaucrats that anyone not prepared to join them is out of a job and *out of the war*.

Even as Neil Kinnock was being booed by militants at the Durham miners' gala last month, Scargill pointed to the election of another Labour government as the outcome of this class battle. But the hard-fought strike struggles of 1972-74 brought only a Labour government of strikebreaking and wage control. What's needed in the course of this historical class fight is for a new *revolutionary* leadership to begin to come to the fore, one that does not look to pro-capitalist Labourism for solutions but is ready to mobilise for the inevitable head-on confrontation with the capitalist class and its state.

Nobody doubts the lengths to which the bloodthirsty Thatcher would go to smash this strike—she's already called for a Falklands-style war against the "enemy within." And now wide sections of the population are aware that she had the *Belgrano* crew murdered for the sheer pleasure of it, and was prepared to nuke the Argentines. But the Iron Lady can't run this country without railways, docks, shipping, mines. And there are quite a few lads from working-class backgrounds in the army who would be reluctant to take up arms against hundreds of thousands of workers on strike.

The future of the British working class is at stake. The decisive battle in this months-long struggle is now shaping up. There can be no retreat: it's either a "big bang" hot autumn of militant class struggle or nuclear winter under Thatcher. What's needed today is a general strike to smash the Tory government's attacks and bring it down. And that would open the road to the rapid construction of a revolutionary vanguard party which, splitting the working-class base of the Labour Party away from the servile pro-capitalist misleaders of the right and "left," would lead the fight for a genuine workers government to expropriate the capitalists and provide a future with jobs and decent living standards for all. *General strike now!* ■

Northern Ireland...

(continued from page 12)

RUC and British government spokesmen later claimed their aim was to capture Galvin for deportation. But the Noraid publicity director was able to slip away while the bloodthirsty sectarian cops unloaded round after round of bullets into the fleeing crowd. Even reporters from the Tory British press had to admit the attack was entirely unprovoked. Such brutal wanton state murder is a near-everyday occurrence in Northern Ireland—but this time TV cameras flashed the pictures around the world to the deep embarrassment of the Thatcher government.

The next day 10,000 outraged Republican supporters retraced the route of the march carrying black flags of mourning and protest. Two thousand more marched in Derry on Tuesday, while similar protests were held in Dublin and other towns in the Irish Republic. In London 200 protesters, including a contingent from the Spartacist League/Britain, picketed Downing Street on the evening of August 11. While the picket organizers restricted themselves to a call to "ban plastic bullets," appealing to the imperialists to "disband the RUC" and politely applauded a speaker from the strikebreaking capitalist Liberal Party, our comrades chanted, "Down with Liberal imperialism! Avenge Sean Downes! Troops out now!" Three days later 3,000 people marched through the city to demonstrate for withdrawal of troops from Ireland.

Sean Downes was the 15th person killed by RUC plastic bullets since their introduction in the mid-'70s—joining hundreds of other overwhelmingly Catholic victims of state-sanctioned terror through the past 15 years. "Shoot to kill" is the RUC/army policy toward suspected Republican militants. When three RUC officers were put on trial earlier this year for killing three unarmed Irish Republican Army volunteers (they sprayed more than 100 live bullets into their victims' car) the judge not only found them innocent but suggested they deserved medals!

The Thatcher government has continued the hardline policies of state terror in Northern Ireland inherited from past Labour regimes which dispatched the troops in the first place. The British army, RUC and Northern Ireland courts and prisons serve to shore up Protestant ascendancy over the specially oppressed Catholic minority in the sectarian Six County statelet. Northern Ireland serves the British bourgeoisie as a training ground for police/army repressive techniques later employed at home, from the inner city ghettos to the coal fields. Keeping the troops terrorizing Catholics in Derry and Belfast evidently suits the blood lust of Mrs. Thatcher, who so gloated dispatching hundreds of Argentine sailors to the bottom of the South Atlantic aboard the *Belgrano*.

The Labour Party leadership despicably agrees with the Iron Lady that

AP

Belfast Bloody Sunday 1984—Protesters take cover as police fire plastic bullets at unarmed crowd, including children.

troops should remain in Northern Ireland. Spokesman Clive Soley could only moan after the August 8 events that the RUC was "put in an impossible situation" by the exclusion order against Galvin. But the pro-Labour *Daily Mirror*, reflecting war-weariness in parts of the ruling class, promotes withdrawal of the troops and "Irish unity," as does a section of the "Labour left" around Tony Benn. Benn, who was a member of the Wilson cabinet which dispatched the troops in 1969, recently published a draft parliamentary bill calling for British withdrawal. But his "alternative" is to dispatch United Nations troops in their place! His model is the 1948 British withdrawal from Palestine, which was followed by Zionist terror against the Palestinian Arabs whose lands were then divided between the new "Jewish state" and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

Benn's program for "Irish unity," also championed by sundry fake revolutionaries, amounts to a call for forcible reunification of the six counties with the clerical southern Republic. This schema dovetails with the favorite long-term "solution" of sections of the British and American capitalist classes, who would like to see a reunified Ireland under the NATO umbrella (the present Republic is constitutionally "neutral"). But there can be no just capitalist solution to the intertwined national and social grievances and oppression in Ireland. Revolutionaries demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the British army, and combat all forms of Catholic special oppression, tying this to a program for Catholic/Protestant working-class unity against capitalism.

While many Protestant workers today follow sectarian bigots like Ian Paisley, they are hardly one reactionary mass. Witness only the Protestant trade unionists from Belfast who traveled to Ayrshire, Scotland for a miners support rally on August 26, where they marched under their TGWU banner bearing a portrait of the revolutionary socialist (and Catholic) union leader James Connolly. The present sharp class war in Britain is throwing together in common struggle against the common enemy, elements not only from the British working class but also from both normally bitterly divided communities in Ireland. What is needed is revolutionary leadership—Trotskyist vanguard parties in both Britain and Ireland—to organize and direct such common class struggle to victory.

The green nationalism of Sinn Fein, which leads to sectarian terror against Protestants like the 1982 Droppin Well massacre, is abhorrent in itself and serves only to drive Protestant workers into the arms of their worst enemies, the Paisleys and the British imperialists. A Trotskyist party would fight for the smashing of the sectarian terrorist RUC, for integrated workers militias to combat imperialist rampage and sectarian terror from both communities, and counterpose to the green nationalist call for forced reunification of Ireland the fight for an Irish workers republic in a socialist federation of the British Isles. It is through directing historic *class* battles like that of the miners today in the direction of proletarian state power that final vengeance will be won for Sean Downes, Bobby Sands and all the victims of imperialist and sectarian terror. Troops out now! ■

Smash Apartheid...

(continued from page 12)

know in their bones that their oppression will not end until the entire apartheid system is smashed. Less than 20 percent of the eligible coloured voters cast ballots—and most of those who did lived in isolated rural areas where white farmers herded them to the polls in trucks. In the Cape Town area, where about half the coloured are concentrated, less than 10 percent voted. A coloured student's placard at a rally calling for a boycott of the elections summed up the mood: "We are not monkeys, so don't offer us peanuts." Even the *New York Times* (23 August) had to admit "the bulk of nonwhite South Africans to be consulted are opposed or indifferent to the changes." The election to the Indian parliament takes place a few days after we go to press, but the result will no doubt be another humiliating setback for the apartheid rulers and their nonwhite puppets.

With Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive South Africa—always an ally of U.S. imperialism—has become an increasingly important part of "the free world." Washington has backed to the hilt the South African army's ravaging of Angola, whose hard-won independence is being defended by 20,000 Cuban troops. As black South African leader Oliver Tambo explained, "South Africa has been given the license to mount an offensive against what Reagan called—to the delight of the South Africans—the Communist, terrorist aggression which Reagan was fighting all over the world" (*New York Times*, 11 August).

Thus Wall Street and Washington as well as the rulers in Pretoria hope that the new constitution along with the partial recognition of black trade unions and extension of freehold and trading rights to the black petty bourgeoisie will stabilize the apartheid system by somewhat broadening its base. But attempts to restructure apartheid from above cannot succeed. Each measure which affects the once-absolute dividing lines of racist domination can only embolden the black African toilers. "Enfranchisement" of the coloureds and Indians only highlights the disenfranchisement of the black majority on whose superexploitation white South African capitalism rests. Some liberals hope the new dispensation will be extended to blacks. But that would threaten the very basis of capitalist rule in South Africa. Significantly, the head of the giant conglomerate Anglo-American, Gavin Reilly, openly speaks about the need for a bonapartist dictatorship ("multiracial oligarchy") to stabilize the system. Only the black proletariat under a communist leadership can liberate the nonwhite masses from the apartheid police state.

For a Black-Centered Workers and Peasants Government!

Black opposition to the new constitution and to new police-state measures tightening still further the hated pass laws has been led by a formation called the United Democratic Front (UDF). Launched only last year, it is South Africa's largest anti-apartheid political grouping in over two decades. But its politics are hardly new. Rather the UDF is an attempt to revive in a new situation the Congress Movement of the 1950s, a bloc between the nationalist African National Congress and the Stalinist Communist Party of South Africa.

AP

South African coloured students march against anti-democratic apartheid "reform."

In the name of "unity of all progressive forces" against apartheid, the UDF brings together everything from trade unions to religious councils, traders associations to sports clubs. A student group affiliated with the UDF hailed it not as a means of class struggle, but for building the "unity of people of different classes" (SASPU *National*, September 1983). The UDF founding document envisions a "united, democratic... non-racial South Africa." In documents such as this what is not said is as important as what is, for it is precisely the fundamental questions that are buried: *whose* democracy? which class will rule?

The Achilles' heel of the entire apartheid system is its dependence upon black labor. Much as the white racists would like to relegate the country's 22 million blacks to the bantustan hellholes, they also know, as an economist for the Chamber of Mines put it, "You cannot run this economy on whites alone" (*Wall Street Journal*, 19 June). And black workers have been showing their muscle with strike waves and massive unionization ever since the Durban strikes of 1973 shattered the police-state silence of the 1960s.

The international Spartacist tendency has always recognized that it is the black workers who have the social power to smash apartheid. Now, faced with a burgeoning black labor movement, even the nationalists and reformists of the UDF are asserting "the leadership of the working class in the democratic struggle." Yes, petty-bourgeois nationalists are always willing to use the power of the working class for their own ends, usually presented as some kind of classless democracy. The South African Communist Party, a major force in the UDF, stands for the Stalinist two-stage program of bourgeois democratic revolution now, proletarian socialist revolution later (i.e., never). This popular-frontist strategy has for over half a century produced only bloody defeats for the working masses, from Spain in the 1930s to Indonesia in 1965 to Chile in 1973.

Neither the "progressive" bourgeoisie nor the various petty-bourgeois forces can fulfill the democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution, which in South Africa means racial equality; a revolutionary constituent assembly based on one man, one vote; smashing the bantustan system, and land to the impoverished black rural masses. Apartheid will not be destroyed without massive struggle by the black proletariat. And that struggle will necessarily produce organs of workers power (e.g., strike committees, factory committees, soviets), placing the socialist revolution on the order of the day. In such a revolutionary crisis, misleaders like Rev. Allan Boesak of the UDF—who whines "why can't prime minister Botha sit down and make agreements with the people of his own land?"—will seek most urgently a sellout "negotiated solution" with the apartheid butchers.

To counter such popular-frontist treachery requires the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party which fights *from the outset* for the political independence of the working class. But the UDF stands *opposed* to a workers party. The leaders of a trade union affiliated to this nationalist/Stalinist popular front argue:

> "The other alternative would be for the unions to support/encourage the setting up of a 'Worker's Party' that will lead the workers in the struggle against the [constitutional] 'new deal.' This type of political grouping—it is argued—would ensure that the political goals of the working class are promoted. We disagree with this position...."

They then set up the straw man of a workers party "going it alone" (*South African Labour Bulletin*, November 1983).

A revolutionary workers party is here defined as isolated from the broad anti-apartheid struggle when in fact only such a party can mobilize all of South Africa's oppressed masses (for example, overcoming tribalist divisions and enmities) in struggle against white racist rule. To conquer power a workers party must fight every form of racist oppression, making and initiating principled united fronts (that is, common *actions*) with all anti-apartheid forces. It would, for example, actively participate in the boycott campaign against the present anti-democratic constitutional "reform" while promoting the class unity of black and coloured (as well as Indian) workers. This policy is counterposed to popular-frontist *political blocs* such as the UDF, which is based on a liberal nationalist program.

South Africa's black nationalists and Stalinists have for years appealed to Western (i.e., imperialist) governments and institutions to isolate the apartheid state. Liberals have happily taken up this campaign (it's cheap), boycotting everything South African from sardines to Krugerrands and demanding that universities divest their stocks and bonds of any corporations with South African operations. These exercises in liberal moralism have no effect at all on South Africa while serving to prettify the "democratic" imperialist countries like Reagan's America. Real, not sham, solidarity with the struggle against apartheid in South Africa means, above all, strengthening the power of the black proletariat. The American and West European labor movements must together with their class brothers in South Africa force multinational outfits like Ford and General Motors to recognize black trade unions and to abolish the color bar and all forms of apartheid in the South African operations. Smash apartheid! Forward to a black-centered workers and peasants government! ■

Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 3)

Tamil" tea workers whose sweated labor is central to the island's foreign-currency revenues.

The Lankan left's class treachery in peddling illusions in the SLFP did not keep the capitalist "United Front" government of Mrs. Bandaranaike from eroding its support once in power. In 1971 an insurrectionary movement of young Sinhalese, the JVP, ignited the countryside and was mercilessly crushed. The drowning of the radical Sinhalese youth in blood was a national catastrophe and bloody "Mrs. B" ruled under state of emergency regulations most of the time thereafter.

In the 1977 elections the SLFP was routed by Jayewardene's United National Party (UNP) so decisively that the main opposition in Parliament became, not the SLFP or the left parties, but the Tamil MPs. Meanwhile, in response to growing sentiment among Tamils in the North for a separate Tamil state of "Eelam," the Tamil parliamentarians had now become the "Tamil United Liberation Front" which adopted on paper the platform of seeking Eelam. Last year the UNP, as part of J.R.'s bonapartist moves against parliamentary democracy, made the demand for Tamil separation a crime and proscribed Eelam advocates from Parliament. Thereby they disposed of the main parliamentary opposition as well as in effect disenfranchising the Tamil people of the North, moving them a step in the direction of the statelessness of the "Indian Tamil" plantation workers in the uplands. Yet the UNP regime of would-be bonaparte Jayewardene is highly unstable, with a chauvinist extreme right wing on the rise and outright mutinies in the army.

"Splitting the country"? It is J.R.'s UNP and the mutinous pogromists of the army who are forcibly separating the island's peoples. It is the genocidal terror as official state policy which has driven tens of thousands of Tamils from the south into the economically barren north, while many of the Tamil militants have fled to India. Previously there was economic interpenetration of the population, with the Tamil bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie extremely important in Colombo, for instance. While the rest of the left opposed Tamil self-determination, we were for that *right* but argued against exercising it, pointing out that economically and in other ways it would be a catastrophe. Now this catastrophe has happened, national separation is a reality. Thus today we demand: "For the Right to Tamil Eelam! For a Socialist Federation of Eelam and Lanka!"

The chauvinist class collaboration of the reformist left has led many Tamil militants to conclude that common class struggle with Sinhala workers is no longer a possibility. But the enemy of the Lankan Tamils is also the enemy of women textile workers at Polytex (who recently successfully struck against attempts to fire workers); the enemy of students facing armed cop terror on the university campuses. The Sinhalese workers and peasants are not South African whites—an elite which profits directly from the superexploitation of South African black labor—but are themselves pauperized and oppressed by the greedy capitalist rulers and the rapacious imperialist IMF. The defeatist strategy of guerrillaism only isolates revolutionaries from the real source of social and economic power that can bring down this racialist capitalist system. The recent strike of Tamil plantation workers, who held out against great provocations to win their demands, points the road to liberation for Lanka's working people and national minorities, the road of class struggle. An authentic Bolshevik vanguard party, section of a reborn Fourth International, must link the struggles of Lanka's working people with the cause of Tamil self-determination through the fight to end capitalist exploitation and national oppression, the legacy of imperialist domination, in Lanka and throughout the subcontinent. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Down with South Africa Racist Election Hoax!

Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!

AUGUST 25—Shaken by the black labor militancy, guerrilla attacks and youth revolts of the last decade, South Africa's white rulers are trying to shore up their racist apartheid state by setting the 2.8 million "coloured" (mixed race) and 800,000 Indians against the 22 million black Africans. With much fanfare the Botha regime has proclaimed a "new deal": separate coloured and Indian parliaments subordinate to the white parliament. At the same time, this so-called constitutional "reform" strengthens the powers of the presidency against the white parliamentary opposition. Needless to say, South Africa's racist rulers have ushered in the new era of "ethnic consensus" with their usual methods—tear gas attacks and mass arrests during the elections to the new parliaments in late August. Workers throughout the world and all supporters of democratic rights must demand the freedom of all opponents of apartheid rotting in South Africa's prisons, "banned" or exiled.

The supposed beneficiaries of the new constitutional order are having none of it. The coloured and Indian masses

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Militant black workers in Johannesburg protest 1976 Soweto massacre of student youth.

ANC

British Troops Out of Northern Ireland!

Belfast Bloody Sunday 1984

"The RUC started rolling the jeeps into the crowd and some people were hit by them. Everybody got up to run and they started firing plastic bullets.... A man beside me was shot on the head. His blood was on my jacket and all over my trousers.... It was an incredible scene, it was hard to believe. I've seen nothing like it before and I hope never to see it again...."

—*An Phoblacht*, 16 August

Economist

Royal Ulster Constabulary murders Sean Downes (far right) as they open fire on Irish Republican rally August 12.

So Sean Martin, a young New Yorker in Northern Ireland as part of a delegation from the Irish Republican fund-raising organization Noraid, described the horrific scenes in Belfast on Sunday, August 12. That afternoon in front of reporters and cameramen from around the world, the Royal Ulster Constabulary murderously assaulted a protest rally on the 13th anniversary of the introduction of internment without trial. Firing plastic bullets indiscriminately into an unarmed crowd including small children, the RUC hutchers injured dozens and left 22-year-old Sean Downes lying dead on the pavement, victim of a bullet fired at pointblank range into the heart. It was Bloody Sunday all over again.

Two thousand demonstrators had marched up the Falls Road to Andersonstown, shadowed by hundreds of British soldiers and RUC men in armored Land Rovers. At the head was a British "Troops Out" contingent including, in a powerful display of international workers solidarity, a delegation of striking coal miners. The first speaker at the rally outside Sinn Fein headquarters was a member of Nottingham trades council, who compared "what is happening in your country and what is happening in what are supposed to be our coal fields. The use of repression by the police against the striking miners...is directly culled from the repression that has been systematically used against the nationalist people for the past 15 years."

Then Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams asked the crowd to sit down in preparation for featured speaker Martin Galvin, the publicity director of Noraid who had slipped into Northern Ireland in defiance of a government exclusion order. Turning to the assembled police and soldiers, Adams warned, "If you want to kill men, women and children, this is your opportunity, because we are not moving." When Galvin appeared, police immediately moved forward in their armored vehicles and began to shoot.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 362 ×523 14 September 1984

Smash Apartheid—For Workers Revolution!

Black Masses Revolt In South Africa

SEPTEMBER 11—Black South Africa exploded in anger this week. Sparked by rent increases and the inauguration of a new constitution designed to strengthen the apartheid state, revolt broke out in Sharpeville and quickly spread across the *veldt* to black townships near Johannesburg. When peaceful protests were met by the savage police attacks, the blacks fought back. Government offices, beer halls, gas stations, even a police barracks were leveled by firebombs. The streets were littered with rocks and makeshift barricades made of garbage cans and uprooted traffic signs. As we go to press, reports indicate that the revolt has spread to the huge black township of Soweto.

The fury of the masses was directed especially at the black traitors appointed by the racist rulers to keep them down. After he fired on the protesters, the deputy mayor of Sharpeville was hacked to death and his body burned in front of his own home. Reportedly five other black township councillors got theirs. In Soweto the mayor's home was burned down. Factories, mines and businesses in the Johannesburg area were closed as a result of the explosion in the black townships.

The white supremacist bosses sense that they are in trouble. In the 1976 Soweto rebellion they relied on the police and paramilitary forces to terrorize student demonstrators; this time they immediately backed them up with army detachments. On the very day bands were playing in Cape Town at P.W. Botha's inauguration as president under the new constitution, rifles and tear gas shells were blasting in Sharpeville, Sebokeng and Evaton. Officially, the death toll is 32. The actual number killed is doubtless far higher.

Sharpeville, September 6—Angry blacks protest rent increases, apartheid terror. AP

Yet the black protesters were not cowed by the massive mobilization of military force. On September 6, four cabinet members set out to inspect the embattled townships. As their armored convoy, accompanied by army helicopters, approached Sebokeng, it was confronted by hundreds of angry blacks. The ministers retreated. "We were advised to turn back, and we turned back," explained the Minister of Law and Order. It was a black eye for Botha.

At this crucial moment all class-conscious workers and enemies of racist oppression must act in solidarity with

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Nicaragua: CIA Mercenaries Blown Away

Funny, they didn't look like "*contras*." After Sandinista soldiers shot down the UH500 helicopter over northern Nicaragua on September 1, there they were in the wreckage. Two were burned beyond recognition, but the third was tall, light-skinned with blond hair, blue eyes—and a bullet through the temple. The U.S. embassy in Managua said they had no information, the State Department said there was "no U.S. awareness" of the events and the White House claimed "no association" with the raids. It was good old "plausible denial," Watergate-style, and the lone survivor apparently did what Gary Powers was supposed to do but didn't when his U-2 spy plane was shot down over Russia in 1959. But the dead bodies told the story: U.S. pilots in U.S. planes, conducting a terror-bombing raid on a so-called military training school in the town of Santa Clara, in which eleven people including three little girls were killed. And this time Reagan's counterrevolutionary "dogs of war" got what they deserved.

Once again the White House's Mr. Speakes "misspoke" himself. The next day the CIA told Senator Moynihan they were not involved, that the men were part of a group of seven mercenaries, and besides the helicopter was only on a "reconnaissance mission" anyway. Later this became an "emergency rescue mission." But if they have no connections, how come "the Company" knows so much about them? And how could a Huey helicopter take off from a U.S.-controlled army base in Honduras without anybody noticing it? The story that the dead men

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Trotskyists Defended Japanese Americans

Berkeley, CA

Editor:

How quickly we forget! The author of "Justice for Japanese Americans" [*WV* No. 360, 3 August 1984] would do well to read Karl Yoneda's book *Ganbatte: 60 Year Struggle of a Kibei Worker*. In fact, the Trotskyists were as racist as the rest of the country in this regard and the C.P. expelled Japanese Americans after the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

Paul Rierson

WV replies: Our reader is retailing the vile slander that the Trotskyists were racist in World War II. The then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), a small organization itself under relentless government persecution, was among the very few groups which defended the Japanese Americans, both personally and in its press the *Militant*. Rierson is obviously unaware of our well-documented article, "The Agony of Japanese Americans in U.S. Concentration Camps" (*WV* No. 139, 7 January 1977), which details the Trotskyists' honorable record. The *Militant* carried articles like "Civil Rights Menaced by Anti-Alien Order" (7 March 1942) and "Behind the West Coast Evacuations: Bankers Profit from Driving Japanese-American Citizens into Concentration Camps" (30 May 1942), which noted:

> "And so the story of the Japanese American evacuation stands today—a repressive measure, based purely on racial discrimination and motivated chiefly by the desires of Big Business for additional profits, which is presented as a necessary part of the 'war for democracy'."

This stands in sharp contrast to the Stalinist Communist Party, who did indeed throw out their own Japanese American members, every one of them, and told them to go quietly into the hellish, freezing, filthy concentration camps set up by the U.S. Army. Yoneda, a CP member since 1927, in his autobiography *Ganbatte* (Asian American Studies Center, UCLA, 1983), recalls how he learned of the CP decision, coming home from an FBI interrogation(!):

> "The previous night Bay Area Nisei Communist Party members had hurriedly called a meeting in our home at the behest of the California CP District Secretary. There the Secretary announced that the Party, 'in the name of "National Unity" in the fight against Japanese imperialism, was suspending all members of Japanese ancestry and their non-Japanese spouses for the duration of the war.'
>
> "The rationale for this suspension, according to then CP General Secretary Earl Browder, was that 'the best place for any Japanese fifth columnist to hide is within the Communist Party ranks and consequently no Japanese American should be kept in the Party while the war against Japan is going on'."

The *Daily Worker* at the time was full of government-inspired war propaganda like "Coast Sharpens Vigil Against 5th Column" (2 January 1942), "FDR Orders Enemy Alien Registration" (15 January 1942) and "To Bar Enemy Aliens from 27 Western Areas" (5 February 1942). In a masterpiece of racist war hysteria the 25 January 1942

continued on page 9

Dorothea Lange/WRA

Trotskyist Militant protested and exposed Roosevelt's racist internment ot Japanese Americans.

Behind the West Coast Evacuations

Bankers Profit From Driving Japanese-American Citizens Into Concentration Camps

THE MILITANT
30 May 1942

COMMUNISTS PLEDGE GOVERNMENT THEIR ALL IN COUNTRY'S DEFENSE

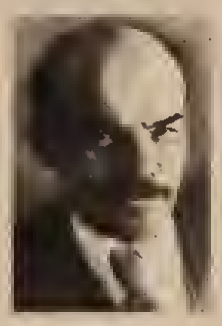
Daily Worker

JAPAN OPENS WAR ON U.S.

Japanese Planes U.S. Declaration of War C.P. National Committee Bomb Hawaii Seen Matter of Hours Vows Support in Crisis

Stalinist Daily Worker, 8 December 1941, supported sending Japanese Americans to concentration camps like Manzanar (left).

TROTSKY



LENIN

Black Emancipation and the South African Revolution

During the 1930s Leon Trotsky insisted that his South African followers recognize the unbreakable bond between proletarian revolution and black social and national emancipation, that is, the permanent revolution.

Under these conditions, the South African republic will emerge first of all as a "black" republic; this does not exclude, of course, either full equality for the whites or brotherly relations between the two races—depending mainly on the conduct of the whites. But it is entirely obvious that the predominant majority of the population, liberated from slavish dependence, will put a certain imprint on the state.

Insofar as a victorious revolution will radically change the relation not only between the classes but also between the races and will assure to the blacks that place in the state that corresponds to their numbers, thus far will the *social* revolution in South Africa also have a *national* character.

We have not the slightest reason to close our eyes to this side of the question or to diminish its significance. On the contrary, the proletarian party should in words and in deeds openly and boldly take the solution of the national (racial) problem in its hands.

Nevertheless, the proletarian party can and must solve the national problem by *its own* methods.

The historical weapon of national liberation can be only the *class struggle*.

—Leon Trotsky, "On the South African Theses" (1935)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 362 **14 September 1984**

In Memory of Michael Zaharakis

August 1984

Workers Vanguard

To the editor:

On July 3, Michael Zaharakis, a leading member of the Socialist Party in California, died of leukemia at the tragically early age of 37. Profound political differences lay between Zaharakis, a deeply religious "Christian Socialist," and the Spartacist League. But we remember with respect his willing work with us on defense cases and anti-fascist mobilizations, most recently the struggle to defend phone worker militants Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. He was a militant who was principled within the framework of his politics, and we mourn his death.

Zaharakis grew up in the Pacific Northwest, deeply influenced by his grandmother who had been a Wobbly in the old days. He became active in antiwar protests in the late '60s while in the Air Force in North Dakota. In 1972 he joined the IWW in Portland, Oregon, where he also worked closely with the Black Panthers. Later, in California, he joined the Socialist Party and was active in the Peace and Freedom Party. As a close friend wrote us following his death,

> "He was one of those rare Christians who believe the poor will inherit the earth only if they wrest power from the capitalist class and establish a workers government. Michael had a special scorn for the Democratic Party, which he correctly saw as imperialist, racist, and a major obstacle in the way of the American socialist revolution.
>
> "Administratively, as I'm sure you already know, Michael understood the two-by-fours of the class struggle. Where a picket line was set up Michael was to be found, most often warning the workers against the bureaucrats' plans to sell them out, educating workers about the techniques employed by early American revolutionists to build the unions, and, in his social worker way, providing the strikers with whatever he could given his most limited means."

During a hospital stay last year, Zaharakis wrote to support the successful struggle to stop the racist, anti-labor frame-up of Mozee and Palmiero, who faced up to seven years in jail for defending themselves against scab violence on the picket line:

> "I sure wish I could be at your defense rallies and trial and sure would if I could....
>
> "What you must understand as most important is that you are standing out there for all of us who work for a living instead of living off decent working people like the phone company capitalists [do].
>
> "Now once or twice I've been where you are (never facing quite that much time) and it can get pretty scary, especially during times like these. But when this sort of thing comes up you know there's a real class war on and you've taken the right side of things. As my Wobbly grandmother once said, 'In cases of attack by the master class the polite form of response is to kick them in the keister.' I hope you do that...."

Though not a Marxist, and therefore lacking the program and perspective necessary to guide socialist revolution to victory, Zaharakis respected the SL for what he saw, in his own terms, as our recognition and defense of the class line. One of Zaharakis' requests from his hospital bed in his final days was for back issues of *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus* to read. One socialist may die, he said in a thank you note, but there are always others to carry on the fight. We can be proud of that.

Keith Douglas

1199 Hospital Workers Shafted

Doris Turner's Hidden Sellout

When New York City hospital workers find out what's really in their new contract, they'll be screaming bloody murder. *Nothing* in this "tentative agreement" is certain. 1199 members: take a look at your paychecks. Where's that 5 percent increase you fought a month and a half for? The League of Voluntary Hospitals now says it won't pay up until the state guarantees the cost of the settlement. And Governor Cuomo has already said there'll be no more money from Albany.

At the August 27 ratification meeting in Madison Square Garden, union president Doris Turner passed off the

WV Exclusive

paltry wage increase and a few other cheap concessions as a "victory." What she didn't tell you is that even these puny gains are to be financed *by the union members themselves! Workers Vanguard* has obtained a copy of the agreement, which includes an entire hit list—*totaling tens of millions of dollars*—of union wages and benefits to be looted to cover the hospitals' "deficit."

Turner's deal stinks! Questioned by our reporter, a League spokesman crowed: "They [the membership] don't know the back sheet. Wait till they find out." The deal, he added, was just "a way to get them back to work. As soon as they're back at work, she'll never take them out." 1199 members should demand to see this hidden agreement *now*! Throw it back in the faces of the bloodsucking bosses and their agents who are running this union of proud and defiant workers into the ground!

For six hard weeks, the predominantly black, Hispanic and female workers of District 1199 RWDSU (Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union) fought the medical profiteers on the picket line. It was the largest and longest hospital strike in NYC history. The bosses turned the hospitals into deathtraps; these killers were out to break the strike, to squeeze every last penny from the people who scrub the floors...and the patients be damned! Even the anti-labor *New York Times* (29 August) admitted that management had the money all along, but they "saw an opportunity in the union's internal troubles" to go for the throat.

It was Doris Turner's limp leadership in the face of the bosses' intransigence which prolonged the strike. The workers were determined to fight; they held out for 44 days, took 66 arrests and stood up to massive fines by the courts. By the end of August the bosses were getting desperate: their scab administrators were tired of washing bedpans, the Democratic Party politicians wanted the strike over by Labor Day, and the state was on the verge of declaring a medical emergency. The League announced it would begin hiring permanent replacements for the strikers on Monday. But when the crunch came, when it was necessary to beef up the leaky picket lines and finally shut down hospital operations or else face defeat—Turner simply called it quits and proclaimed her sellout a victory.

At the Garden, Turner claimed the settlement represented nothing less than the "rebirth" of the union. Governor Cuomo, who provides 90 percent of the League's funding, wired his congratulations (which ought to tell you something). But the governor wasn't alone. Both the Communist Party's *Daily World* and the SWP's *Militant* proclaimed it a "victory" and Sam Marcy's

TENTATIVE SCHEDULE

Description of contract modifications and amounts are not matters of complete agreement, in accordance with paragraph 1 of the Agreement.

Category A

- Freezing minimums in year 2	$2.2 million
- Freezing steps in year 2	0.4 million
- Probationary period adjustments	0.8 million

Category B

- Freezing salary base for training and benefit fund (for 2 years of CBA)	$13.4 million
- Training fund offset (1% for 2 year period)	14.4 million
- Reduction in benefit fund (0.55% for 2 year maximum)	8.0 million
- Freeze minimums in year 1	8.0 million
- Freeze salary base for pension (if actuarily possible)	10.4 million
- One year pension eligibility delay for new employees (tentative value)	6.9 million
- New employee - Plan B benefits at 9% (tentative value)	1.2 million
- Exclude 2 day part-time	11.5 million
- Delay second wage increase 1 1/2 months	10.4 million
- Delay EOWO another 6 months	5.0 million
- Delay first year wage increase	value to be determined

This is the hidden hit list of reductions, givebacks and freezes initialed by 1199 president Doris Turner.

Workers World splashed "Hospital workers' victory blazes way for labor upturn" across the front page.

"Victory"? Baloney! Turner's "contract" calls for 5 percent in pay hikes in each year of a two-year contract. In 1982, under far worse economic conditions, 1199 won 7.5 percent a year. Turner boasts about winning every other weekend off (EOWO), but it doesn't start until next year and 80 percent of the union already had it. The "What We Won" summary handed out to the membership claims there will be "No Reprisals." Not so. Several union members facing criminal charges for defending the picket lines have not been allowed to return to work. Yet the 1199 tops agreed in the contract that "There

continued on page 8

WV Photo

Solidarność Reagan-Lovers Meet NYC Labor

WV Photo

Polish Solidarność members tried to horn in on New York City's Labor Day parade September 4. A handful of recent émigrés at first insisted on marching at the front with a giant sign saying "We Are Thankful to Ronald Reagan and AFL-CIO for Their Support for Solidarność & Polish Nation." That got stopped fast. No doubt the IBEW marshals wanted to keep the parade "clean" for Walter Mondale, the phony "friend of labor" Democrat who marched up front with AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland. But for all of American labor "Ronald Reagan" is synonymous with union-busting. These are fighting words, and when the reactionary Polish nationalists tried to march again later, they ran up against a couple dozen trade unionists. Their provocative "We love Reagan" sign was soon in shreds.

The incident was no doubt deeply embarrassing for Solidarność' buddies, anti-Communist labor fakers such as Kirkland and UFT leader Al Shanker, who have served as funnels for CIA support to this yellow "union" for Vatican and Wall Street bankers. One official union sign noted that "Reagan's for Unions Only in Poland!" True enough, for while the U.S. was smuggling millions of dollars to Solidarność, Reagan was destroying the PATCO air controllers union at home. The pitiful attendance at Labor Day 1984 testified to the bankruptcy of the union misleaders' support for the capitalist Democratic Party. Instead there should have been a massive mobilization against all the union-busters, from the Carter/Mondale crowd who used Taft-Hartley injunctions against the miners in 1978, to certified labor-hater Reagan.

Still, it was heartening that the fanatical Solidarność Cold Warriors finally got the "welcome" they deserve from U.S. labor.

Koss/NY Post

This Polish Solidarność activist loves Reagan, but to American labor those are fighting words.

Juror in Dixie Flag Trial:

"I Admire What Richard Bradley Did"

On April 15, Richard Bradley climbed a 50-foot flagpole in San Francisco Civic Center and cut down the Confederate flag, the banner of slavery and the Ku Klux Klan. Supporters of the Spartacist League and Labor Black League for Social Defense waiting below burned the flag. Upon descending from the pole, Bradley was arrested. A black man, he was clad in the uniform of a Union Army sergeant.

San Francisco's arrogant labor-hating mayor, "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein, had another Confederate flag put up. So on April 16, Bradley again scaled the pole and cut it down. He was arrested again and more vandalism charges were filed on behalf of the vindictive mayor.

On May 29, the trial began. Ritchie and his supporters used the courtroom as a forum to politically indict the SF administration for flying the flag of slavery, an incitement to bloody racist terror. Bradley's defense strategy centered on explaining the Spartacist League's slogan of "Finish the Civil War!" The trial ended in a hung jury.

Some time later, one of the jurors phoned the Spartacist League. He had read in the newspapers that there was to be another trial of the case (all charges were subsequently dropped) and wanted to be kept informed. He bought a subscription to *Workers Vanguard* and readily agreed to be interviewed for our press, asking that we not print his name. The interview was conducted by Diana Coleman, who has been a Spartacist candidate along with Richard Bradley for SF Board of Supervisors in 1982 and again this year, and who testified at the trial.

The interview has been edited and condensed for publication.

WV: I wanted to start off first asking you something about yourself, your background.

Juror: Well, I grew up in California, almost entirely, mostly in the Bay Area.

WV: You seem to have a real concern about civil rights. I was wondering if you had experiences that you brought to this case.

Juror: When I was about 13, my father put us all in a trailer, a 13-foot trailer, and we took off on a trip. We spent all summer making a big loop around the United States. This must have been about 1964 or 1963. And one of the things that most impressed me as we were coming through the South was seeing drinking fountains marked "white," "colored," signs which my father pointed out to us. He wanted us to see these things and to know they still existed in the United States. And it made a big impression on me.

Partly my experiences during the Vietnam War, too, of feeling the power of the government and the authorities. And coming up against the draft board and knowing something of what it's like to feel helpless in the face of a government agency.

WV: How did you feel when you found out during the jury selection that this trial was going to be about the Confederate flag?

Juror: Oh, I was fascinated. I had heard about it before in the paper. At first, when I got called for jury duty, I was very irritated. It was a tremendous inconvenience. And I was certain that it wasn't going to be an experience that I gained anything from. When I found out what this case was going to be about, I was excited and I was interested and I felt quite fortunate to be able to sit on a jury for that particular case.

WV: Well, one of the things we were trying to get across in the trial was exactly what the Confederate flag meant. Ritchie, by talking about his experience in the South and doing civil rights work, and my experience as well.

WV Photo

Bradley in Union Army uniform celebrates ripping down flag of slavery from SF Civic Center.

Did you feel that came across to people?

Juror: Yes, absolutely. As a matter of fact my own personal experience with it after the trial is that now I'm very much aware of it when I see the Confederate flag anywhere. My son's favorite TV program used to be "The Dukes of Hazzard" and after the trial we had this big argument about the fact that here they are running around in the General Lee with this big Confederate flag on top of the car. It made me a great deal more sensitive to it.

WV: One of the things we were trying to get across was why we try to stop the Klan and Nazis, paramilitary groups. And I was wondering, you've lived in San Francisco a while, whether you remember the Spartacist League stopped the Nazis from demonstrating on Hitler's birthday in 1980?

Juror: I think I remember. To tell you the truth, it doesn't stand out in my mind. I do recall vaguely. It didn't get a whole lot of publicity, did it? At least not in the *Chronicle*.

WV: They kind of tried to black it out. But it got across to you about why we oppose these [fascist] groups?

Juror: Well, it was actually and more recently the activities in Richmond, California that alarmed me more than anything else. When I heard about that, the harassment going on. All during this trial they kept talking about the "Richmond cowboys." I thought you guys were talking about Richmond, Virginia. I didn't realize until much later that it was Richmond, California and I was shocked.

WV: They had the picture of the Richmond, *California* cowboys in the San Francisco police station.

Juror: I just couldn't believe that this would happen in California, I thought, well it must be Richmond, Virginia. And I thought, why is everyone so excited, don't they know there are a bunch of rednecks down there anyway? [laughs]

WV: Richmond, California, it's sort of a company town. Standard Oil.

Juror: I know that they've had a lot of accusations and charges of the bigotry on the part of the police force. That I found very disturbing, I mean that really hit close to home. When I found that the Klan was marching in San Francisco or wanting to march.

WV: So what did you think of the prosecutor's case? What he had to put forward, the cops who testified, the park department guy and so on?

Juror: The prosecutor struck me as being acutely uncomfortable most of the time. As if he had to do this but he really didn't think they had much of a case. And, frankly, I didn't think they did either. Kind of a halfhearted effort as if he were just going through the motions. Maybe he wanted to be perceived that way. Wanted to get on with business, you know, just a clear-cut case, he tore it down, he's guilty, let's put him in jail or whatever and get on with life.

WV: So what was the discussion like when you were in the jury room? When you were deliberating?

Juror: That was funny, we were immediately polarized. I mean at the point where we first sat down at the table, it was 8 to 4, 8 for acquittal and 4 against. Uh, I take it back. There was one person who was sort of wavering, a young woman who wasn't quite sure, but after about five minutes she decided that she would side with the folks for acquittal.

It seemed as if we were clearly divided along the lines of was this a clearly technical issue, as the D.A. laid out: if he took down the flag then he was guilty of vandalism. And the four people who felt he should be found guilty were looking at it purely in that sense. They did not want to listen to anything else. There was a big picture right in front of us all during the trial, of Ritchie climbing the pole and tearing down the flag. And so they said, "How can you even question it? He's guilty of vandalism. Why are we sitting here talking about this?"

And the conversation revolved around that issue. Whether or not it was malicious, whether or not the flag was there illegally in the first place, whether or not the city by flying that flag lent a legitimacy to a symbol that would not have otherwise been. For example, if a private citizen flew this flag in his front yard, certainly a number of people would be offended by it but it doesn't have the same kind of legitimacy that City Hall does.

But all they were looking at was just the fact that he took the flag down.

WV: Well, what about the fact that we had given the Union flag as a donation to the city?

Juror: We brought that up. They thought that really had nothing to do with it. They thought that was admirable but irrelevant.

WV: You had mentioned that you were curious about what was going on sometimes when the lawyers were in there haggling with the judge. One of the things is that they were debating over whether to show this 88-second film from Greenshoro [the 1979 Klan/Nazi murder of five anti-racist demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina]. And then the judge said they couldn't show it, because it would be "too good." I was wondering what you thought about that, whether you remember seeing the original film when it came out.

Juror: I did see the film. To this day, it still makes me sick to my stomach. What makes me even more sick is that they [the Klan/Nazis] were acquitted twice. I think he was right, it would have been "too good." Although, I don't know, there was a couple folks on the jury who probably would have been just as moved as the rest of us and still said "that has nothing to do with it." Again, because they were at all costs going to keep their blinders on and not consider the larger social issues.

WV: I know you've heard from reading the *Chronicle* that the mayor flew another Confederate flag and both the Confederate flag and the pole have since come down. I was wondering what you thought about that.

Juror: I got a great chuckle out of that the other morning when I read it in the paper. I just thought it was great. First of all, I couldn't believe that the flag went back up. I mean that to me was just astounding, after the trial. But when I found out that not only the flag but the pole as well had come down, I was just tickled pink. I thought it was just great. You know, I really am interested to see what happens now. Of course, I've been following this thing all along especially since I sat on the jury, but I can't believe that they are that committed to seeing the damn thing up. It just astounds me, I really have no explanation.

WV: Well, let me ask you one final question. Since this trial, you bought a sub to *Workers Vanguard* and gave $20 to the Spartacist League. So I wanted to ask you, why'd you do that?

Juror: Well, I admire what Richard Bradley did. I find that was an act that took a great deal of courage and it displayed a great deal of commitment on his part. I admire him for what he did and I wanted to contribute to his defense fund.

WV: And the subscription?

Juror: Well, for a long time, the reading material that I'm normally exposed to, I've been noticing somewhat of a trend, the more right-wing tone of the standard papers, the *Chronicle* and the *Examiner* and whatnot. I've been feeling that I needed and would like to get something to balance that out a little, add a little more perspective so that the news that I receive is not quite so one-sided. And it's been very interesting, too. ■

WV Photo

Richard Bradley rips down Confederate flag: Finish the Civil War!

Statement Filed By Richard Bradley

As a supporter of the Spartacist League I twice tore down the Confederate flag of slavery which flies no more in Civic Center. The American Civil War did not complete its historic mission. It will take a third American revolution, a socialist revolution, to liberate black people.

Spike Reagan's anti-Soviet war plans and union-busting austerity drive by mass strike action! U.S. imperialism—Hands off Central America! Smash Klan/Nazi terror through labor/black action! Break with Democrats—enemies of labor/minorities! Build a workers party that will stop at nothing short of socialist revolution and a workers government!

WV Photo

Diana Coleman protesting execution of black South African militants.

Statement Filed By Diana Coleman

I am a supporter of the Spartacists, the labor/socialists who put a stop to flying the Confederate flag, banner of KKK racism and slavery, in Civic Center. Finish the Civil War! Forward to a workers government!

Without socialist revolution catastrophe threatens mankind. We need an integrated workers party that will take the productive wealth from the capitalist bosses, and establish a workers government and socialist planned economy.

Spike Reagan reaction through mass strikes! Military victory to Salvadoran leftists! Defend the USSR! No support to Democrats—liberal party of imperialism! Smash Taft-Hartley! Labor's gotta play hardball to win!

Spartacists Announce S.F. Candidates

Finish the Civil War— Forward to a Workers State!

Spartacist spokesmen Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman are running as candidates for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in this fall's election, on the program of socialist revolution. They offer working people and their allies the opportunity to cast a vote for militant labor struggle to bring down Reagan and shatter the sinister anti-Soviet war drive of U.S. imperialism.

The Bradley/Coleman campaign follows upon the hard-fought and victorious struggle of the Spartacist League to rid the city of the Confederate flag which Democratic mayor "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein had hoisted in Civic Center. Ritchie Bradley is a hero in black and working-class neighborhoods for twice scaling a 50-foot Civic Center flagpole and tearing down that vile banner of chattel slavery and KKK race-terror. His action against the city's official display of racism is a testament to the SL's 20-year-long fight for *revolutionary integration* and united working-class struggle.

Mayor Feinstein's Appomattox

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
SAN FRANCISCO

DIANNE FEINSTEIN

August 9, 1984

Conrad Lynn
Partisan Defense Committee
Box 99, Canal Street Station
New York, N.Y. 10013

Dear Mr. Lynn:

Thank you for your letter of April 27, 1984, regarding the prosecution of Richard Bradley and Peter Woolston for tearing down a confederate flag in San Francisco's Civic Center Plaza.

Our system of justice dictates a separation of powers between the executive and judicial branches of government. The district attorney is solely responsible for making prosecutorial decisions. I do not interfere in that process.

Nevertheless, you may wish to know that all charges were dropped against both men. Mr. Woolston was not tried, but Mr. Bradley was. His trial ended with a hung jury which led to the dropping of any further charges.

I have ordered that the confederate flag not be flown ever again in San Francisco. I can assure you this matter will not be an issue in the future.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Dianne Feinstein
Mayor

DF/SLP:j
2597U

Feinstein to black civil rights lawyer Conrad Lynn: I surrender.

Bradley and Coleman demand: "Finish the Civil War!" It will take a third American revolution, a socialist revolution, to liberate black people and all the oppressed, fulfilling the unfulfilled promises of the second American revolution, the Civil War. Bradley and Coleman fight for *mass labor/black action to smash Klan/Nazi terror*. They hold up as examples Spartacist-initiated united-front mobilizations like the 1,200-strong labor-based demonstration that stopped the Nazis from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday in SF in 1980 and the mobilization of over 5,000 militants, mainly black workers, that ran the KKK out of Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982. Bradley and Coleman helped initiate the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense, which demonstrated against the racist murder of five-year-old Patrick Mason in Southern California by a white cop who broke into Patrick's home and shot the child dead as he sat watching TV. Vengeance for Patrick Mason!

The Spartacist candidates were active in the successful campaign to defend militant phone workers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero against a racist anti-labor frame-up engineered by Ma Bell and the police. Militant protest and exposure defeated that vindictive attempt to railroad this union-loyal interracial couple into jail after last year's national phone strike. And Coleman and Bradley say: Labor must fight for *full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers*.

As Trotskyists, the Spartacist candidates unflinchingly defend the Soviet Union against imperialism and stand for proletarian political revolution to restore the Soviet workers to political power. They reraise with added urgency their 1982 campaign call: From Afghanistan to Poland to El Salvador—Down with Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive! U.S. capitalism's war moves against Russia, Vietnam, Cuba are dragging this planet toward nuclear annihilation. Bradley and Coleman call for *military victory to Salvadoran leftist insurgents!* They say: Defend, complete and extend the Nicaraguan revolution! From South Africa to the Philippines, down with America's butchers! Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home—Labor action against imperialist intervention in Central America. The candidates intend to hammer home the Leninist lesson that imperialist wars will end only when the proletariat takes power and establishes its own class rule.

The Spartacist League will use the campaign to expose and help defeat the government's sinister "anti-terrorism" ploy. The U.S. rulers aim to intimidate, outlaw or exterminate all opposition to their deadly anti-Soviet war preparations by falsely redefining all political opponents, especially Marxists, as "terrorists." It's McCarthyism with a new twist, "McCarthyism with a drawn gun." The recent Democratic Party national convention in SF was the target of massive rightist provocation and cop violence as hundreds of liberal pro-Democratic Party demonstrators were beaten and arrested. Having tasted blood during the convention, the SF cops are now running amok. The period leading up to the convention saw strenuous efforts by police agencies, centrally the FBI, to libel leftists, including the Spartacist League, as "violent," thereby setting us up for cop repression. The SL vigorously exposed this manufactured "terror" scare. Despite our fundamental class differences with the Democratic Party, the SL called for a union-based defense squad intended to defend the democratic right of this bourgeois party to assemble, offering a contingent of militants as a component. For us such defense was inextricably linked to defense of the democratic rights of workers organizations to independently organize their own class.

As part of regimenting the American population for war against the Soviet "evil empire," a reactionary social climate is created in which separation of church and state is under attack, abortion clinics are firebombed in the name of "right to life," the Moral Majority invades the classroom and the bedroom. Coleman and Bradley say: Keep prayer out of the classrooms and the government out of our bedrooms! Free abortion on demand as part of free quality health care for all! Full democratic rights for homosexuals!

Political independence of the working class is central to the Spartacist candidates' campaign. To the working people and oppressed minorities of this heavily unionized city, Bradley and Coleman

continued on page 9

Spartacist Greetings to Kurdish Conference

For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!

We print below the greetings of the international Spartacist tendency presented to a conference of Kurdish militants held in central Europe this summer.

Comrades, I hring you greetings from the international Spartacist tendency. As revolutionaries, we insist that the future liberation of the oppressed Kurdish masses lies in their own implacable fight for national and social liberation hand in hand with the struggle of truly internationalist Marxist forces elsewhere and, taken altogether, constituting the true Leninist communist international resolutely committed to smashing all exploitation and oppression on this planet. The international Spartacist tendency is vigilant against every attack on the Kurdish people, against every injustice. From Sydney, in Australia, to London to Germany, the iSt has demonstrated alongside Kurdish militants in defence of their rights. As a contribution to your deliberations, we offer our opinions, based on the lessons of history, particularly the verification in struggle of comrade Lenin, who led the first successful, multinational class struggle.

Emblazoned on our banner we make clear our firm upholding ol the Kurdish right to self-determination. Self-determination is a democratic right, hut its fulfillment can take many different forms. We have to believe that, based on the character of thc four capitalist governments which oppress thc Kurds and suppress their rights, there can be no viable solution to Kurdish self-determination under capitalism.

Most of us would probably agrec that we seek a socialist solution. But what does this mean? It must be made prccise programmatically. Consider the many different African states which achieved independence and now, while calling themselves Marxist and socialist, continue to despotically rule thoroughly capitalist states, ahusing their own people and adjacent ones. The achievement of socialism necessarily entails the expropriation of the possessors—the landlords and capitalists—and the rule of the workers and peasants.

Comrades, history teaches us that without the social force of the proletariat, and without a Leninist party to organise that power and act as a tribune of the people, the heroic struggles of the past have often been mired in defeat. The Kurdish masses must look to an alliance with the Arab, Persian and Turkish proletariats, who in turn must be madc to become determined champions of the Kurdish right of self-determination against the great power chauvinism of their own bourgeoisies. The Bolsheviks led the Russian lahouring masscs to realise that they could never become free without resolute struggle against Great Russian chauvinism. Such a revolutionary party must be built in each state and bccome the wcapon for leading the prolctarian and peasant masses to victory and in consequence to encourage such victory clsewhere.

We know that counted amongst those revolutionary fighters will hc the Kurdish woman. Today the slavc of slaves, when her consciousness is awakened she will be amongst the best fighters for thc ideas of revolution and the ideas of communism.

The Kurdish people seek desperately to break out of thc quagmire of national oppression and chauvinism. In thc squalid nationalist blood feud between Iran and Iraq, we in the iSt pointed out that the working people of Iran, the working people of Iraq have no interest in the victory of either side. We said: turn this reactionary, nationalist war into a civil war against the mullahs and colonels. To the Kurdish people, savagely attacked by both the Ba'athists and Khomeini's Revolutionary Guards, wc pointed out that the Iran-Iraq war offers them a unique opportunity to carve out a nation-state, the best since thc short-lived "Kurdish Republic" of Mahabad in 1946.

Spartacist Britain

London, 31 May 1983: in united-front demonstration at Turkish embassy, Spartacist contingent calls for right to self-determination for the Kurds.

Comrades, we must learn from the struggles of other oppressed nationalities. In the northern tier of the Ottoman Empire, the Balkans—itself a historical cauldron of national hatreds like the Near East—a largely Serbian and Montenegrin Communist Party, led by thc Croat Tito, managed to cohere the workers state, albeit deformed, of Yugoslavia.

In contrast, Lebanon is the supremc example of the inability of thc capitalist and property-owning classes to arrive at anything tending toward the satisfaction of the masses. The Palestinians can expect nothing from the Arab bourgeoisies, who once again revealed their total and craven subordination to the designs of the bloodsucking imperialist powers, especially the U.S. which sought to install itself in the Lebanon as a jumping-off point for its anti-Soviet campaign. The present Zionist state must be destroyed and replaced by working-class communist power based on thc Arab and Hebrew-speaking workers, the latter representing an extremely valuable cultural and technical resource in the context of building the socialist federation of the Near East.

The U.S.' ignominious withdrawal from the Lebanon has not diminished thc imperialists' anti-Sovietism. Today, U.S. imperialism's policies centre full square upon an anti-Soviet war drive, linking up with its European NATO allies including Kohl's imperialist government, aimed at the gains that remain of thc October Revolution—state ownership of the means of production, monopoly of foreign trade and the planned economy. We are for the unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union against imperialism and internal attempts at capitalist restoration.

Comrades, it was the great historic example of the Russian Revolution which dramatically confirmed that in the epoch of imperialism's decline, democratic rights and principles can be fully realised only by the revolutionary proletariat in power. There are numerous oppressed peoples which lack a strong working-class component. While there are many Kurdish workers, most are working outside of the geographical regions with a predominantly Kurdish national identity. That the Kurdish proletariat exists primarily in the diaspora naturally and inevitably complicates your political tasks, but it is a problem that has been faced before. Indeed it was the resolute struggle of the Bolshevik party for the right of self-determination for even the most underdeveloped of the oppressed nationalities in the tsar's prison house of nations which facilitated the conquest of power by the proletariat in Russia. Inversely, inspired by the workers taking power in Petrograd and Moscow and aided hy the detachments of Trotsky's Red Army, the oppressed nationalities of what is now Soviet Central Asia and Outer Mongolia found the path to their own liberation from the yoke of national and feudal oppression, especially through the instrumentality of the organised women and youth. Even today, many Kurds look to the Soviet Union where their brothers and sisters exercise their democratic national rights and enjoy the benefits of 20th century science and technology and of education.

The solution to the oppression of the Kurdish masses can only be region-wide, involving the smashing of four reactionary bourgeois regimes. The proletarian revolution is in reality an end product of multiple battles, movements and campaigns. We understand that the struggle for a United Socialist Republic of Kurdistan will be shaped by and in turn shape the future of the revolutionary proletariat of the whole region toward a socialist federation of thc Near East. Our model is Lenin's Russia of 1917-1924 where the Bolsheviks offered the national minorities the option and the advantages of association with the Soviet Federation. For our part, we are dedicated to the forging of the internationalist party of worldwide proletarian revolution and speak to you in the understanding that the future of humanity depends on its construction.

Thank you, comrades. ■

Der Spiegel

Iranian Kurds resist Khomeini's Persian chauvinist reign of terror.

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KAL 007 Spy Mission: Footprints Lead to the White House

It's been one year since Korean Air Lines Flight 007 was shot out of the sky over Sakhalin island. For the anniversary, the Reagan administration had planned another Cold War propaganda barrage against Soviet "barbarism." A boatload of Japanese relatives of the victims of the 007 tragedy would cast flowers on the spot where the plane went down. But when they got there, they issued a statement charging that the incident seemed to be "an elaborately preschemed plot on the part of a government agent of a certain country"—which they made clear meant the *United States*. Try to suppress that one! For the last several months the official Washington story about the KAL affair has been coming apart, and last week the lid blew off.

When the Boeing 747 jetliner was shot down after overflying some of the most sensitive military bases in the Soviet Union last fall, we immediately responded:

> "Who took the civilian passengers as hostages on this cold-blooded Cold War provocation in the first place? This criminal game of 'chicken' by the Korean military pilots, with the cooperation (at least) of U.S. and Japanese authorities who were closely tracking Flight 007, was more heinous than any hijacking."
>
> —"Reagan's Story Stinks!" *WV* No. 337, 9 September 1983

Although *Workers Vanguard* has been reporting the truth about KAL 007 from the beginning, an American Marxist paper is considered beyond the pale by the bourgeois media. But now the authoritative British military journal *Defence Attaché*, former U.S. diplomat John Keppel, and prominent liberal journalists like the *New York Times*' Tom Wicker are pointing the finger of guilt at the White House. *Ronald Reagan can't wipe the blood of more than 200 innocent airline passengers off his hands.*

Last month *The Nation* (18-25 August) published a lengthy technical article, "K.A.L. 007: What the U.S. Knew And When We Knew It," by David Pearson. Pearson, a Yale University instructor whose doctoral dissertation concerns the Pentagon's World Wide Military Command and Control System, tore apart all the "accident" theories and pointed out the footprints leading straight to the White House door:

• Analysis of the known positions of the South Korean jetliner reveals that it "must have altered its course in the vicinity of the [U.S. spy plane] RC-135." This indicates that the RC-135 played a "control role" in the incident and demolishes the theory that the 007 crew accidentally left the flight controls on a continuous incorrect heading.

• The U.S. had a massive array of electronic gear coordinated to pick up all kinds of electronic emissions in the precise region penetrated by KAL 007 that night—not only the fixed listening posts such as Shemya Island in the Aleutians and in Japan, but movable ones as well, such as *a number* of RC-135s, the U.S. Navy ship *Observation Island* in the North Pacific, the USS *Badger* near Vladivostok, an Orion P-3 hunter plane in the Sea of Okhotsk, a "ferret" spy satellite, and even the space shuttle *Challenger*. "Far from slipping by unnoticed, K.A.L. 007 had flown onto center stage," notes Pearson.

• Soviet air defense difficulties—failing to launch interceptors in the first seven minutes that KAL 007 penetrated Soviet territory over Kamchatka peninsula, the inability of SA-2 missiles to lock on to the slow-moving civilian plane, and confusion between ground control and the Soviet fighters—"suggest that widespread electronic interference" (jamming) "may have been directed at the Soviet defense forces."

Pearson sums up his exhaustive analysis:

> "The most persuasive theory [is] that the airliner made a deliberate, carefully planned intrusion into Soviet territory with the knowledge of U.S. military and intelligence agencies. Its object would probably have been to activate Soviet Air Defense Forces. All the evidence points in that direction."

He isn't the only one to come to that conclusion: as the evidence mounts, many independent observers have begun to smell a rat. The crew of KAL 007 "knew exactly where they were from the time they left Anchorage through the false way point checks that they transmitted past Kamchatka and over Sakhalin Island to their destruction," concluded Major General Richard Rohmer, retired, former chief of Canadian Air Force Reserves. Ex-CIA operative Keppel concurred: "One has to look at what the evidence says... you can't fly that course by accident" (CNN News, 26 August). And on 7 September Tom Wicker wrote in his *Times* column that the doomed flight was well orchestrated, "with the Reagan Administration, at some level, doing the orchestrating."

As the U.S. story has crumbled in recent days, the Reagan administration retreated into a sneering "so what" position: yes, the Soviets "probably thought it was an intelligence plane" and not a civilian airliner, confessed an anonymous State Department spokesman (*Los Angeles Times*, 29 August). But, he added, "I don't think you should shoot down a plane even if you think it's an intelligence plane. If you had a plane headed toward Omaha [Strategic Air Command headquarters], I'm not sure we would shoot it down before identifying it"! Suddenly this administration of first-strike "star wars" nuke 'em nuts is purring like pacifists! Who do these weasels think they're kidding? They wouldn't even let Soviet foreign minister

TASS

Former Soviet chief of staff Marshal Ogarkov effectively exposed KAL 007 Cold War provocation at Moscow press conference, 9 September 1983.

Gromyko land in a civilian Aeroflot plane in New York last September. And in January 1980 their pals at New York air traffic control tried to murder Soviet ambassador to the U.S. Dobrynin by deliberately disappearing his plane from the radar screen.

Richard Burt, Reagan's assistant secretary of state for European affairs, answered the latest 007 revelations by asserting they were merely replaying "baloney" put out by the Russians' "propaganda and disinformation machine." Proof? Why, everybody knows about "Soviet callousness," while the U.S. supposedly follows only "rules of good conduct and civility"! Tell that to the Nicaraguans, who are busy trying to hunt down an army of CIA mercenaries and murderers. Would the American government really put at risk the lives of 269 passengers, a reporter naively asked on the 31 August MacNeil/Lehrer Newsbour. Keppel, described in the 27 August *New York Post* as "a former U.S. diplomat who took part in the botched cover-up of the 1960 U-2 incident," replied: "I know enough about past history to know that funny things do happen in the world, sometimes in wartime, sometimes on the eve of war...."

Indeed, that is what the KAL 007 provocation was all about—preparation for imperialist war on the Soviet Union, the homeland of the 1917 October Revolution. The affair actually "provided a political boon" to the administration, a State Department "specialist" cynically bragged, making it easier to install first-strike Pershing 2 missiles in Europe. Another official said, "A basic kind of anti-Soviet mood was created that is fairly supportive of the president" (*New York Times*, 31 August). And in fact all wings of the American ruling class are united in the anti-Soviet war drive. Last September a unanimous Congressional resolution condemned Soviet "murder." Even "radicals" like the New York *Guardian* "condemned" the USSR for shooting down the intruder.

The academic Pearson and ex-spook Keppel call for a Congressional investigation of the KAL 007 affair. You can easily imagine the impact on the current presidential campaign, for instance, if the Democrats exposed how Reagan sacrificed hundreds of innocent airplane passengers on his ill-fated spy mission. But don't hold your breath. However much Mondale wants to be president, he only wants a more rational war buildup against the Soviets (no more Lebanon adventures, cut off the loser *contras* in Nicaragua, more conventional weapons in Europe, etc.). Watergate was one thing, but trying Reagan for mass murder... forget it! The KAL affair ranks up there with Hitler's murder of concentration camp prisoners dressed in Polish uniforms as the trigger to set off World War II. And the only way to avenge this imperialist crime is by throwing out the entire rotten capitalist class and fighting for world socialist revolution. Otherwise, Korean Air Lines Flight 007 will be just another marker on the road to Armageddon. ■

UPI

Japanese families of KAL 007 victims accuse U.S. government.

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Charges Dropped Against Canadian Unionists

Fascist Frame-Up Thrown Out of Court

TORONTO—Organized labor, minorities, socialists, all deeent people and enemies of union-busting and faseist terror scored an important victory here last week. The nine-month-long attempt by Canadian KKK "intelligence director" William Lau Richardson and his Nazi sidekick, George Graham, to frame up and jail postal workers Paul Schneider and Mike Mares has been stopped. On August 29, Ontario provincial court judge J.S. Climans threw out Richardson's and Graham's outrageous charges for lack of evidence. The Toronto press has closely followed this case. The August 30 *Globe and Mail* headlined "Judge throws out charges laid by ex-spy and friend," while the *Star* announced "Union activists cleared of assault."

Schneider and Mares were charged with "assault causing bodily harm" for defending themselves and others at a labor-endorsed abortion rights demonstration in Toronto against the intimidation, provocation and harassment by Richardson and Graham. William Lau Richardson, a former CIA and U.S. Army Intelligence agent, is the most dangerous union-busting faseist terrorist in Canada. For 15 years he has infiltrated, terrorized, disrupted and harassed the trade-union movement and leftist organizations. But this frame-up was defeated by a labor-centered defense campaign waged by the Committee to Defend Anti-Faseist Unionists, initiated by the Trotskyist League of Canada and militant postal workers.

Spartacist Canada

Rally outside Toronto courthouse, July 5, defends anti-fascist union militants Michael Mares and Paul Schneider.

Hundreds of unionists across Canada supported the defense of Schneider and Mares, including a dozen union locals and close to 90 union officials. The Ontario Federation of Labour—representing over 800,000 unionists—demanded that the charges against Schneider and Mares be dropped. Close to 100 people attended a Toronto rally in defense of Schneider and Mares in February and more than 40 protesters, including members of 14 different unions, demonstrated outside the courthouse on July 5. Time and again supporters of Schneider and Mares filled the courtroom in solidarity.

However, the president of Schneider and Mares' own union, the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC), Robert McGarry, outrageously opposed their defense. And he *expelled* them and five of their supporters for asking in a leaflet if McGarry's back-stabbing might not be related to the fact that two of his brothers owned Centurion Investigation Ltd., the firm that hired Richardson to carry out anti-union terror! This purge has not gone unopposed in the Canadian labor movement. The Toronto local of the LCUC's sister union, the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) passed a motion demanding the immediate reinstatement of the LCUC 7. The Toronto Area Council of the Public Service Alliance of Canada, as well as UAW Local 303 (of which Schneider was a member for three years) and the Vancouver CUPW Executive have also passed motions of protest.

The Toronto court's quashing of the faseist frame-up strengthens the case of Schneider and Mares and their five supporters outrageously expelled from their union for mobilizing to defend themselves and all of labor. This sinister purge gives a green light to faseist infiltration and terror against the unions. Richardson's faseist supporters and scabs who have wormed their way into the Toronto LCUC local have already escalated their campaign of intimidation and worse: Schneider and Mares have received death threats at work and two of the faseist scum sent a death threat to the vice president of Toronto CUPW, Andrew Kolompar, for his activities in defense of the seven LCUC militants. The upcoming national LCUC convention must overturn this treacherous purge and reinstate these anti-faseist unionists.

In thanking the many supporters of this important defense case Paul Schneider underlined that the battle against faseist terror is far from over: "Today was a victory for organized labor and minorities. But a victory in court cannot stop KKK/Nazi terror. They are out to kill. What we need are labor and minority mobilizations to sweep the faseists from the streets." To stop the faseist threat once and for all the working people must take power in their own hands.

Victories like this cost money! Send your donation to the Committee to Defend Anti-Faseist Unionists, Box 463, Station E, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M6H 4E3. ■

Hospital Workers...

(continued from page 3)

shall be no union discipline for those who crossed a picket line." In other words, it's the *scabs* who got "no reprisals"! Then there's the two-tier wage system for new hires starting in July 1985, along with a provision that probationary employees will start at $20 per week less than the minimum rate.

And what the bosses give with one hand, they take back with the other. Attached to the contract is a "Tentative Schedule" of "contract modifications" initialed by Turner and top League negotiator William J. Abelow. No mention of any such list was made at the Garden and no wonder. This list of potential freezes, delays and reductions adds up to over $90 million which could be eliminated from the contract. Here are a few examples taken verbatim from the list: "Freezing salary base for training and benefit fund (for 2 year term of CBA)—$13.4 million; Training fund offset (1% for 2 year period)—14.4 million; Freeze salary base for pension (if actuarily possible)—10.4 million; Exclude 2 day part-time—11.5 million; Delay second wage increase 1 1/2 months—10.4 million; Delay EOWO another 6 months—5.0 million." And what happens to the first year wage increase, "value to be determined," is, at this point, anybody's guess.

At 1199's annual street fair on September 2, Doris Turner wasn't talking so *WV* showed the list to long-time black machine Democrat and mayoral candidate Basil Paterson, a federal mediator involved in the negotiations, and inquired which "contract modifications" were part of the contract. "Some of them are," he replied. 1199 spokesman Robert Carroll finally "explained" that the hospital bosses claim that they're going to lose money, so Turner made a promise: "Once the League identified its deficit," Carroll said, "we would help." According to Carroll, the union tops have offered to "help" to the tune of $21 million. But a League spokesman told *WV*, "Our figure [for the deficit] is $44 million." This is the hospital workers' money! Maybe that's what Turner was talking about at the Garden when she said, "When I make a promise, I expect you to keep it."

WV Photo

1199 ranks fought hard against union-busting.

On Labor Day, the city's top union misleaders paraded up Fifth Avenue with Walter Mondale, Geraldine Ferraro and Cuomo. The bureaucrats put the tiny 1199 contingent (no more than 250) dead last in a five-hour parade. This accurately captures what the "friends of labor". Democrats think about strikers. With tears streaming down her cheeks, Doris Turner herself paused in front of the reviewing stand with a sign that simply said "Thanks." Thanks for what? When the muscle of the NYC trade-union movement was desperately needed, with city workers' contracts coming up, Gotbaum & Co. did *nothing* for 1199. A *citywide* hospital strike, backed up by militant solidarity *action* by firemen, transit and sanitation workers, would have won a real victory for hospital workers and put strike-breakers like Reagan and Mayor Koch on notice.

District 1199 under Leon Davis and Moe Foner was one of the last New York City unions led by Communist Party supporters. The CP had a combative, heavily black and Latin workforce, but after winning important gains they pissed it all away through support to the capitalist Democratic Party. In the mid-'70s, 1199 could have led a fight against the bank-imposed austerity of Big MAC. Instead, Davis and Foner sold out the militant 1976 NYC hospital strike in order not to "spoil" the Democratic convention which nominated Jimmy ("ethnic purity") Carter.

Today within 1199, there is no organized militant opposition to Turner & Co. So a double-dealing sellout, presented as a victory, was overwhelmingly accepted by the ranks. The Unity and Progress slate, which opposed Turner's separation of 1199 from the National Health and Hospital Union last July, denounced the contract (*El Diario*, 31 August) but played no visible role in resisting it. Instead, on August 31 the group filed a formal complaint with the U.S. Labor Department charging Turner with misconduct in the union's April election and demanding a new vote sponsored by the federal government's labor cops. All 1199 members must oppose this anti-union suit. Workers must clean their own house—keep the feds out of the labor movement!

Reformist left helped sell bureaucrats' sellout.

The hospital slumlords were unable to break 1199 but the strikers did not win anything like what they need. And who knows what Turner may yet give away. Real victories require a leadership committed to a fighting program of class struggle. Such leaders know that the state, its cops, courts, arbitrators and politicians are not neutral—they are on the side of the bosses. Locked in struggle with the class enemy, the workers must employ their own methods—mass picketing, labor boycotts and sympathy strikes. Millions of New Yorkers would support the call for "Free quality health care for all!" From Lane Kirkland to Doris Turner, the labor fakers have sold their souls to the Democrats. Now, more than ever, we need a workers party to fight for a workers government. ■

Japanese Americans...

(continued from page 2)

Daily Worker carried a special article by Cuban Stalinist Blas Roca which repeated the U.S. government's lying propaganda: "As it has already been published, the fifth column of Pearl Harbor was formed by the Japanese of Honolulu, many of them American citizens with more than 20 years in the country, established as business men and with children born in the island."

It was not just courage, nor their steadfastness in adversity, that helped

National Archives

Japanese American internees demonstrate at Tule Lake concentration camp.

the Trotskyists to defend the Japanese Americans. Above all it was program. The SWP, while defending the Soviet Union, understood that Roosevelt's war was imperialist, seeking U.S. capitalist world domination, and that a U.S. victory would in fact on the morrow pose an even sharper threat to the Soviet workers state. Thus the Trotskyists' policy was revolutionary defeatism toward both imperialist sides, the "democratic Allies" as well as the Germans and Japanese. They opposed Roosevelt's war and his administration's racist hysteria at home, remaining the champions of the interests of the workers and oppressed. As we noted in our 1977 article, a veteran Trotskyist organizer, in Los Angeles in 1941, has recounted that many Japanese Americans in the important CP fraction in San Pedro harbor turned to the Trotskyists for aid when the CP kicked them out.

The CP's utterly shameful betrayal is rendered even more shocking by the fact, as *Ganbatte* reveals, that they had a solid core of worker militants throughout the West Coast after the 1934 San Francisco general strike, and could actually have led massive labor actions to *stop* the vicious roundup. And the CP's Japanese comrades were part of the heart and history of the party on the West Coast. The CP published a Japanese-language paper, *Rodo Shimbun* (which Yoneda edited in the '30s); had a Japanese Bureau which published regular bulletins; and dozens of Japanese American cadre worked as labor organizers, traveling the fields among California agricultural workers. Yoneda proudly notes that the Japanese socialist Sen Katayama was a founding member of the American CP in 1919. During the '20s and '30s, many Japanese comrades on the West Coast were arrested and deported for organizing strikes, for participating in CP rallies in defense of Tom Mooney and others, or were swept up in Los Angeles Red Squad riots. Yoneda himself was the first Japanese American to run for public office in the U.S., on the CP's ticket for San Francisco District Assembly in 1934. These comrades lived in poverty, were tested time and again in struggle, took cop beatings, spent time in prison for their work for the CP—and in an act of racist war hysteria, they were dumped *without a word of protest* anywhere in "their" party!

The reason, again, was program. The CP supported Roosevelt's war as part of its program, following Stalin's line, of class collaboration with the "democratic" imperialists. "All out for the war effort" was their slogan, under which they refused to fight Jim Crow segregation in the army, engaged in open strikebreaking, and told their Japanese American comrades to go into the camps to prove their "loyalty" to the imperialist U.S. warlords. Shamefully, Yoneda acted as a Judas-goat in leading Japanese into the camps, even *volunteering* to go to the Manzanar concentration camp to help build it! This was the bloody logic of the CP's betrayal of the workers and oppressed in supporting U.S. imperialism. Thus Yoneda's book is, on this central question, a guilty cover-up of the CP's day of infamy, their social-patriotic participation in gross racist injustice.

So it wasn't just Earl Browder, as CPers today—including Karl Yoneda—claim. Comrade Darlene Kamiura recalls confronting Yoneda in the mid-'70s on this betrayal and his slimy excuses that the camps were "safer" (the same lie the government used to justify the atrocity!) and it was just a "mistake" and Browder's fault. "Have you no shame?" she challenged him, "What about the expulsions?" Yoneda replied that was "a vague part of party history—next question." It wasn't until 1959, over a decade after the roundup, that the CP even got around to making a motion in a party conference that the racist atrocity they helped to perpetuate was a "serious error"! And it was only in 1972 that the CP admitted its rotten betrayal explicitly in public, in a book review in the *World Magazine* (1 January 1972).

The CP's "excuse" is precisely the same as our reader's ignorant assertion that *everybody* was more or less racist then and they just got swept away. This is a vile slander of those few courageous revolutionaries who did defend the Japanese Americans. It was the Trotskyists who were able to stand up to Roosevelt's war hysteria, because they remained true to their program of class struggle, remaining staunch opponents of imperialism on every single question touching the workers and oppressed. ■

London Protest Against Anti-Tamil Terror

Spartacist Britain

Tamil militants joined by supporters of the Spartacist League/Britain in picketing Sri Lankan High Commission in London, August 13, to protest government terror bombing of Jaffna.

S.F. Elections...

(continued from page 5)

say: "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!" The militant tactics that built the unions—win strikes through massive solidarity actions in defense of militant picket lines that nobody dares to cross—are the class-struggle weapons labor needs. In contrast, the labor skates who run the unions are working overtime to sell wet-noodle Mondale and the Democratic Party of imperialist war and racism as an alternative to the justly hated Reagan. Their slogan is "Don't Strike—Vote Democrat!" Yet Mondale and Reagan are united in their anti-Sovietism and differ only on the tactics of how best to prop up this sick and decaying capitalist society, which threatens us all with nuclear holocaust. Whereas the other "left" candidates in the 1984 elections all slavishly tail the labor bureaucrats who loyally serve the Democrats, we call for ousting the labor bureaucrats and forging a fighting *workers party* that will stop at nothing short of a workers government. Bradley and Coleman are fighting for the American working class to follow in the footsteps of their Russian comrades in 1917, through socialist revolution. ■

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive

WV Photo

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Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

were "independent" mercenaries with no ties to the U.S. government was "a tale no one is going to believe," said Nicaraguan Defense Minister Humberto Ortega. The Sandinistas protested to the UN Security Council, and angrily rejected a call by the Contadora group of bourgeois governments that Nicaragua disarm in the face of U.S. aggression. We say: Kill the invaders! Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs—Nicaragua needs MIGs!

It soon came out that the dead blond pilot, Parker, was a Huntsville, Alabama cop "on leave," and captain of a Special Forces Group in the Alabama National Guard. (Interestingly, the Alabama Air National Guard provided mercenary pilots for the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, the CIA's biggest debacle to date.) Parker's dead buddy Powell was also a Viet vet, a former army helicopter pilot and a part-time "flying instructor." Another of the "volunteer" mercs, Albright, is "commander" of the "Phantom Division, Tennessee Airborne," described in the January 1984 issue of *Soldier of Fortune* as a "master parachute rigger, jumpmaster and instructor." Part of the Huntsville-based paramilitary operation called "Civilian Military Assistance," the group had entered Honduras in August with full knowledge of the State Department, which had coordinated their mission with the highest levels of the Honduran army.

It was not the first time. Last January these so-called "private Americans" were waved through Honduran customs carrying combat weapons and 4,000 rounds of ammunition because they had a personal letter from then-commander in chief of the Honduran military, General Gustavo Alvarez. Their mercenary missions for the Salvadoran butcher army are coordinated by the chief logistics officer in the U.S. embassy in San Salvador.

Bosio/Gamma-Liaison

Sandinista soldiers view wreckage of downed helicopter and remains of Yankee CIA mercenaries.

Since the Huey went down in a hail of AK-47 fire, Congress has been screaming about violations of the Neutrality Act, the War Powers Act, etc. What has the Democrats all upset is the Reagan administration's open flaunting of their authority. The Democrats don't mind funding anti-communist CIA/mercenary operations from Afghanistan to Cambodia, but they think the sleazy *contra* operation in Nicaragua is a loser...and one that could drag the U.S. into a Central American war they want to avoid, at least for the present. So when Congress cut off funds to the overt covert war on Nicaragua, the CIA simply switched over to so-called "private channels." We have repeatedly stressed that this government doesn't give a damn about such niceties as Congressional "restrictions," World Court opinions and the like. As the Republican convention confirmed again, Reagan is determined to do away with the Sandinista regime, as part of the anti-Soviet war drive which the Democrats are fully committed to. This dirty imperialist war must be *defeated*: by exterminating the killer *contras* in Nicaragua, by leftist victory on the battlefields of El Salvador, and by mass labor/black action at home. For an all-out Tet offensive to bring Reagan down! U.S. labor must bot cargo all U.S. war materiel to Central America, and launch massive strike action against a U.S. invasion!

The Santa Clara incident also revealed the extent to which the U.S. intelligence/military is intimately involved with fascist terrorists around the world. While the Reaganites claim these were "unpaid volunteers," like some do-gooder candy stripers going off to Central America for social work, these sadistic killers are about the closest thing to barbarism now existing on the planet. A September 1983 *Soldier of Fortune* special issue on Central America gave a grisly taste of these two-bit macho assholes, dolled up in their camouflage fatigues and fantasizing about avenging lost wars in the wooded hills of El Salvador, going out to "bag their game" and kill "G's." The obese skinhead "Big John" Donovan, so-called "demolitions expert" teaching the Salvadoran killer Atlacatl Brigade how to massacre unarmed old people and children, like they did at My Lai.... There are full-page pinups of the wild-eyed *contra* killers like "Suicide" or "Rasputin," lusting for the days when as Somoza's butchers they were pillaging, raping and torturing their way through the peasant villages, wiping out an entire generation of Nicaraguan youth.

A column in the *Wall Street Journal* (6 September) by Alexander Cockburn lays out the connection between these "private" mercenary outfits and the top levels of the U.S. military. Last year's *Soldier of Fortune* convention in Las Vegas was attended by General William Westmoreland and G. Gordon Liddy and featured the speech of Major General John Singlaub, relieved of his command by Carter for publicly attacking the policies of his commander in chief. Singlaub turns up again associated with a secret "Special Operations Association" and has just been elected head of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), a Taiwan-based lash-up of ultrarightist nuts and neo-Nazi killers. Earlier this year columnist Jack Anderson reported that the Salvadoran, Guatemalan and Honduran death squads coordinate their activities through the Latin American Anti-Communist Confederation, affiliated with the WACL.

The kill-crazy CIA adventurers are one and the same as the native fascists spreading racist terror in America. Not far from Huntsville in northern Alabama is a Ku Klux Klan "special forces" camp where hooded commandos train to kill blacks. These psychopathic killers are the degenerate products of American imperialism's bloodiest *defeat*. The founder of "Civilian Military Assistance," Tom Posey, told the *Washington Post* (5 September) that 90 percent of the group's recruits were Viet vets like himself who "felt guilty about not winning." In fact, they're not only the scum of the earth, but the world's greatest losers! They got their asses handed to them in Vietnam; in Angola they worked with the Chinese advisers and South African army against the MPLA and got sblonged by the Cubans. A bunch of them signed on with Somoza in the dying days of that dying regime and got zapped by the Sandinista revolution. And now they're losing again in Nicaragua. As we wrote last year:

> "In the face of the counterrevolutionary threat engineered from the highest levels of the U.S. government, it is urgently necessary to defend the democratic gains of the popular insurrection that toppled the Somoza dictatorship and extend them to a struggle for workers revolution throughout Central America. The CIA-financed *contras* are gunning down Nicaraguan youth, workers and peasants. But the Sandinistas are running a 'roach motel' for counterrevolutionaries ('they check in but they don't check out')."
>
> —"Kill the Invaders!"
> *WV* No. 326, 25 March 1983

Twenty-three years ago, truckloads of armed Cuban workers streamed out of Havana to stop the *gusano* invaders at the Bay of Pigs. Today the pigs are trying to make a comeback in Nicaragua. But if Reagan tries his "December surprise"—full-scale U.S. invasion of Central America—he could get a real surprise at home. Despite the hysterical cries of "USA! USA!" at Los Angeles and Dallas, flag-waving is not enough to exorcise the "Vietnam syndrome." U.S. rulers cannot count on a heavily black army to fight a colonial war, and American workers don't want to be used as cannon fodder in another losing imperialist adventure. The real "state-supported terrorism" is made in U.S.A. For a class-struggle fight to smash Reagan reaction—For workers revolution, from San Salvador to Detroit! ■

SL/SYL at Cleveland Central America Demo

"Workers: Take San Salvador!"

Ashbolt/Plain Dealer

CLEVELAND—On Saturday, July 28, between 300 and 400 people marched through downtown Cleveland to protest U.S. aggression in Central America. Sponsored by a liberal amalgam called July 28 Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in Central America, the march and rally drew virtually the entire Cleveland left as well as various and sundry liberals and religious elements. A spirited revolutionary contingent of members and supporters of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League called for "military victory to the leftist insurgents" in El Salvador and "full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers."

SL/SYL signs proclaimed "Vietnam Was a Victory!" and called for "Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism!" Ours was the only contingent to carry the banner of the FMLN—the guerrillas heroically fighting imperialism and its puppets in El Salvador. In response to chants of "One, two, three, four—We won't fight the bankers' war," we chanted, "One, two, three, four—Workers take San Salvador!"

Through our chants and disciplined presence we made a visible impact on the protest—a photo in the next day's *Plain Dealer* prominently displayed our contingent. Even a fairly well-behaved clot of ETers felt compelled to attach themselves behind us. Must be they didn't see our FMLN banner or the signs defending victims of racist military "justice" from Captain Dreyfus to Corporal Griffin.

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Anti-Apartheid Protest at South African Embassy

WASHINGTON, D.C., September 7—Fifty anti-apartheid militants turned out today for an emergency demonstration near the South African embassy here, denouncing the murder and maiming of hundreds of blacks this week by the bloody racist regime. The united-front action was initiated by the South African Students Committee (SASCO) at Howard University, and included the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League, Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCM), a representative of the Howard student government (HUSA), and the Bolshevik League. One protester's sign stated simply: "To Live in South Africa and Namibia Is Hell."

Besides SASCO, the largest contingent was from the SL/SYL whose chants "From Black Soweto to Black D.C.—Same Enemy, Same Fight!" and "Smash Apartheid—For Workers Revolution!" were eagerly picked up by the crowd. Supporters of PAC, however, pointedly refused to join the demonstrators in chanting "Free Nelson Mandela!" SL/SYL signs included: "For International Labor Action to Support Black Unions in South Africa" and "Smash Reagan/Botha's Racist Anti-Soviet War Drive!"

The SYL mobilized Howard students in response to a letter from SASCO calling for the united-front protest:

> "The South African Students Committee based at Howard, is inviting the Spartacus Youth League to demonstrate with us.... You stopped the Klan! You tore down the flag of slavery! To us then you demonstrate the interest of the oppressed and exploited black working class. Join us in stopping apartheid."

HUSA vice president Manotti Jenkins thanked the PAC, the BCM and SYL "for inviting us here to show our solidarity through action." Notably, the All-African Peoples Revolutionary Party (AAPRP) of Kwame Toure (Stokely Carmichael) failed to mobilize, sending only a lone supporter.

The demonstration closed with speeches from participating organizations. The SASCO speaker thanked the organizations demonstrating for "not only showing their solidarity with us, the South African students, but also showing their solidarity with the students at home that are waging an internal battle inside South Africa." A speaker from PAC said that the fight against the "Bantustanization and the Balkanization of our country" means "fighting for cultural autonomy" and "the unity of our people irrespective of class, race, color or education." The SYL's Brian Mendis called for class struggle here and abroad and pointed to the 27 November 1982 Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the race-terrorist KKK while Reagan met his butcher friend South African premier Botha in the White House. Mendis closed by saying that to smash apartheid, "It's black workers who must take the lead because it's black workers who have the power to...crack open the apartheid regime and pave the way for workers revolution."

WV Photo

Spartacists join united-front protest in D.C. over racist terror against South African black toilers.

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

South Africa's black toilers. For mass, united-front protests against apartheid terror! For international labor boycotts of all cargo to and from South Africa!

Everyone recalls the mass demonstrations and stay-away strikes which spread nationwide from the huge black township of Soweto in 1976. Could this be the start of a new rising? A full-scale eruption has been expected for more than a generation. The South African ruling class, armed to the teeth and with general support from the 4.5 million privileged whites, has had trouble keeping the lid on for the past ten years. Seething discontent is widespread among all sectors of the oppressed—newly unionized black workers striking from the gold mines of the Rand to the auto plants of the Eastern Cape, Cape Town "coloureds" (mixed-race) battling the police against eviction, coloured students and Indian traders protesting the new apartheid constitution. Even among whites, particularly male students facing conscription for the endless, low-intensity war in Namibia/Angola, there has been protest. It is centrally the five-million-strong black proletariat, today more organized than ever before, who are key to toppling the entire apartheid regime.

When one thinks of black resistance to apartheid, the names of townships come to mind: Sharpeville, Cato Manor, Langa, Elsies River and, above all, Soweto. During the Soweto revolt 800 to 1,000 blacks were killed, many of them schoolchildren. The heroism of 1976 inspires all anti-apartheid fighters, but it is widely understood that the powerful apartheid state will not be smashed through plebeian risings in the townships alone. The township revolts have some negative features in common with those in the black American ghettos. These spontaneous outbursts are directed not only against the police or local collaborators but also against shops, clinics and schools. In the present conflagration, for example, the shops of Indian traders (many of whom are opposed to apartheid and shut their shops in solidarity with the election boycott) were burned out.

South Africa's black townships are not only segregated and poor, they have deliberately been placed miles outside the cities where blacks have to work. They are designed to have a minimum of access roads with separate power stations and water systems that can be shut off in an emergency. Sometimes they have ring roads to make it easier to seal them off. Despite all these police-state measures, the 1976 events and the current upheavals show that rebellion can spread rapidly from one township to another.

The burning need is for a centralized leadership with a program to win, a revolutionary vanguard party rooted in the combative black proletariat which can make into one the many-sided struggle against apartheid, against rent hikes and starvation wages, against jailings, detention and torture, against the pass laws and all racist laws. Under conditions of South Africa today such a vanguard party must be built as Lenin built the Bolsheviks. That is, it must be based on an underground network and have an important exile component to preserve its cadre, while also utilizing every avenue for legal work (e.g., the trade unions).

Vacuum of Revolutionary Leadership

Opposition to the new constitution has been led by a formation called the United Democratic Front (UDF), the largest anti-apartheid grouping in two decades. On paper the UDF boasts a membership of one and a half million and some 600 component organizations, including a number of trade unions. Yet when black township dwellers battled the police and army on the very day the new constitution was inaugurated, what did the UDF do? According to Western press reports, there have been *no* solidarity protests or stay-away strikes such as occurred after the 1976 Soweto massacre. This cannot be explained simply by the effectiveness of police-state repression. The popular-frontist UDF does not aim to lead militant mass struggle against the apartheid state but rather to *pressure* the "moderate" or "rational" elements in the white ruling class to reform the system.

The main forces behind the UDF are the nationalist African National Congress (ANC) and its long-time bloc partner, the Stalinist South African Communist Party. Historically the main organization of black resistance to apartheid, the ANC retains great moral authority among the toiling masses. Its leader Nelson Mandela, who has been imprisoned for 20 years (most of it on the notorious Robben Island), is unquestionably the most revered black man in South Africa. However, the ANC's organizational influence over the rising wave of black struggles in the past decade, especially the burgeoning workers movement, has been limited. For the past several years the ANC has concentrated on daring commando raids against South African military and police installations. In recent months even these actions have been crippled by a deal between the weak nationalist regime in Mozambique, where the ANC had based some of its operations, and South African imperialism.

Externally, the ANC has devoted much of its energy to promoting the diplomatic and economic isolation of South Africa from the Western world (e.g., pushing university divestment schemes). Such appeals to the American ruling class to break its ties with South Africa are especially grotesque today. With Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive, South Africa—always an ally of U.S. imperialism—has become an increasingly important part of the "free world." Washington has backed to the hilt the South African army's ravaging of Angola, whose hard-won independence is being defended by 20,000 Cuban troops backed by Soviet arms. We call for international labor action to support black unions in South Africa. And at this moment we urgently call for hot cargoing all cargo to and from South Africa as an elemental act of solidarity with the black and coloured masses fighting apartheid terror.

Since the 1973 Durban mass strike, a black trade-union movement has developed in South Africa, especially strong in the Eastern Cape industrial belt. However, this newly formed workers movement lacks overall political direction and has little continuity with the mass anti-apartheid struggles of the 1950s and earlier. The black unions are fragmented, localized and to some degree beset by tribalist divisions. Without the leadership of a revolutionary party, the black labor movement cannot go beyond militant defense of its members' economic interests and support to one or another wing of the nationalist/reformist opposition.

In a number of important respects South Africa today resembles tsarist Russia in the years leading up to the Revolution of 1905. It was under these conditions that Lenin wrote *What Is To Be Done?*, the classic statement of the need for a centralized proletarian party to direct the spontaneous and many-sided struggles of the oppressed toward a single aim, the overthrow of the autocracy. In describing the state of the Russian opposition Lenin used a metaphor about building a structure with bricks: "Are we not now passing through precisely such a period in our Party life when we have bricks and bricklayers, but lack the guide line for all to see and follow?" Likewise, in South Africa there exists in ample supply the raw material of universal discontent and constant struggles by the oppressed. What is lacking is a central directing force to overthrow the apartheid system, the basis of South African capitalism.

As in the struggle against Russian tsarism, so in South Africa the struggle against apartheid conforms to Trotsky's program of permanent revolution: proletarian leadership over all the oppressed in the struggle for democratic rights, agrarian revolution and national emancipation. The 22 million black toilers, held in bondage as an internal colony, can be liberated only by proletarian revolution. The first step toward racial equality demands a revolutionary constituent assembly based on one man, one vote. A future for the impoverished rural masses means freeing them from the bantustan hellholes and distributing the country's rich farmland to the black tillers. At the same time, a communist vanguard would seek to unite black toilers with the oppressed coloured and Indian minorities, and also win those whites opposed to apartheid to the cause of proletarian revolution. For a black-centered workers and peasants government! History has given to South Africa's black proletariat the power to liberate not only their own deeply oppressed people but all of black Africa whose social and economic development is shackled by imperialist subjugation. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Screw Mondale—Don't Buy Protectionist Poison!

Auto Workers: Strike the Big 3!

DETROIT—If ever there was a time to strike auto, *this is it*. General Motors, Ford and Chrysler are wallowing in profits. The contrast between multi-million dollar bonuses for the greedy bosses and the multi-*billion* union concessions has sparked workers' anger. And the companies' offer was a big "screw you." Meanwhile, sales are up and inventories down. *Auto workers: you've got 'em by the balls! Now squeeze!*

Just look at what the business press says: "Showdown in Detroit" headlined *Business Week* (10 September). In the hours before the midnight September 14 deadline, they write, United Auto Workers (UAW) president Owen Bieber and a top company negotiator will make "the most important labor bargain in the history of the auto industry—assuming, of course, that they avoid a strike." Right now, even with heavy overtime, GM has only 48 days inventory on hand instead of the usual 60. The bosses will be hurting from Day 1 of a strike. The *New York Times Magazine* (26 August) worries that "the costs of a work stoppage at G.M. or Ford would quickly mount into the billions of dollars and make a settlement at almost any price worthwhile."

The capitalist media is taunting workers with talk of "labor's sunset" and the "decline of the unions." But auto workers can make them eat their words with a hard strike against the Big 3. Together with the coal miners, whose contract expires at the end of the month, these two CIO giants can take back the givebacks, turn back the union-busting tide of the Reagan years and avenge PATCO (air controllers). Reopen the Chrysler contract and shut down auto! For an industrywide strike now!

The arrogance of the auto bosses is hard to beat. Industry profits are almost $13 billion in the last year and a half—an all-time record. That's more than *$20,000 per auto worker!* The Big 3 bosses sometimes talk about "profit-sharing." You want "profit-sharing" now? Okay, then *double* the wages! Instead GM and Ford have the gall to make a contract "offer" with *no* wage increase whatsoever. And then they go on to propose hacking COLA and medical benefits to pieces and splitting the workforce with a substandard wage structure for new hires. When the UAW rejected this insulting non-proposal Ford's chief negotiator, Peter Pestillo, responded by saying he would wrap the next one around a rock and throw it through Bieber's window!

And the response of the UAW tops? The *Wall Street Journal* smugly commented that "the union has been doing handstands to disabuse people of the notion that it aims for a big settlement." Bieber & Co. have tried to sell the ranks the line that they have to trade off wage and benefit increases for guarantees of job security and promises against "outsourcing." But such "guarantees" would be completely phony. The Detroit bureau chief for the *Wall Street Journal* (7 September) explained "even if the union brass can wring job guarantees out of the companies, and even if they can persuade their members to ratify a contract richer on job guarantees than on cash, the guarantees are likely to prove meaningless." Real job security means a massive fight for a sliding scale of wages and hours—30 hours work for 40 hours pay—to protect existing jobs and create new ones for the unemployed.

WV Photo

Militant auto workers pour out of Ford River Rouge at midnight strike deadline, September 1976. Now is the time for an industrywide auto strike!

The last thing Bieber and his gang want is a strike. After some blowhard remarks about striking both Ford and General Motors, last week they picked GM workers to go it alone. And rumors abound that only "selected" GM plants will be struck. But the ranks know that an industrywide strike can bring the auto bosses to their knees very quickly. When it looked like Ford and GM might go out together for once, Ford's giant River Rouge complex was fired with talk of "It's about time," and steel division workers told *WV*, "Hell, we should all go out." Damn right!

Mondale + Protectionism = Workers Lose

The "labor statesmen" at Solidarity House are worried that a strike would hurt the Democrats' chances in the November elections. So what did Walter Mondale ever do for you? "Save Chrysler"? Carter/Mondale bailed out the bosses, all right. Lee Iacocca just handed himself a 30 percent pay hike plus $5-20 million in stock options. Former UAW president Doug Fraser got a seat on the Chrysler board. But what did Chrysler *workers* get? Dodge Main torn down, the workforce cut in half, and $3 an hour less than GM and Ford. Tell the Democrats to shove it!

Since the Chrysler bailout of 1979 the UAW made $5 billion worth of concessions on wages and benefits...and a quarter million members lost their jobs, most of them permanently. The social democrats in Solidarity House demonstrate their "corporate responsibility" by ramming givebacks down the workers' throats, suppressing class struggle for the sake of the Democrats' electoral fortunes and shifting the blame for layoffs from the auto bosses to foreign workers.

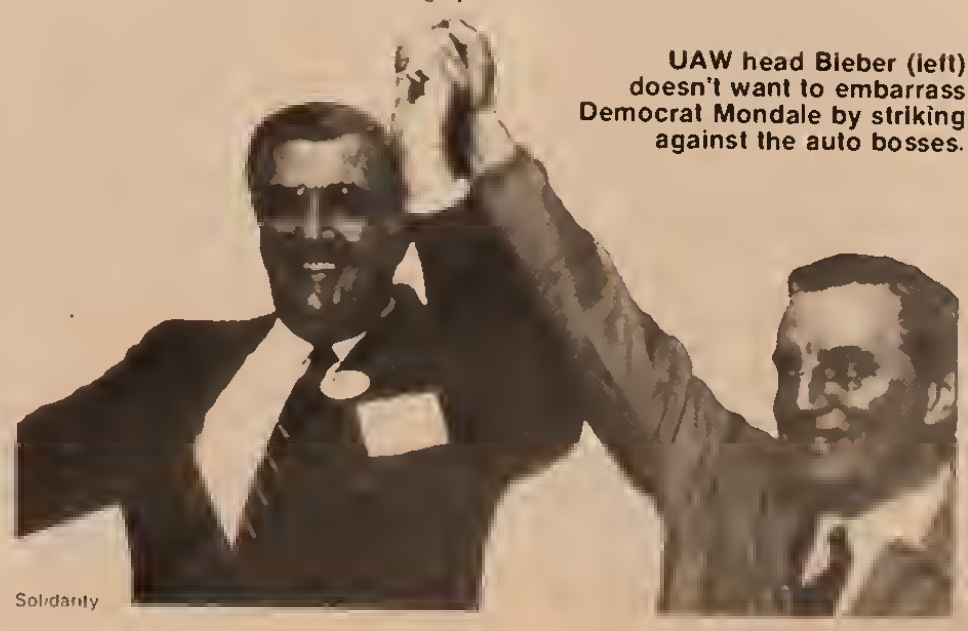
The UAW is currently pushing a campaign of protectionist TV ads in favor of "American jobs." Labor Day 1984 throughout the Midwest was dominated by flag-waving rallies for Mondale and jingoist demonstrations like the smashing of a Toyota and a VW in Toledo. The UAW tops' anti-Japanese hysteria helped create such a poisonous racist climate in Detroit that a white Chrysler foreman and his nephew bludgeoned to death the young Chinese American Vincent Chin with a baseball bat. And now everyone from Reagan to Bieber threatens auto workers with the loss of protectionist quotas and "content laws" if they strike hard to win. But the only thing protectionism "protects" is the profits of the banks and stockholders.

Chief among the victims of the racist protectionist agitation will certainly be black people. And auto is the stronghold of the black proletariat in the United States. The murderous threat represented by such racist appeals was demonstrated last month in the GM center of Flint, Michigan where five white men were arrested for shooting up and firebombing houses of black families in order to drive them from a largely white neighborhood. The future of black workers is intimately bound up with the fate of the ghetto. And in Detroit, the center of the auto industry where unemployment was over 20 percent only a few months ago, a third of the city is on welfare and over 40 percent are on food stamps.

The present showdown in Detroit will decide the future not only of the UAW but also to a large degree that of the working class, and especially the black workers and poor, throughout the industrial Midwest. A nationwide auto strike would certainly be a shot in the arm for the traditionally militant coal miners. And an auto and coal strike this fall could trigger an explosion among other workers fed up with years of giveback contracts, among the desperate and impoverished black and Hispanic masses—everyone who hates what has happened to them in Reagan's America.

Auto workers must revive the militant tactics that built the CIO in the 1930s: sit-down strikes, plant occupations and mass pickets to stop the scabs and seal the plants. The mass picketing at AP Parts in Toledo last May came within inches of a plant occupation and inspired auto workers around the country. The UAW could have won that strike the day it began by refusing to handle scab parts. On Labor Day the flying squad of UAW Local 1200 at the Warren tank plant marched in their black berets and jackets. To win a strike every auto union local must form flying squads to reinforce the picket lines. Strike committees must be elected and union halls turned into organizing centers for the struggle; strike bulletins must be issued on a daily basis, and labor's allies mobilized from other unions, the unemployed and the black community. Above all a nationwide strike must be an impulse to forge a new class-struggle leadership that will sweep out the pro-capitalist bureaucrats who have criminally weakened this powerful union at the heart of American industry.

Break with the bosses' parties, Democrat and Republican, and mobilize militant union struggle! For a workers party! Screw Mondale—Shut down auto! ■



Solidarity

UAW head Bieber (left) doesn't want to embarrass Democrat Mondale by striking against the auto bosses.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 363

28 September 1984

For International Labor Action Against Racist Terror!

UPI

Black Workers Battle South Africa Apartheid

Revolt in Townships, Class War in Gold Mines

SEPTEMBER 23—The black revolt against apartheid rule reached a new level this past week as class war exploded in the gold mines, the key sector of the entire South African economy. When 40,000 members of the black National Union of Mineworkers walked out for a wage increase, the mine bosses responded with shotguns, rubber bullets, attack dogs and tear gas. In the town of Westonaria near Johannesburg striking miners were massacred. The papers claimed seven killed, but police refused to give details on the number of dead, saying "clearing up" was still going on. *Hundreds* of workers were hospitalized with ruptured spleens, fractured skulls and other serious injuries. But the black miners were not cowed by this massive use of police-state terror. The very next day 10,000 of them struck for union recognition at Hartebeesfontein, 100 miles southwest of Westonaria. And last weekend, more than 600 blacks were arrested across South Africa for attending illegal meetings.

Despite all its weapons and all its savagery, white-ruled South Africa is in deep crisis. At this crucial moment international labor action can be decisive in further weakening the apartheid state and opening the road to the liberation of the enslaved black masses. Transportation unions throughout the world must boycott all shipping and air traffic to and from South Africa. Working-class organizations must mobilize massive protests in solidarity with the embattled black toilers of South Africa. Free all victims of apartheid terror! The powerful British labor movement, in particular, must demand that the government grant political asylum to the six anti-apartheid activists who have sought refuge in the British consulate in Durban.

Black Revolt Hits the Gold Fields

The current wave of anti-apartheid struggle began last month when "coloureds" (persons of mixed race) and Indians defied mass arrests to boycott elections to the phony parliaments, designed to line them up against the black African majority and provide a multiracial façade to former prime minister Botha's assumption of a presidency with dictatorial powers. Then early this month Sharpeville and other black townships in the mining/industrial area of the Transvaal erupted when protests against rent increases were met with bullets. It was at Sharpeville in 1960 that police killed 69 blacks at a peaceful demonstration, ushering in a period of massive state repression which stifled black struggle for over a decade. This time cop and army violence only fanned the flames. The enraged township dwellers hacked to death several local black puppets and torched government offices. The revolt soon spread to Soweto, with its two million inhabitants, which was the center of the 1976-77 revolt.

It is, however, the half-million black gold miners who hold the key strategic position in the South African economy. Gold has dominated capitalist development in South Africa ever since it was discovered on the Rand in the late 19th century. Today South Africa holds 70 percent of the world's gold reserves outside of the Soviet bloc and gold accounts for half of South Africa's export earnings. The country's large but technologically backward manufacturing sector depends upon these foreign exchange earnings to import capital equipment.

Marxists know that any serious labor struggle challenges capitalist property rights and so collides with their armed guards, the police and army. In South Africa this is true with a vengeance, since *any* black working-class action challenges the apartheid system. In the mines, for example, black workers are frequently physically assaulted by their white racist supervisors. Any black worker who fights back is fired. Now, however, the union has been able in some cases to save the jobs of mine workers fired after getting into fights with their shift bosses. One black gold miner expressed his belief that some day the union will be strong enough to tackle the question of whether migrants could live with their families (*New York Times*, 15 March 1983).

John Seymour

Gold miners: key to black labor power in South Africa.

The question of leadership is sharply posed in the mines today. Seven of the

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Rad-Lib Nonsense Over Skulls From South Africa

Anti-Evolution= Racism/6

The Taung Baby and the "Piltdown Man"

Engels and Evolution/7

Guardian Shot Down Over KAL 007

Dirty Stalinoid Confessions

When a Korean Air Lines jetliner was shot down last fall as it overflew some of the Soviet Union's most sensitive military installations, Washington immediately began screaming for Russian blood. Reagan accused the Soviet "evil empire" of killing innocent civilians and babies as standard practice. Democrats in Congress fell into line, voting a unanimous resolution condemning the Russians for murder. Much of the left snapped to attention as well: the Communist Party's *Daily World* shamefully denied the Soviets had downed the intruder KAL 007 aircraft. The worst scumbags were the Maoists and ex-Maoists, long accustomed to supporting their own murderous bourgeoisie in the name of fighting "Soviet social imperialism." The rad-lib *Guardian* (14 September 1983) wrote that the USSR must be "held accountable and condemned" for shooting down the provocateur plane.

From the beginning, *Workers Vanguard* proclaimed "Reagan's Story Stinks!" We declared and demonstrated that KAL 007 was a U.S. war provocation, something that even independent bourgeois "experts" are now discovering. We found wide interest in our analysis, particularly among black people in the U.S. who know to distrust anything the government tells them. Yet much of the reformist left was shamelessly selling Reaganite war propaganda while the U.S. used the Cold War hysteria to install its nuclear first strike Pershing 2 rockets in Europe. Now suddenly the *Guardian* (12 September) is eating its own words:

> "The Guardian made a mistake last year when it condemned the USSR for shooting down the [Korean Air Lines Flight 007] jetliner. That position was taken in haste...we should have been better informed."

Some "mistake"! The editors claim they were duped in a moment of weakness by the hate-the-Russians campaign. "Reagan administration assertions" they say "were accepted without question" by the major media ...and by the *Guardian*. So for the last year these "independent radicals" have been trumpeting imperialist war propaganda while the "Trotskyites" told the truth. Explain that one, John Trinkl!

The *Guardian* tries to pass off its year-later discovery of American responsibility for the KAL affair as the result of recent revelations by "people with knowledge of U.S. military intelligence matters." What crap! They point to the presence of the RC-135 spy planes, the vast U.S. electronic surveillance systems in the region, the evasive maneuver made by the jetliner over Sakhalin, etc. But most of these facts were known at the time. A recent article in the British military magazine *Defence Attaché* and David Pearson's lengthy investigative piece in the *Nation*, while adding some new elements, mainly confirm what we, and the Soviet news agency TASS, said at the time.

The petty-bourgeois rad-libs are driven into a frenzy by fear of Reagan, and lacking confidence in the working class, the only salvation they can see is to resuscitate the moribund popular front with the Democratic Party. But Mondale & Co. only have *tactical* differences with Reagan in the drive to war against the Soviet Union. And when the chips are down—as they were last fall—the Democrats and their groveling camp followers toe the class line.

Now these "radicals" admit to a so-called "mistake" but only because their tattered "left" image has been

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CWP: From Workers Viewpoint to Jesse's Viewpoint

"The Last Workers Viewpoint." So said the Communist Workers Party, offhandedly announcing that it was closing down its press. This laconic notice in the July 4-17 issue said that in May they had shifted from a weekly to a biweekly "so that the staff could begin a process of re-evaluating the paper's role and direction." Having re-evaluated, they evidently decided to throw in the towel. The kindest expression we can think of for such a move is lightminded. Say a couple thousand people in this country look to them for leadership...and the CWP just folds up shop. Actually, they are only the latest of numerous ex-Maoist groups and tendencies (following Irwin Silber's *Line of March*, Klonsky's CPML, the *Guardian*) who have made their way back to the Democratic Party of the Bay of Pigs and Vietnam. The CWP's vehicle was the Jesse Jackson campaign; thus it is quite appropriate that the last issue of *Workers Viewpoint* contained a call for electing Mondale.

The CWP is an organization which is best known for its martyrs—the five leftist union organizers and civil rights workers viciously murdered in broad daylight by the KKK/Nazis in Greensboro on 3 November 1979. While in the past the organization had oscillated widely from adventurist substitutionism to crass opportunism, after Greensboro they seemed to turn sharply to Democratic Party politics. *Workers Viewpoint* turned into an election rag for every black Democrat from Mel King in Boston, Bill Murphy in Baltimore to Harold Washington in Chicago. For the last year they've thrown themselves into the Jesse Jackson campaign, seeking to capitalize on his popularity among blacks. In order to sell the black masses the myth of the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow, they have systematically covered up for Jesse's strikebreaking, his anti-Asian protectionism, and notably Jackson's embrace of George "Mr. Segregation" Wallace.

Yet as we wrote last winter, "Anyone who wants to go 'all the way with J.J.' will soon get rid of all the 'red' trappings anyhow" ("Donkey Work for the Democrats—CWP Caboose on the Jesse Jackson Train," *WV* No. 347, 3 February). It seems the CWP membership has come to the same conclusion. After all, if the party press is just a mouthpiece for the Democrats, why bother? (For that matter, if the party branches are just local Jackson support committees, who needs them either?) This flagrant liquidationism culminated at the CWP-organized "People's Convention" held at Laney College in Oakland on the eve of the Democratic convention in SF to work up an "alternative platform" to present to this bourgeois party. It was here CWP chairman Jerry Tung called for the left to work within the Democratic Party because "we can get funding from the Democrats to sustain our struggles" (*Guardian*, 25 July).

Of course Mondale, the CWP's current election choice, was Jimmy Carter's vice president while government "infiltrators" were egging on, planning, participating in and covering up for the Greensboro massacre. And the same July 4th special Democratic convention issue of *Workers Viewpoint* dropped its regular editorial statement: "Only socialism can save America." So, goodbye Marx and Lenin, hello Jesse and Fritz.

The liquidationism of the CWP reflects the broader disintegration of the American Maoist movement which began when Richard Nixon clinked glasses with Chou En-lai in Peking's Great Hall of the Peoples as the U.S. imperialists were carpet-bombing Hanoi. The crisis within the Maoist groups increased with the deepening reactionary Washington/Peking alliance, marked by Chinese support for the South African invasion of Angola and China's role as U.S. cat's paw in the bloody 1979 invasion of Vietnam. With the onset of the Reagan years, the logic of the Maoists' bloc with that most fanatical enemy of "Soviet (social) imperialism" was so devastating that the two largest U.S. Maoist groups gave up the ghost, the RCP's Bob Avakian running off to Paris and CPML's Mike Klonsky quitting.

The group around Jerry Tung, based in New York's Chinatown, split from Progressive Labor in 1969, for hard Maoism against PL's screwball Stalinism-without-a-country. Later on, calling themselves the Workers Viewpoint Organization, Tung's group expanded South and managed to recruit black cadre moving leftward out of the nationalist milieu. Following their "Death to the Klan" confrontations in North Carolina and the tragic events in Greensboro, the CWP swung sharply to the right, looking for some "friendly"

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Workers Viewpoint
4-17 July 1984

THE LAST WORKERS VIEWPOINT

As of this issue of the *Workers Viewpoint*, we are suspending publication indefinitely. In May we shifted from a weekly to a bi-weekly (every two weeks) schedule so that the staff could begin a process of re-evaluating the paper's role and direction. The decision to suspend publication altogether is taken so as to devote all our attention to this process. Subscribers will receive the equivalent of the remainder of their subscriptions — Editor.

TROTSKY

Communism and Religion

Marx recognized that the illusory salvation promised by religion was inherent in a society based upon exploitation and oppression. The struggle for communism is the struggle to free mankind of the need for religious solace.

LENIN

Religious suffering is at the same time an *expression* of real suffering and a *protest* against real suffering. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the sentiment of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the *opium* of the people.

The abolition of religion as the *illusory* happiness of men, is a demand for their *real* happiness. The call to abandon their illusions about their condition is a *call to abandon a condition which requires illusions*. The criticism of religion is, therefore, *the embryonic criticism of this vale of tears* of which religion is the *halo*.

—Karl Marx, "Introduction to *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*" (1844)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 363 **28 September 1984**

S.F. Protest Against South Africa Terror

"Break the Chains of Apartheid Slavery!"

SAN FRANCISCO, September 19—"Smash apartheid, this is the hour! Black workers have got the power!" chanted 60 militant anti-apartheid demonstrators here today. The Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense called today's demonstration in front of the South African Airways office in solidarity with militant struggles being waged by South African workers and youth in recent weeks and to oppose the murderous repression that has been unleashed by Botha's homicidal cops and troops. A key theme of the demonstration was the urgent need for international labor solidarity with the anti-apartheid fighters, in the form of an international labor boycott of all cargo to and from South Africa.

Standing by a large SL banner reading "Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!" Spartacist candidates for SF Board of Supervisors Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman denounced the barbarous Botha regime and the anti-Soviet war drive that cements the Washington/Pretoria axis. Bradley, well known for having twice torn down the Confederate flag of slavery and KKK racism that Democratic mayor "Dixie" Dianne Feinstein had flying in SF Civic Center, linked his actions to the fight against race-terror internationally: "The reason why I climbed that 50-foot flagpole...was because that Confederate flag stands for the same thing the government is promoting in South Africa and the same thing the Reagan administration along with Dianne Feinstein is promoting here." Noting that South Africa has become a haven for anti-Communist Polish Solidarność émigrés, he remarked: "No Russian ever called me 'nigger'."

WV Photos

Protesters outside South African Airways office in SF, September 19.

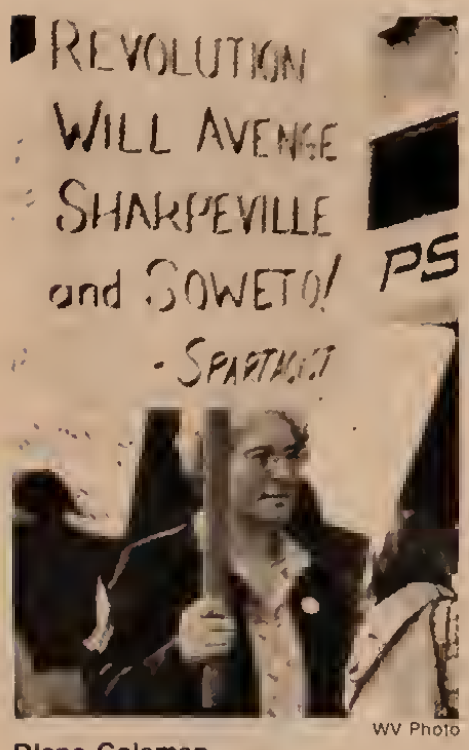
Both Bradley and Coleman lambasted the Democratic Party, liberal wing of U.S. imperialism, which has never wavered in supporting the apartheid butchers as "free world" allies against Communism. Coleman addressed the liberal-backed Proposition J on the SF ballot, which calls on the city to divest itself of stocks in companies with South African holdings. Coleman, whose speech is reprinted below, called this "nothing but a plea to liberal imperialists to act more 'morally'...a cruel hoax" since "capitalism puts nothing before its profits." In counterposition to such reformist schemes, supported by fake-lefts like Socialist Action's supervisoral candidate Sylvia Weinstein, the Spartacists called for hot-cargoing all South African cargo, strike action to force recognition of the black trade unions and the struggle for workers' rule from South Africa to the U.S.

Peter Woolston, a member of the General Executive Board of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 6 and a spokesman for the Militant Caucus, hammered home the demonstration's urgent call for labor action: "Right now that country should be shut down tight. Nothing should go in; nothing should come out." Other speakers at the rally included Guillermo Bustamante of the Spartacus Youth League, Victor Toro of the Chilean Tendencia Proletaria Insurreccional, a representative of the Alameda County Peace and Freedom Party, and Myra Owens for the Labor Black League. Owens recalled last year's SL/LBL demonstration at the same site against the lynching of three heroic militants of the African National Congress. Today's protest ended with the singing of the "Internationale," in memory of—and vowing vengeance for—the martyrs of apartheid terror. Smash the chains of apartheid slavery! ■

Diana Coleman Kicks Off S.F. Election Campaign:

Workers Must "Divest" the Bosses!

The following is a speech by Diana Coleman, Spartacist candidate for SF Board of Supervisors, at a demonstration in solidarity with South African black workers and youth battling apartheid terror. This protest took place at the South African Airways office in San Francisco on September 19.



WV Photo

Diana Coleman

We're here today in solidarity with our brothers and sisters in South Africa who are fighting apartheid. Protests against the new constitution and the sham elections were met with massive repression by the police and army. But the re-emergence of class struggle, led by the black proletariat, poses the real possibility of *workers revolution through smashing apartheid.*

We in this country had better understand that the vicious racist regime in South Africa is one of Washington's closest allies in the anti-Soviet war drive. When the imperialist rulers of this country talk about the "free world" what they mean is South Africa! South Africa is a mainstay, along with the Zionist butchers in Israel, of U.S. imperialism's global counterrevolutionary crusade. Reagan's war drive, which aims at giving decaying capitalism a new lease on life through overturning the gains of the Russian Revolution, threatens to destroy the world through nuclear holocaust. As Trotskyists, we stand for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and its collective planned economy from imperialism, despite the bureaucratic degeneration which threatens those gains. And we understand that despite differences over timing and tactics, the anti-Soviet war drive is a bipartisan effort—Democratic

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Vindictive Harassment of Spartacist Candidate:

Hands Off Richard Bradley!

SAN FRANCISCO, September 18—Richard Bradley, Spartacist candidate for Supervisor, and a hero in black and working-class neighborhoods for having twice torn down the Confederate flag in SF Civic Center last April, has been subjected to vicious and illegal racist harassment by the SF cops. On September 10, Bradley, a black man, was driving his employer's BMW when he was pulled over by a patrol car. When the cops realized who they had in their racist dragnet, one cop said "So, you're Richard Bradley" and the other cop started laughing. Bradley was spread-eagled and searched and his car minutely gone over, with no reason ever being offered. This occurred in the vicinity of the city's Northern Station whose cops had arrested Bradley when he tore down the Dixie flag of slavery and Klan terror. Bradley's trial for the "crime" of ripping down Mayor Dianne Feinstein's official display of racism ended in a hung jury; then all charges were dropped. The cops and the rest of the racists haven't forgotten.

This incident takes place in the sinister context of Reagan's "terror"-scare campaign to intimidate the populace and repress political opposition. The Democrats have embraced this new McCarthyism even to their own detriment. The Democratic mayor, "Dixie" Dianne Feinstein, orchestrated, with her cops and the feds, a scare campaign "predicting" violence at the Democratic Party Convention, supposedly emanating from the tame liberals planning demonstrations to lobby and pressure the Democrats. This effort to blame demonstrators in advance for real cop and rightist violence prominently cited the Spartacist League, in dispatches replayed from

WV Photo

Richard Bradley, in Union Army uniform, tears down Confederate flag.

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British Spartacists Introduce WORKERS HAMMER 4

REPRINTED FROM WORKERS HAMMER NO. 61, SEPTEMBER 1984

The eighth national conference of the Spartacist League/Britain, meeting in London in mid-August, voted to change the name of our monthly newspaper *Spartacist Britain*. Following a meeting of our newly elected Central Committee and subsequent consultation it was resolved to rename the paper *Workers Hammer*.

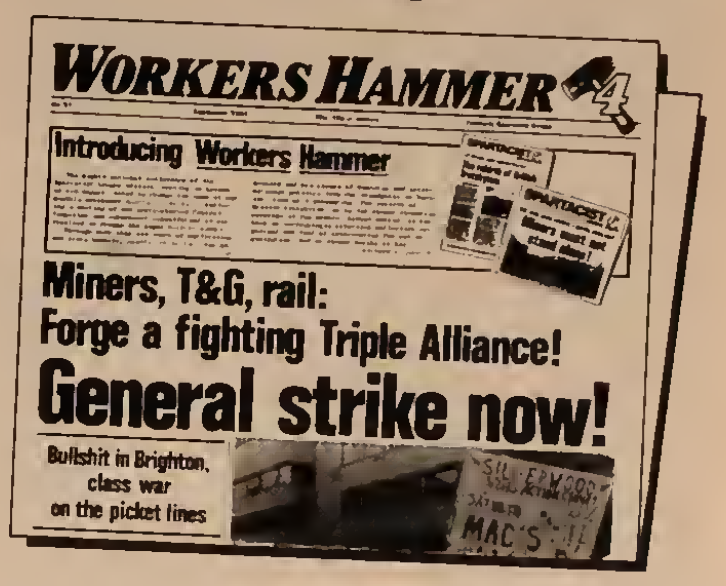
Through more than six years of publication and sixty numbers, *Spartacist Britain* has addressed the key issues of domestic and international politics from the standpoint of Marxism. From No. 1 announcing "The rebirth of British Trotskyism" up to the recent extensive coverage of the miners' heroic battle, it has been an increasingly effective collective organiser and tool of intervention for our organisation. And in recent months it has reached significantly broader layers of the working class than ever before.

First issue announces formation of Spartacist League/Britain in 1978.

We have chosen the name *Workers Hammer* in recognition of our tasks in fighting to be the nucleus of a revolutionary workers party. The hammer is an instrument for *change*: for reshaping and constructing through force of human action. The worker's hammer was joined with the peasant's sickle as the symbol of the Russian Revolution of 1917, of the new Soviet state and of Communist parties throughout the world in the early years of the Communist International. The figure 4 in our new masthead insignia symbolises our fight to reforge the Fourth International, founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938 to continue the fight for world revolution in the face of the Comintern's Stalinist degeneration.

Spartacist Britain, which has identified us for sixty issues as the British section of the international Spartacist tendency, tends to sound like a spin-off press. Further, it does not adequately reflect the fighting history of the British working class or our goal of forging communist leadership for this class.

This country is in a period of deep-going class struggle, and we want our press to be expressly and obviously a champion of the proletariat. We want it to be bold, uncompromisingly Soviet-defencist in the face of the imperialist war drive, forthrightly against the smarmy English establishment centred on the Royal Family and Westminster, and sharply counterposed to the prevailing, narrow, parochial Labourite mush of the British so-called left.



Workers Hammer points the way forward as six-month strike by heroic miners convulses Thatcher's Britain.

What we did not want in our choice of name was the pedestrian, look-and-sound-alike quality of most British left papers, reflecting their opportunist politics and appetites. We stand in the footsteps of the Russian Bolsheviks, of the early Trotskyists, of the World War I German revolutionary internationalist Spartakusbund (Spartacus League), from whom our organisation proudly takes its name. And we draw inspiration as well from past great revolutionaries on this island, from Cromwell to the Chartists to John Maclean. It was Maclean, leader of the Clydeside proletariat in its historic revolutionary battles during and following World War I, who summed up the aims which the Spartacist League and our *Workers Hammer* uphold today:

> "We witness today what all Marxists expected, the capitalist class of the world and their Governments joined together in a most vigorously active attempt to crush Bolshevism in Russia and Spartacism in Germany. Bolshevism, by the way, is Socialism triumphant, and Spartacism is Socialism in process of achieving triumph. This is the class war on an international basis, a Class War that must and will be fought out to the logical conclusion—the extinction of capitalism everywhere."
>
> —*The Call*, 23 January 1919 ■

Here She Comes...

Miss Moral Majority 1984

"Are you now, or have you ever been ...naked?" was the question of the year for the new 1985 Miss America. Sharlene Wells, the daughter of a Salt Lake City Mormon minister, won hands down. Wells, who absolutely denies any nude skeletons in her closet, plays the harp and collects bars of soap. And just to keep it *really* clean she appeared before the judges in what they called a "Utah" swimsuit (double-lined, with no low-cut top or high-cut legs). The judges "were looking for someone like me," she said. Boy, were they. This Miss Mormon/Moral Majority says "I follow the flag with my whole body." Furthermore, she's against smoking, drinking, gambling, premarital sex, the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion. "I am very much in support of President Reagan," she added (*Washington Post*, 17 September). What a surprise.

Of course, "Miss America" has always appealed to the most prurient, genuinely obscene aspects of Puritanism, but this time the reactionary religious aspects were explicit. The Mormons not only excommunicated a woman for supporting the Equal Rights Amendment, but also kicked out a male member for trying to ordain a black man as a minister. Mormon founder Brigham Young declared that blacks are "the race of Cain" and any "seed mixing" (miscegenation) deserves "death on the spot." But that's "Miss America" in the Reagan years for you, another grotesque and sick example of deadly rot of this racist society.

When the first black Miss America was viciously attacked by organizers of the Miss America pageant racket after *Penthouse* published some sexy nude photos of her and a white woman together, we said "Viva Vanessa!" The attack on Vanessa was anti-sex, anti-woman and anti-black, and we stated, "It's too bad Miss Williams didn't decide to tough it out and refuse to resign. Those *Penthouse* pictures do a lot more for her and 'American womanhood' than anything that's happened in Atlantic City" (*WV* No. 360, 3 August). This whirlwind of sanctimonious hypocrisy was so repulsive that even *TV Guide* published an article decrying the self-righteous "Mrs. Grundys" who "publicly...denounce our carnal appetites as instruments of the devil" while privately reveling in the "juicy little scandal."

To quote a tongue-in-cheek letter writer commenting on complaints against *Sports Illustrated*'s annual bathing suit issue: "If god wanted women to run around naked, they would have been born that way." ■

UPI

She ain't no Vanessa.

CORRECTIONS

We are informed by a spokesman for the Pan-Africanist Congress that in our article, "Anti-Apartheid Protest at South African Embassy" (*WV* No. 362, 14 September), he was misquoted as advocating "cultural autonomy." He called instead for the right of self-determination for South African blacks and equated "cultural autonomy" with the apartheid regime's brutal schemes of "separate development." Our apologies.

In that same issue, a typographical error in the article "Nicaragua: CIA Mercenaries Blown Away" listed eleven people killed in the September 1 *contra* terror-bombing raid. The correct figure is seven. And the article "Auto Workers: Strike the Big 3!" should have said that Vincent Chin was bludgeoned to death by a Chrysler foreman and his stepson (and not nephew, as we incorrectly stated).

Auto Workers: Rip It Up!

In a "strike" that only the *Wall Street Journal* could love, United Auto Workers tops pulled out a mere 13 of 147 GM locals across the country when the contract expired September 14. With General Motors sitting on profits of over *six billion* dollars, now is the time to fight! But for UAW president Owen Bieber it was an "informational strike" as he handed out back-to-work orders like some company-owned judge handing out strikebreaking injunctions. Auto workers have got GM over a barrel, and Bieber and his gang are trying to sell a contract that looks like it was written by Reagan. UAW members: tear up this crap and throw it back in GM's face with a *real* auto strike! GM and the rest of the Big 3, including Chrysler, should be shut down tight!

The day Bieber announced the agreement, he was echoed by United Mine Workers president Rich Trumka, who pointing to his Walter Mondale wristwatch announced that for the first time in 20 years coal miners would make it under the wire and settle without a strike. Auto workers and coal miners have the power to lead labor in smashing the last five years of givebacks and union-busting. But it will take a hard political fight, first against the giveback artists in "Sacrifice House," who can't even strike *one* company. For Bieber & Co. it's "elect Mondale, fight the Japanese." For auto workers, this Mondale contract is the kiss of death.

This contract is a sellout that rivals Fraser's worst givebacks! The 24 September *Wall Street Journal*, mouthpiece of finance capital, gloated over the settlement: "The old saw that what's good for General Motors is good for the country may turn out to be true in the case of the giant auto maker's new pact with the United Auto Workers." *Time* magazine called the settlement "a victory for GM," and worried that it might be rejected by GM workers. For good reason—the total pay increase falls below the average of major union settlements in the U.S. and amounts to barely half the 4-5 percent wage hike received by Japanese auto workers this year!

The *Journal* article crowed: "It is especially good because of the productivity improvements that GM could achieve under the pact. In internal documents that leaked out earlier this year, GM indicated that it hopes to reduce its hourly work force by 60,000 to 120,000 workers in the next two years." The *Journal* quoted an MIT auto industry expert who concluded, "In essence, GM has paid a billion for an unlimited license to automate and outsource."

This contract is a monster *giveback*, designed to split the union and grease the skids for GM's layoffs. Bieber's billion dollar "job security" fund (spread over six years) *excludes* those laid off by plant closings and production cutbacks, as well as the *hundreds of thousands* still on the street from past layoffs. If GM says you are being replaced by a robot, and if there is any money left, you give up any protection on job descriptions and seniority rights for job bidding and shift preference.

For those left in the plants, there's a *1.3 percent* wage increase for the majority of assembly line workers the first year, with *nothing* in wages for the rest of the contract, only one-time two-bit payments based on company profits. And even this is being paid for by taking it out of the COLA! What about the billions Doug Fraser, Bieber & Co. forked over to the Big 3 in the last five years? No wonder GM veep Warren crowed that "We come out of these negotiations in a better competitive position than we went in."

AP

UAW members on the picket lines at Van Nuys, California.

Phony Strike

Across the country Bieber tried to take down picket lines as fast as they went up. A local official in Syracuse, New York was tongue-lashed for pulling his local out when the contract expired. By the afternoon shift Bieber had them back in the plant. When the deadline passed on Friday night at Lordstown, Ohio local officers kept passing the hot potato of who would tell the workers that they were not among the target plants and would have to keep working. In Flint, Buick was only partially struck, and strikers fumed while V-8 and Metal Fab continued to work next door to picket lines at Truck.

At the Van Nuys, California assembly plant, GM workers voted overwhelmingly on Tuesday, September 18 to stay out after the International tried to whip them back to work and finish the production of '84 models, under vicious speedup and harassment. And after Bieber's sellout pact was announced, Van Nuys was the only plant where the picket lines stayed up. Despite the treachery of the UAW bureaucracy, pieketers at some GM plants were itching to fight. "What are we striking for—this is bullshit, only 20 plants out," a black worker at Pontiac Truck and Bus bitterly complained. Another told *WV*, "It's got to start somewhere, why not right here? Auto is the leader of the unions, the others will go the way we do."

The givebacks and union-busting of the '80s began with auto. Since the Chrysler "bailout" five years ago, 300,000 UAW members, over 20 percent of the union, have been chopped. This was Carter/Mondale's supposed aid to auto workers—foisted on them by UAW misleader Doug Fraser—a bailout for the bosses, brutal wage cuts and layoffs for the workers. What a joke: talk of "job security" coming from the gang that made damn sure GM, Ford and Chrysler could quietly close plant after plant—from Dodge Main to Flatrock to South Gate and Mahwah. And they have been well paid for their treachery—Woodcock got the job of ambassador to Peking, Fraser got his seat on the Chrysler board.

For four decades, the UAW bureaucracy, consolidated by Walter Reuther and hardened through the purges of the reds who led the class battles which gave birth to the union, has been the ideological leader of the American labor movement, binding the working class to class collaboration through the Democratic Party. From the mobilization of war production in World War II, through the postwar anti-communist purges to the shackling of civil rights protests, the UAW bureaucrats have been the capitalists' political policemen at home and abroad.

Don't Buy Protectionist Poison!

Meanwhile, after years of milking the industry dry for profits and letting the plants go to hell, the Big 3 now face superior competition from their capitalist rivals in Japan and Europe. That's what these auto negotiations are about—the company cops who head the UAW have jumped to the defense of "their" bosses with screams for protection of the U.S. auto industry's profits.

Wrapping themselves in the flag, with cries of "Remember Pearl Harbor!" and spewing racist poison against Japanese workers, the UAW bureaucracy is heating the drums of trade war for the American bosses. Vituperating against "outsourcing" is Bieber-talk for protectionism—the "solution" of the Mondale Democrats. They seek to shore up auto and steel through tariffs, quotas and "content" laws, while arming U.S. imperialism to the teeth with conventional as well as nuclear weapons. In the current line-up, Bieber and Lee Iacocca, who sold most of Chrysler's overseas manufacturing plants, are protectionist, while GM and Ford, with their "captive" imports, joint ventures and ownership of Japanese auto companies, are opposed to it. But the program of *both* sides to "rationalize" the American auto industry is speedup, layoffs and union-busting.

Far from "saving jobs" the UAW bureaucracy's racist protectionism chains auto workers to their enemy while whipping up hysteria against foreign workers, the hysteria which murdered Chinese American Vincent Chin in Detroit. And black workers, including auto workers, will be prime victims of this jingoist campaign. It's the Ku Klux Klan terrorists who wrap themselves in the red, white and blue calling for war against "foreigners." This chauvinist poison, coupled with years of beating back the UAW ranks with givebacks and layoffs, gave rise to resignation on the picket lines. It also fostered anti-communism, which only feeds the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive, and its domestic reflection in Reagan's class war on blacks and labor.

Jobs for the hundreds of thousands of auto workers thrown on the street in the last five years, and for the Big 3's intended future victims, will only come through a fight against capitalism which drives out the pro-company UAW misleaders and returns the union to the membership. By forging an alliance between the plants and the ghetto masses in cities like Detroit, a class-struggle leadership can fight for jobs for all! For 30 hours work for 40 hours pay—a sliding scale of wages and hours! Bieber wants GM workers to eat this contract to keep things quiet for Mondale. We say: screw Mondale! Defense of blacks and labor means smashing the bureaucratic pro-capitalist chains which tie the unions to the Democratic Party. A class-struggle workers party must be forged which can rip industry out of the hands of a dying capitalism and create a rational planned economy under a workers government, with jobs for all. ■

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Rad-Lib Nonsense Over Skulls From South Africa

Anti-Evolution=Racism

By Elizabeth Jannar

1984 marks the 125th anniversary of Darwin's publishing of *On the Origin of Species* but the battle for a materialist understanding of our world and human society is, if anything, heating up all over again. The most fascinating, enlightening—and irrefutable—demonstration of what Darwin called "descent with modification" (the word "evolution" can, and has, been used wrongly to imply "progress" toward some lofty ideal—invariably white and male) is an unprecedented collection of primate fossils which was exhibited last spring and summer at the American Museum of Natural History in New York. The "Ancestors" exhibit brought together for the first time in history four million years of our fossilized forebears—an education in itself.

This threatens some people. In Berlin of 1936, a floodlight like the "Ancestors" exhibit—illuminating the stygian darkness of Nazi-imposed ignorance and its myth of Aryan racial superiority by demonstrating that all of us together are part of the *human* race, good or bad—would promptly have landed the exhibit's organizers in a concentration camp for showing that Adolf Hitler and his bully-boys, just like all the rest of us, are descended from early apes. The very existence of this remarkable fossil record is the most powerful, concrete proof of the oneness of humanity.

And so it was particularly ironic that, in the name of anti-apartheid, this truly

Jerry Cooke

No fake. Eclipsed by Piltdown phony for decades, Taung Baby found in South Africa in 1924 is now recognized as 2-million-year-old Australopithecus africanus youngster.

liberating exhibit came under attack from forces akin to those that brought you the Scopes Monkey Trial, except this time in left/liberal drag. Ostensibly because some of the most crucial pieces of evidence included therein happened to come from within the boundaries of the present racist South African state, the militant know-nothingists would have censored the exhibit and penalized its organizers. In fact, there is a racist flavor to some of the exhibit's ancillary material. The exhibitors have supplied imaginative reconstructions of the various "Ancestors," and the earlier the fossils, the hairier and more Negroid are the artists' reconstructions of what these people might have looked like. But the bones speak for themselves.

Australopithecus robustus, one of the fossil skulls rad-libs would have excluded from Natural History Museum's once-in-a-lifetime family reunion. He's neither ape nor human, but that's not why he's not invited. He's guilty of being "South African"!

The so-named "Rev." Wendell Foster, black city councilman from the Bronx, introduced two bills before that body. One demanded that the museum remove the "South African" fossils from its exhibit, while the other called for cutting off city financial aid to any institution (read: museum) having business, cultural or athletic exchanges with South Africa.

Taken at face value, as a supposed "blow" against apartheid, this strategy can only be characterized as australopithecine in intelligence. (To call it Neanderthal would be to grievously insult what were most likely our fellow, although early—and equally canny—*Homo sapiens*.) It's not only ironic, it's moronic. Skulls are not Krugerrands! Johannesburg can claim no credit for the fact that one or more populations of *Australopithecus africanus*, or later one or more populations of the *robustus* line, found the region a nice place to live two million or so years ago.

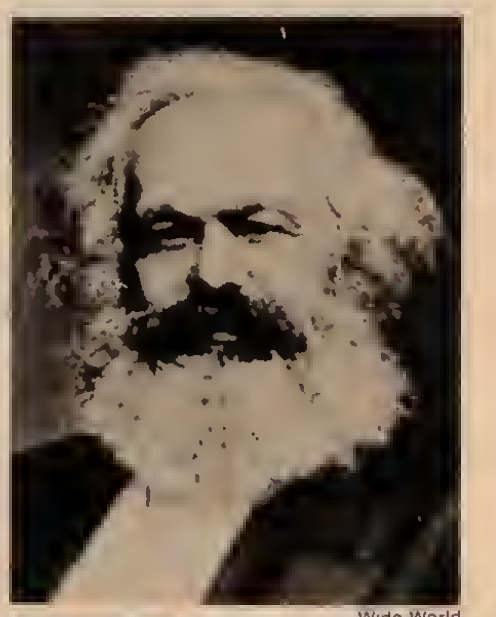
But wait—could there be another, undeclared motivation for Rev. Foster & Co.'s seemingly impotent gesture? When you dig up the real evidence of what makes us what we are, what comes crashing down with a great thud is not only those evil myths of racial superiority. So does Creationism, every fundamentalist preacher's bread and butter. (With no god that created us all, who needs his messengers on earth? By the way, as far as we know, South Africa, Iran and the U.S. are the only countries in the world that countenance Creationism in their official school texts.)

This is pretty fundamental stuff. The right to know is central to every struggle for social justice, bar none. In the '70s New Left in general, Progressive Labor Party in particular, and everywhere that the hard reality of the class struggle does not make itself felt, the philistines can get away for a while with stupidly declaring along with PL's Milt Rosen that "all knowledge serves the ruling class." Wanna bet? Karl Marx said that ignorance never did anybody any good, and that's the truth.

We could go on at great length about the lessons of "Ancestors"—about Peking man and Java man and Lucy. Not to mention Fred (Engels) who already in the 19th century saw the prime importance of upright posture, with its freeing of the hands for tool-making and labor, in the development of humankind as we know it ("The Part Played by Labor in the Transition from Ape to Man," written in 1876, published posthumously in 1896). We hope our journal *Women and Revolution* will consider the subject for an upcoming issue. Meanwhile we can recommend some authors highly worthy of your attention.

If you want to know about Lucy and her kind—hominids who walked upright three and a half million years ago and so had gone beyond their ape ancestors but were not yet really human like our own genus, *Homo*—then get hold of the book *Lucy* by her discoverer Donald Johanson and Maitland Edey. The other name we want to give you is that of Stephen Jay Gould, an enormously intellectually powerful biologist who thinks dialectically and writes charmingly. He has a column in *Natural History* magazine, which you can subscribe to by becoming a member of the American Museum of Natural History. Collections of these essays will be found in his books *Ever Since Darwin*, *The Panda's Thumb* and *Hen's Teeth and Horse's Toes*. A deeper explanation of his view of evolution is found in *Ontogeny and Phylogeny*. He is also—not just coincidentally—to our knowledge the most profound theoretician of anti-racism alive in this country. If you want the real hard-core stuff, based on the most rigorous science, read his book *The Mismeasure of Man*.

We're sure our readers share our thirst for knowledge of what really makes us tick and for insight into man's historically evolved role in the world. The fascinating developments in the study of human evolution have important implications for Marxists. And it's fun. "Ancestors" at the Museum of Natural History was perhaps the most extraordinary family reunion ever held on the face of the earth. We went ape. ■



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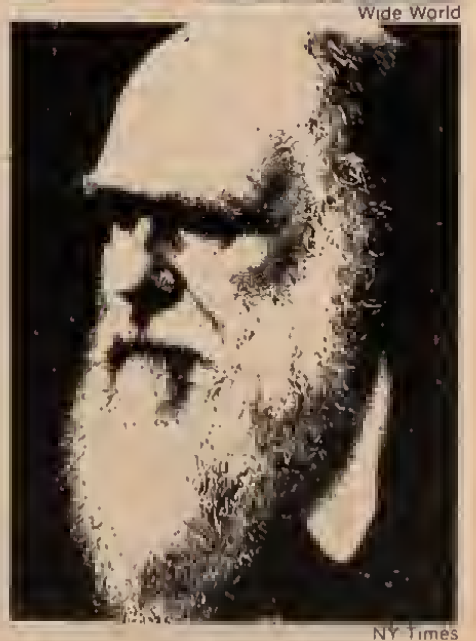
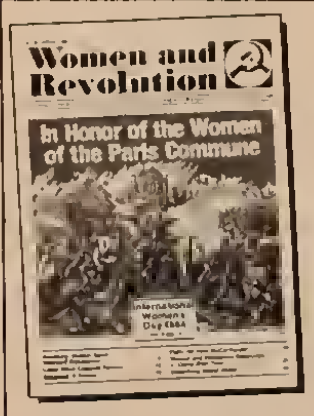


NY Times

Karl Marx (top) and Charles Darwin. Marx wrote to Engels in 1869 that Darwin's On the Origin of Species "contains the basis in natural history for our view."



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Progress

Frederick Engels.

The Taung Baby and the "Piltdown Man"

Engels and Evolution

By Alice Grange

Senzer/Newsweek

Stephen Jay Gould and friends.

One of the exquisite ironics of the controversy surrounding the Natural History Museum's "Ancestors" exhibit is that one of the "South African" skulls the left/liberals would have excluded is the Taung Baby itself. Discovered by Raymond Dart in 1924, it was the first specimen ever uncovered of a whole new, more primitive and previously unknown hominid genus, *Australopithecus*. The British paleoanthropological "establishment," for its own reasons, remained convinced it was no more than an extinct ape. For *decades* the lords of British anthropology refused to acknowledge this important find as an early hominid. Why?

Between the year 1856, when the first Neanderthal remains were found, and the time of the Taung discovery, fossil finds in Europe and Asia (including Java, Peking and Heidelberg man, all examples of *Homo erectus*, and the *Homo sapiens* Cro-Magnon) were whetting the appetites of paleoanthropologists everywhere to uncover and lay claim to the sought-after "missing link." Presented with a candidate for "oldest man" on their own national soil, the leading British paleoanthropologists in 1912 had leaped upon the so-called "Piltdown Man." It had going for it, among other things, the blessing of being an *Englishman*. Moreover, though dentition and jaw structure were more ape-like than any specimen found so far, the skull flatteringly showed a much greater cranial capacity than any of the specimens from elsewhere. Never mind that this feature was in flat contradiction to the conclusions being drawn from the discoveries then pouring in from the Chinese sites. Piltdown was accepted because it was oh-so-comforting to believe that our most "noble" feature, the brain, should be found in relatively abundant quantity (even if one had to concede a more ape-like face) on the first Englishman. With similar fatuous reasoning it was found natural that Peking man, not being of the white race, should have a brain only two-thirds the size of "Piltdown Man." The Piltdown "fossil" was celebrated as the crown jewel of the benighted English scientific establishment because it purported to show them what they wanted to see: a large-brained progenitor, conveniently found in England. What the strictures of racist imperialism demanded, they saw—for they owed their positions to it.

Not until the 1950s was the plain truth acknowledged. Piltdown's renown turned to embarrassment and the subject was hurriedly buried when the "fossil" was shown to be a readily recognizable concoction of a modern upper human cranium artfully stained to match the lower jaw of an orangutan with its molars carefully filed down and otherwise suitably altered. Both were only about 500 years old. How embarrassing for the English scientists—and for the French Jesuit priest and cult figure Teilhard de Chardin who appears inextricably enmeshed in the hoax. Belatedly, the edifice of phony "objectivity" crumbled and the South African *Australopithecus* fossils assumed their rightful role in the evolutionary record.

Recent finds of *Australopithecus* in eastern Africa, including the skeleton named Lucy, confirm this conclusion: our hominid ancestors first walked upright, while the brain remained small and apelike. It was cultural bias that had led the scientific establishment to draw the wrong conclusion of cerebral primacy. Yet as far back as 1876, Frederick Engels, approaching the subject on the basis of dialectical materialism, was able to expose this conceit and anticipate present scientific discoveries by a century. Stephen Jay Gould comments, in his book *Ever Since Darwin* (W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1979), on Engels' essay "The Part Played by Labor in the Transition from Ape to Man." We publish some excerpts from Gould's book below:

* * * * *

Engels considers three essential features of human evolution: speech, a large brain, and upright posture. He argues that the first step must have been a descent from the trees with subsequent evolution to upright posture by our ground-dwelling ancestors. "These apes when moving on level ground began to drop the habit of using their hands and to adopt a more and more erect gait. This was the decisive step in the transition from ape to man." Upright posture freed the hand for using tools (labor, in Engels's terminology); increased intelligence and speech came later.

> "Thus the hand is not only the organ of labor, it is also the product of labor. Only by labor, by adaptation to ever new operations... by the ever-renewed employment of these inherited improvements in new, more and more complicated operations, has the human hand attained the high degree of perfection that has enabled it to conjure into being the pictures of Raphael, the statues of Thorwaldsen, the music of Paganini."

... The importance of Engels's essay lies, not in its substantive conclusions, but in its trenchant political analysis of why Western science was so hung up on the a priori assertion of cerebral primacy.

As humans learned to master their material surroundings, Engels argues, other skills were added to primitive hunting—agriculture, spinning, pottery, navigation, arts and sciences, law

continued on page 9

Liberal Moralists Can't Fight Apartheid

Black Workers Will Smash South African Racist Rule!

The protest against the Museum of Natural History's "Ancestors" exhibit is an especially silly example of the rad-lib campaign to boycott all things South African, from Krugerrands to sardines to the innocuous musical *Ipi Tombi*. In particular, liberals appeal to the universal outrage against apartheid racism in demanding that colleges and other institutions divest their stocks and bonds of any corporations operating in South Africa. The only effect of such schemes is to produce more business for Wall Street stockbrokers as they shuffle investor portfolios.

Of course, we protest against the *genuine* representatives of South African racist rule. The all-white "national" rugby team, the Springboks, for example, serve as semi-official ambassadors of the apartheid state. When the Springboks made their first-ever tour of the U.S. in 1981, right after South Africa had attacked Angola, we wrote:

> "The Springboks tour provides an important opportunity for massive protests against the U.S./South Africa Cold War axis. By driving the South African 'national' team out of the country, militants can demonstrate support to the guerrilla fighters of SWAPO, to the Angolan and Cuban soldiers and Russian advisers now battling racist imperialism in Africa."
>
> —"Drive Springboks Out!" *WV* No. 288, 11 September 1981

At the same time, we do not treat all white South African athletes as racist pariahs to be barred from international competition. The Afrikaner heavyweight boxer Gerrie Coetzee, for example, has publicly spoken out against apartheid and has sponsored and worked with young black athletes.

What's wrong with the rad-lib "boycott everything South African" campaign is not just that it's stupid, indiscriminate and ineffectual, but that implicitly it *prettifies* American imperialism. Are the Reagans and Rockefellers more humane, more democratic than the Bothas and Oppenheimers? Are the U.S. rulers *lesser* enemies of humanity? South Africa is a *junior* partner of American imperialism. In their wildest ambitions the rulers in Pretoria seek to dominate and exploit the surrounding black African states. The masters of the White House and Pentagon are prepared to destroy all of mankind to defend capitalism ("the free world") against Communism. The main enemy is at home!

The liberal moralists who want to boycott everything South African have no understanding at all how to shatter white racist rule over 20 million black toilers. South African capitalism's increasing dependence on black labor is the Achilles' heel of the entire apartheid system. Witness the explosive growth of black trade unions in recent years and the gold miners' revolt against murderous police-state repression. A recent survey conducted by a reputable liberal sociologist indicated that 75 percent of black South African factory workers oppose divestment as harmful to their economic interests (*New York Times*, 23 September). Real, not bogus, solidarity demands that the American and West European trade-union movements force multinationals operating in South Africa (like Ford and GM) to recognize black unions and to abolish the color bar and all racist practices. In the present emergency, urgent international labor *action* can provide powerful aid to the black masses rising up against their apartheid oppressors. That, not divestment and cultural boycotts, will bring the day of reckoning for South Africa's racist rulers much closer.

WV Photo

Spartacists protest racist terror in South Africa.

Under a communist vanguard party, South Africa's black proletariat will be the gravedigger of apartheid capitalism, giving rise to a black-centered workers and peasants government. Committed to this perspective, we do *not* want to cut South Africa off from the rest of humanity but just the opposite. We seek to integrate the forces in South Africa struggling against apartheid into the world socialist revolution.

Shockley Preaches Nazi Race "Theories"

ATLANTA—William Shockley, the pseudo-scientific ideologue of white supremacy, had sued the *Atlanta Journal Constitution* and black journalist Roger Witherspoon for $1.25 million in libel damages for printing that Shockley advocated Nazi race theories. On September 14, a jury of five whites and one black in Atlanta federal district court held that Shockley had been libeled, yet awarded him only one dollar in damages. At the trial, experts testified that while Shockley had been awarded the Nobel Prize for his part in inventing the transistor, he was "totally incompetent" as a geneticist. The jury didn't buy the argument of damage to Shockley's reputation and said if he wanted publicity he ought to "pay for it out of his pocket." Ever since the 1960s Shockley has been pushing his silly racist theories, trying to "prove" the genetic inferiority of blacks and proposing his final solution—"voluntary sterilization." But it says something about Reagan's America that in 1984 expert witnesses had to be dragged into court to "debate" whether or not blacks are "inferior" and to show that apologists for Nazi race theories are racist.

Hulton Picture Library

Nazi doctors test for "pure Aryans." Those labeled "genetically inferior" were sterilized.

Shockley had singled out one sentence in particular from Witherspoon's 31 July 1980 column "Designer Genes by Shockley," as a "damnable, evil lie": "The Shockley program was tried out in Germany during World War II, when scientists under the direction of the government experimented on Jews and defectives in an effort to study genetic development." Many people have said exactly this and worse about Shockley before. So why did he decide to pursue a lawsuit in 1981? Could it have anything to do with the fact that a Ku Klux Klan-endorsed president had just entered the White House? Reagan has given the green light to Cold War racist reaction; in a letter to Reagan upon his election, Shockley urged government implementation of his sterilization plan.

The currency being given to Shockley's racist theories is closely linked to the rise of KKK terror and attaeks on blacks throughout the country. On the stand Shockley embraced the *Thunderbolt*, organ of J.B. Stoner's white-supremacist National States Rights Party, which often quotes him favorably. In mid-August the fascists were called before a grand jury investigating a wave of terrorist break-ins and beatings of interracial couples in Georgia. When the National Anti-Klan Network held a press conference on the courthouse steps, the KKK race-terrorists forcibly disrupted it and took it over. During the last month, two Atlanta abortion clinics have been bombed. To the Birmingham church bombers and lynchers the Shockley plan is no "thinking exercise," as he likes to call it. They want to carry it out, through murder if necessary.

Shockley and his fellow traveler Arthur Jensen maintain that 85 percent of American blacks fall below the mean of "white intelligence" and qualify for his "voluntary bonus sterilization plan" in which people with IQs below 100 would be bribed to undergo sterilization. He also helped set up (and contributed to) a sperm bank matching Nobel Prize winning donors with high IQ recipients, alleging that some of his own children (one of whom is a physicist) are genetically inferior because his first wife was allegedly not as intelligent as he. However, all is not voluntary in Shockley's "brave new (Aryan) world." He also proposes a "voluntary-compulsion" plan targeting those with genetically transmitted diseases such as sickle-cell anemia, which affects mainly blacks (and Sicilians).

If his plan is not implemented, this dangerous nut incredibly looks forward to a "dirty nuclear war" as civilization's last best hope. In a 1980 phone conversation with reporter Witherspoon, introduced as evidence in the trial, Shockley said that in a nuclear war "those who survive will be people endowed with far above average intelligence and foresight.... Disproportionately large fractions of the Swiss and Swedish populations will emerge from shelters tunneled into their mountains."

Shockley had also favorably quoted portions of a letter from one Richard L. Masland, director of the "National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness": "It has concerned me that to my knowledge there has never been any attempt at an objective evaluation of the results of the Nazi eugenics program. Whatever the ethics of that undertaking, it certainly represented a vast and I'm sure systematic experiment in racial improvement through the elimination of the unfit...."

Testifying for the defense, Barry Mehler, a historian who has studied the racists' pseudo-science of "eugenics," stated that the Shockley plan does indeed parallel the Nazi experiments in many ways. The Nazis started out with a "voluntary" plan; three years into power they had sterilized 56,000 people. In the concentration camps, sterilizations were running at the rate of 1,000 per day, while often anesthesia was not used so the doctors could "study" reaction to pain. But it wasn't only the Nazis who did this stuff. At what is now called the Center for Disease Control in Atlanta, syphilis experiments were carried out on blacks in Tuskegee County, Alabama for over *40 years*, involving 400 sharecroppers and day laborers to determine the effects of untreated syphilis. The experiment ended only in 1972, 30 years after a cure for syphilis had been found. These men were told they had "bad blood"—"bad blood," "bad genes."

In the climate of Reagan's America, opponents of this racist garbage who testified for the defense were viciously red-baited. When prominent anthropologist Ashley Montagu appeared in court, Shockley's attorney Murray Silver denounced Montagu as a Communist for writing in *Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race* (1942) of the Soviet Union as a model of how to deal with nationalities and races. Silver told the jury not to believe Professor Mehler because he was "left-handed," "liberal" and "anti-Reagan"! When the defense argued that the National Academy of Sciences refused to touch Shockley's "research," he likened the academy to the Russian geneticist Lysenko, who under Stalin had his opponents banished to Siberia.

In his 1981 book, *The Mismeasure of Man*, noted biologist Stephen Jay Gould dismissed these crackpot biological determinists: "Who even remembers the hot topics of ten years ago: Shockley's proposals for reimbursing voluntarily sterilized individuals according to their number of IQ points below 100, the great XYZ debate, or the attempt to explain urban riots by diseased neurology of rioters." But here we are in the Reagan years and such racist claptrap is seriously debated in court. Historian C. Vann Woodward has pointed to the correlation between the theories of the "natural inferiority" of blacks with the imposition of Jim Crow laws in the South.

UPI

William Shockley, an ideologue for racist terror.

Shockley had sought the Atlanta trial in order to broadcast and popularize his dangerous theories of racial inferiority. "It would be worth everything, even if I don't get one cent," he said. "My complaint is that people have not taken me seriously, you see?" (*Washington Post*, 12 September). When the jury awarded him one lousy buck, however, he complained bitterly: "The *Constitution* has not in any way been punished for libel...." Shockley is an "ideologue" for fascist terror. The nightriding lynchers, cross burners and bombers must be smashed through massive mobilizations of labor/black power. It will take victorious socialist revolution to sweep away this murderous racist filth. ■

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Guardian Shot Down...

(continued from page 2)

challenged by the liberal *Nation*, which at least has the guts to take a controversial position and defend it. Even the *New York Times*' Tom Wicker beat the *Guardian* to the punch. And now these would-be leftists have come out in their 8 August issue explicitly endorsing Mondale/Ferraro in the November elections. (How do you like your candidate's call for a "quarantine" of Sandinista Nicaragua and his year-later endorsement of Reagan's Grenada invasion?) Don't expect a "correction" on this one soon, though.

At the Democratic convention in San Francisco last July, assorted social democrats sponsored a "Whose Party Is This Anyway?" forum where California Assemblyman and ex-SDS leader Tom Hayden described his district as "frumpies—formerly radical upwardly mobile professionals." This is just the constituency that the *Guardian* is appealing to. Today even it admits the KAL 007 affair was "a milestone event in the current cold war." But at this milestone these ex-radicals took a sharp right down the road to a third imperialist world war against the Soviet Union. It is the *Guardian* that must be held accountable and condemned for beating the war drums for Reagan. ■

CWP...

(continued from page 2)

Democrat to give them cover. The Spartacist League responded to the Greensboro massacre with nationwide demonstrations. Since then the SL has carried out a number of important labor/black mobilizations in northern cities which have effectively interdicted the KKK from expanding out of their Southern bailiwick. Most notably, on 27 November 1982 in Washington, D.C., 5,000 predominantly black working people responded to our call to stop the KKK at the Capitol, while the CWP wandered haplessly between the Democratic Party windbags' rally at McPherson Square and the SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization.

Closing down *Workers Viewpoint* is self-evidently a statement of political bankruptcy. The CWP's letter to subscribers claimed that "we are looking forward to the start of something new." Something new, something old—the popular front has been the main line of Stalinist liquidationism from FDR to Mondale. We don't pretend to know what's going on inside the CWP. But for a party with a revolutionary will, there will always be a core of comrades who find a way to get the paper out. Everyone from the tsarist censors to his leftist detractors tried to shut down Lenin's *Iskra*, but he fought for the paper because it was the voice of the party. As Lenin wrote in *What Is To Be Done?* the paper must be the "scaffolding" for the construction of "the revolutionary organization that is ever ready to support every protest and every outbreak"; that it must be not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator but also a *collective organizer*.

But of course, if you don't want to build a communist party, an organization of professional revolutionaries, to support and lead every protest and every outbreak; if instead you're working for Mondale and Ferraro... then who needs it? From the closing down of *Workers Viewpoint*, can the demise of the CWP be far behind? ■

Evolution...

(continued from page 7)

and politics, and finally, "the fantastic reflection of human things in the human mind: religion." As wealth accumulated, small groups of men seized power and forced others to work for them. Labor, the source of all wealth and the primary impetus for human evolution, assumed the same low status of those who labored for the rulers. Since rulers governed by their will (that is, by feats of mind), actions of the brain appeared to have a motive power of their own. The profession of philosophy followed no unsullied ideal of truth. Philosophers relied on state or religious patronage. Even if Plato did not consciously conspire to bolster the privileges of rulers with a supposedly abstract philosophy, his own class position encouraged an emphasis on thought as primary, dominating, and altogether more noble and important than the labor it supervised. This idealistic tradition dominated philosophy right through to Darwin's day. Its influence was so subtle and pervasive that even scientific, but apolitical, materialists like Darwin fell under its sway. A bias must be recognized before it can be challenged. Cerebral primacy seemed so obvious and natural that it was accepted as given, rather than recognized as a deep-seated social prejudice related to the class position of professional thinkers and their patrons. Engels writes:

> "All merit for the swift advance of civilization was ascribed to the mind, to the development and activity of the brain. Men became accustomed to explain their actions from their thoughts, instead of from their needs.... And so there arose in the course of time that idealistic outlook on the world which, especially since the downfall of the ancient world, has dominated men's minds. It still rules them to such a degree that even the most materialistic natural scientists of the Darwinian school are still unable to form any clear idea of the origin of man, because under that ideological influence they do not recognize the part that has been played therein by labor."

The importance of Engels's essay does not lie in the happy result that *Australopithecus* confirmed a specific theory proposed by him... but rather in his perceptive analysis of the political role of science and of the social biases that must affect all thought. ■

Diana Coleman...

(continued from page 3)

and Republican.

From South Africa to Central America, Reagan stands by his butchers. And from South Africa to Central America, the working masses are struggling desperately to overturn these repressive capitalist regimes. Central America is the front line in this hemisphere of the anti-Soviet war drive—where Reagan plans counterrevolution from Nicaragua to Cuba, and then to the Soviet Union. We say: Military victory to Salvadoran leftist insurgents! Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador! In Nicaragua, where the U.S. is funding *contras* and soldier-of-fortune-type mercenaries, the SL says: Kill the invaders! Defend, complete and extend the Nicaraguan revolution!

Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home. Labor has the power to stop imperialist interventions around the world. Militant postal, auto and coal strikes could not only smash Reagan's war on labor and minorities but also go a long way toward spiking the sinister anti-Soviet war drive. This time around there can and must be *labor strikes* from Day 1 of a U.S. invasion of Central America. This is what the SL fights for—political strike action against imperialist war. But so long as the capitalists have the weapons and state power, the threat of war is ever-present. Imperialist war will end only when the proletariat takes power and establishes its own class rule. Class struggle, not Democrats, is what we need to bring down Reagan reaction. On this, the 50th year anniversary of the SF General Strike, it's time to stop eulogizing the General Strike as the labor bureaucrats have been doing, and to realize that we have to do it again!

Now here in SF in this election, South Africa is a big issue. And let's see how some of our political opponents address this question. We have Julianne Malveaux who is being supported by the "Rainbow Coalition." She's putting a proposition on the ballot that calls for divestment of city funds from companies that do business in South Africa. This is nothing but a plea to the "liberal" imperialists to act more morally—a cruel hoax because capitalism puts nothing before profits.

The kind of divestment we're interested in is for the workers of South Africa to divest the imperialists and capitalists of their property through workers revolution! We seek to mobilize the American working class to expropriate the capitalists here as well.

Then, there's Sylvia Weinstein of Socialist Action—she's for liberal divestment schemes, too. Her other big love is Polish Solidarność—company union for CIA and Western bankers. It's revealing, isn't it, that the Solidarność activists who have been trying to restore capitalism in Poland are now emigrating en masse to South Africa, that bastion of the "free world."

So let me suggest to Sylvia Weinstein that she ask anti-apartheid militants in South Africa what they think of Polish anti-communists who go to South Africa to live well amid the superexploitation and misery of blacks. For our part, we believe that black workers must take the lead to smash the apartheid regime. And for this, a revolutionary vanguard party is a prime necessity. Such a party would seek to win over militants of the African National Congress to the Trotskyist program of *permanent revolution*, that is one-stage revolution—socialist revolution, in South Africa.

It is this perspective which links the struggle for workers revolution in each country to world socialist revolution against imperialism. This is the only way forward for the working class internationally. ■

WV Photos

Left: Diana Coleman speaking with SF phone unionists. Right: Richard Bradley at rally for striking restaurant workers.

Richard Bradley...

(continued from page 3)

coast to coast, as a group fomenting convention "violence." We were targeted despite our emphatic public statements expressing our essential indifference to the proceedings of that bourgeois gathering, at the same time vigorously defending the rights of the Democrats and their demonstrators to free assembly and free speech.

Feinstein's cops turned San Francisco into a militarized zone during the convention, beating and arresting hundreds. Now the emboldened SF cops are running amok, against gays, blacks and anyone they hate.

The Spartacist candidates' legal counsel, Valerie West, protested the cop harassment of Bradley to the chief of police:

> "While Mr. Bradley's removal of the Confederate flag received wide publicity and much favorable response from the public in general, nonetheless it was apparently not popular with many of the officers at Northern Station. When he was arrested for taking down the Confederate flag, officers at Northern Station subjected Richard Bradley to racial abuse and harassment.... All of these facts were the subject of testimony during the course of Mr. Bradley's trial....
>
> "In recent months, most notably since the brutal treatment of demonstrators during the Democratic Convention, there has been widespread concern about police abuse of the public. Therefore, I insist that you take all steps necessary to insure that Mr. Bradley, as well as his fellow candidate Diana Coleman, and their campaign workers are not subjected to any further police harassment and abuse."

The Bradley and Coleman campaign is in defense of the democratic rights cherished by labor and its allies, rights which are integral to the right of a workers party to organize. *Hands Off Richard Bradley!* ■

☐ Please send further information on the campaign

☐ I endorse the campaign of Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman for SF Board of Supervisors.

☐ Enclosed is $_____ contribution to the campaign.

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BAY AREA

Labor: Stop Ships, Planes to South Africa!

As tens of thousands of black gold miners and township residents are fighting the full fury of South Africa's apartheid state terror, solidarity *action* by the international labor movement is urgently necessary. Since the eruption of mass, anti-apartheid black protests early this month, the international Spartacist tendency and class-struggle union militants have called for an emergency international labor boycott of all cargo to and from South Africa. In Australia, maritime workers had already undertaken such an action.

On September 20, militants of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) in the San Francisco Bay Area distributed a leaflet headlined "Longshoremen: Hot Cargo *All* South African Shipping!" The leaflet, issued by 25-year ILWU veteran Stan Gow, stated, "Black workers in South Africa have the power to break the chains of apartheid slavery—we must stand shoulder to shoulder with them in their fight. Local 10—take the lead! Stop *all* cargo to or from South Africa! Call on the ILWU, ILA and international transport unions to do likewise." The leaflet concluded with a call to "strike a blow against apartheid and the racist, anti-Soviet Washington/Pretoria axis!"

At the September 24 New York port meeting of the National Maritime Union (NMU), members of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus presented a resolution calling for effective solidarity with South African blacks from all maritime workers. "It is in the interest of the labor movement," the resolution stated, "to smash all forms of racism and racial oppression, including the vicious South African apartheid regime which has subjugated and butchered millions of non-whites." The militants called for "*stopping all ships and cargo to and from South Africa.*" Despite poisonous "honky" race-baiting of caucus spokesman Gene Herson by Port Agent Andy Rich, the motion was signed by 15 union members, mainly blacks, as well as by a delegate supported by the Communist Party's *Daily World*.

Calls for union boycotts of transport and commerce with South Africa are not the usual empty liberal rhetoric. In Australia, maritime workers have begun to put solidarity into action. In response to the apartheid butchers' murderous suppression of mass protests in Sharpeville, beginning on September 6 workers in the port of Sydney "blacked" (hot-cargoed) the South African vessel *Sasocean Nederburg*. First the Waterside Workers Federation boycotted the ship for 24 hours and then tugboat workers in the Firemen and Deckhands' Union of New South Wales refused to handle the ship for two more days.

In contrast to liberal "divestment" schemes, which only prettify U.S. imperialism, Trotskyists have called on labor internationally to refuse to handle military cargo to South Africa. Today a boycott of all transport is called for to support the black revolt against apartheid. Come to the aid of our black working-class brothers and sisters facing murderous police-state repression in South Africa! Words are cheap. *Now* is the hour for concrete acts of labor solidarity! ■

Oakland, June 1983—West Coast longshore militants seek to stop South African ship to protest execution of anti-apartheid fighters.

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

eight mines struck last week are owned by Anglo-American, a huge conglomerate which is the core of the Oppenheimer family empire. The Oppenheimers represent the so-called liberal wing of South African capitalism. Faced with the labor upsurge of the 1970s, Anglo-American's board saw that black unions of some sort were inevitable. Instead of waiting for bitter strikes it decided to let organizers into the mine compounds "on the theory that it is easier to negotiate with recognized leaders of organized unions than to confront an angry mob" (*New York Times*, 15 March 1983). The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) is a product of this company union strategy. Its general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa was once on the board of the Urban Foundation, an Anglo-American-funded body which promotes elite housing and training for the black petty bourgeoisie. The NUM gets most of its funds from that Cold War creature of the American labor bureaucracy and CIA, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. But in the explosive conditions of South Africa today even this tame black union can easily get out of control.

Much of what has happened in the mines in the past few weeks is murky from a distance. According to the London *Financial Times*, the period leading up to the strike and contract settlement was carefully choreographed by management, complete with a face-saving additional 2.3 percent last-minute pay offer, which the NUM leadership apparently accepted just after the strike deadline had passed. The *Wall Street Journal* (19 September) lauded the settlement, which, it said, "demonstrated—for the first time—that at least some mining companies in South Africa were willing to deal with a black union." But the superexploited black miners did not dance for their masters. Tens of thousands of them wildcatted while unorganized workers went out on their own. The mining bosses reacted, as usual, with massive police violence. This is a sign not of the strength and stability of apartheid but of its weakness.

Workers Hammer

London, June 1984—Spartacist League/Britain joins thousands confronting apartheid terrorist chief P.W. Botha.

For Permanent Revolution in South Africa!

As Marx wrote in *Capital*, modern society "greets gold as its Holy Grail, as the glittering incarnation of the very principle of its own life." It was the extraction of this Holy Grail that gave South African capitalism its peculiar expression of *combined and uneven development*. The profitability of mining in South Africa has been historically maintained not through capital investment, which increases the productivity of labor, but through brutalization and enslavement to increase the superexploitation of labor. To supply the raw muscle power and lifeblood to extract these riches from the bowels of the earth the black peoples of southern Africa have been stripped of their birthright and land, and transformed through apartheid into a migratory labor force with its barracks-like compounds and onerous pass controls. The gold mines are a concentrated microcosm of the prison camp that South Africa is for black toilers.

Though apartheid has forcibly uprooted 3.5 million blacks and dumped them into the bantustan hellholes, though it arrests hundreds and thousands a year for not having permits in their passbooks to be in "white" South Africa, the lifeblood of the country's mines, ports and factories is black labor. Apartheid is, above all, a system for keeping black labor cheap and vulnerable. It leaves all those it does not need—the children, the women, the old, the maimed, and an ever-increasing reserve army of the unemployed—to the desperate poverty of the bantustans. Thus workers are paid little more than is needed to keep them slaving from one day to the next, always with a threat of deportation to the bantustans with a note in the passbook "idle and undesirable."

Yet the very "success" of the system is driving it into crisis. The boom of the 1960s has given way to stagnation caused by an acute skilled labor shortage, low productivity and a weak domestic market. As an economist at the Chamber of Mines put it, "You cannot run this economy on whites alone" (*Wall Street Journal*, 19 June). While discontent among the oppressed non-white masses, from Indian traders to coloured students to black African small farmers, is nearly universal, it is the five-million-strong black proletariat which has the power to bring the arrogant white supremacists to their knees.

Key to centralizing and organizing the enormous social power of this nascent black labor movement against the apartheid state is the organization of its class-conscious vanguard into a Trotskyist party, as the leader of the oppressed nation. Such a party must base itself upon the lessons of the Russian Revolution, the only successful workers revolution and one which had to address the uncompleted bourgeois national democratic tasks. These lessons generalized in Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution demonstrate that the tasks of national reconstruction and emancipation, agrarian revolution and genuine democracy require for their resolution the seizure of power by the proletariat at the head of the urban and rural toiling masses: For a black-centered workers and peasants government in South Africa!

South Africa is a junior partner of the major imperialist powers as well as a regional imperialist power in its own right. The U.S. and its imperialist allies' war to overturn the gains of the Russian Revolution is at the very heart of the Washington/Pretoria axis, as demonstrated in Angola, where Soviet-backed Cuban troops defend Angola from the apartheid *sjambok* (whip). From the gold and uranium mines of the Rand to the docks and industries of the Cape, every blow struck against apartheid is a blow against Reagan/Botha's sinister anti-Soviet war drive. The black proletariat of South Africa is destined not only to be the liberators of their oppressed nation, but by placing the country's vast mineral resources and industrial wealth at the service of social and national emancipation, it can be the powerhouse for social revolution throughout deeply oppressed and economically backward black Africa.

The oppressed throughout the world see in apartheid the mirror of their own colonial, national and racial oppression, and therefore keenly solidarize with every blow that is struck against the white supremacist regime. In the U.S., because of their concentration in the industrial proletariat, black people can translate racial and class solidarity into powerful labor action against apartheid terror. As Trotsky told his supporters in the U.S.: "We must say to the conscious elements of the Negroes that they are convoked by the historic development to become a vanguard of the working class." Thereby they become a strategic component of the leadership of the American workers revolution that can turn this country, the most wealthy and brutal slavemaster of the colonial masses, into a powerful ally of their complete liberation. ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area
Fri. 5:00-8:00 p.m., Sat. 3:00-6:00 p.m.
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In GOLD We Trust

"In God We Trust" say those dollar bills. But U.S. money hasn't always relied on divine intervention to back it. The motto first appeared on a bronze two-cent piece, in 1864 when U.S. money all but stopped existing due to the Civil War hyperinflation; god is a lot cheaper than real money. The motto created a political furor in 1907-08 when Teddy Roosevelt issued a new gold eagle, designed by the great sculptor St. Gaudens, without "In God We Trust" on it. Roosevelt objected to putting god on coins, hut Congress overruled him. Then in the Cold War climate of the 1950s, trust in god was applied to the dollar bill.

You'd better trust god, because you sure as hell can't trust the government! In the 1960s when the price of silver went past the "melting point"—that is, due to inflation the value of the silver in dimes and quarters exceeded their purchasing power—the Treasury Department, all the while flatly lying about its intentions, secretly grabbed up the coins, thereby looting their own currency. Indeed, U.S. currency backed by "trust in god" rather than gold (or even some other commodity) is just fiat money backed by state power—the number of aircraft carriers you have. So the Marines can land on some Caribbean island and force the local merchants to accept their currency or else.

"In God We Trust"?—as the "founding fathers" would have said, *whose* god? Defend the separation of church and state! Keep god's hands off other people's money!

Religion...

(continued from page 12)

In McCarthy's Cold War, the Vatican's Catholic hierarchy played a similar role in supporting American imperialist reaction. Then their main task was to do the dirty work in driving Communists and socialists out of the labor movement, via scores of Jesuit and other Catholic "labor schools" which trained trade-union bureaucrats in anti-Communist purge tactics. The "high road" of American Protestant anti-Communism was taken by theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, the "thinking man's" anti-Communist, who inspired the liberal Cold Warriors like Hubert Humphrey—and Walter Mondale.

President Truman tried back then to appoint an American ambassador to the Vatican. (It was General Mark W. Clark, who idiotically butchered mainly *American* soldiers driving up Italy against entrenched German positions in World War II.) Truman couldn't get away with it, but Reagan's already done it. James P. Cannon, the founder of Trotskyism in this country, made some fundamental points regarding Truman's attempts to give the Vatican special privileges:

> "All the people of this country who cherish the freedoms they have inherited have a stake in the controversy. The leadership of this fight belongs by right to the labor movement, for the trade unions cannot live and breathe without freedom from the control of both church and state. They will not escape eventual involvement, although the entire leadership is trying to evade the issue in craven silence. The simple truth is that the labor skates are afraid of the Catholic Church, whose cardinals and bishops are already reaching out for control of the unions. Woe to the American labor movement if they succeed!...
>
> "The First Amendment to the Constitution is our amendment; and we must defend it tooth and nail against all aggressions, whether secular or religious."
>
> —"Church and State" (1951). *Notebook of an Agitator*

Cannon recognized that the Vatican was uniquely important as a Cold War ally of U.S. imperialism. Writing about former Socialist Workers Party spokesman Grace Carlson, who, broken and demoralized by the anti-communist witchhunt, returned to the fold of the church, he recounted:

> "I reminded her that the policies of the Catholic Church are not determined by the parishioners nor by the parish priests, but by the Catholic hierarchy, which is first of all a political power, the most reactionary and obscurantist force in the entire world. I reminded her of Cardinal Spellman, who broke the strike of cemetery workers in New York, and who has just recently been to Spain, where he paid homage to the bloody dictator Franco."
>
> —"How We Won Grace Carlson and How We Lost Her" (1952)

A few years later Cardinal Spellman became a major force involving the U.S. in the Vietnam War on behalf of his protégé in Saigon, Ngo Dinh Diem.

Recently, when Reagan met with the apostolic delegate after the Democratic convention last summer, the White House explained that the president regularly consults with the pope over Poland. While the role of the Vatican in Cold War II is every bit as reactionary and important as in Cold War I, the response of the self-styled left is quite different. Thus practically the entire Western left rallied to the clerical-nationalist Solidarność in Poland, a movement inspired and to a large degree directed by Pope Wojtyla. Solidarność' bid for power in the fall of 1981 marked probably Western imperialism's greatest opportunity to "roll back" Communism in the entire postwar period. Fortunately, the plans of Reagan and Wojtyla to reconquer Poland for "the free world" were frustrated for the moment...

For the Separation of Church and State!

In the name of fighting "godless Communism," America's rulers today are attacking one of the most basic gains of the first American revolution: separation of church and state. As the respected liberal historian Henry Steele Commager recently said:

> "We tend to forget that separation of church and state and rejection of religious establishments were, in the 18th century, the most revolutionary experiment on which the new United States embarked. It commanded more attention, applause and censure than creation of the new nation or the rejection of colonialism. No other Western nation had ever tried so reckless an experiment."
>
> —*New York Times*, 16 September

While Reagan, Falwell and Cardinal O'Connor loudly proclaim the United States "a Christian country," many, if not most, of the Founding Fathers of this country were *not* Christians. They were men who believed in the rational humanism of the Enlightenment and who opposed all revealed and established religion. Thomas Jefferson, John Adams and many other signers of the Declaration of Independence polemicized at great length *against* Christianity. Adams, for example, wrote to Jefferson: "This would be the best of all possible worlds, if there was no religion in it." Nor were these views limited to a handful of wealthy and educated men. It's estimated that a third of the population of colonial America at the time of the Revolution did not practice any kind of religion. Ethan Allen of Vermont's Green Mountain Boys, for example, is today known as an audacious guerrilla leader in the Revolutionary War. He was also the author of a lengthy tract debunking the Bible from the standpoint of rational humanism.

Why are America's present rulers attacking the secular humanism of the republic's Founding Fathers and heroes? Because the American bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1776 was a progressive development in the history of mankind. As Lenin wrote in his "Letter to American Workers" (1918):

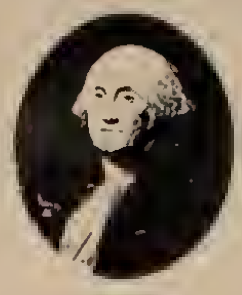
> "The history of modern, civilised America opened with one of those great, really liberating, really revolutionary wars of which there have been so few compared to the vast number of wars of conquest which, like the present imperialist war, were caused by squabbles among kings, landowners or capitalists over the division of usurped lands or ill-gotten gains."

Certainly, Marxists do not idealize the "spirit of '76." The U.S. Constitution sanctioned black chattel slavery and many of the Founding Fathers were slaveholders. It took the second American revolution, the Civil War of 1861-65, to abolish slavery. And it will take the third American revolution—a proletarian socialist revolution—to liberate black people from racist oppression.

Nonetheless, the America of Reagan and Mondale—a no longer progressive capitalism!—cannot tolerate the promise that all men are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, the promise upon which this republic was founded. For the America of 1984 is the main force for world reaction and counterrevolution from Central America to South Africa to Southeast Asia. It is the present-day analogue of the tsarist Russia which the American Founding Fathers held in contempt as the bastion of world reaction in their day—the tsarist Russia against whose tyranny Lenin and the Bolsheviks organized the proletariat. The American working class, too, will destroy the tyranny of U.S. imperialism. And all the prayers of all its priests will not save the masters of Wall Street and Washington from the dustbin of history. ■

Defend the Gains of 1776!

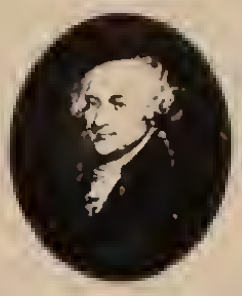
The American Revolution of 1776 was to a large degree led by men steeped in the rational humanism of the Enlightenment who considered all established religion a form of barbaric superstition. Thus their insistence on the separation of church and state, which was universally regarded as the most radical *aspect of the American Revolution.*



George Washington

"We have abundant reason to rejoice that in this Land the light of truth and reason has triumphed over the power of bigotry and superstition, and that every person may here worship God according to the dictates of his own heart. In this enlightened Age and in this Land of equal liberty it is our boast, that a man's religious tenets will not forfeit the protection of the Laws, nor deprive him of the right of attaining and holding the highest Offices that are known in the United States."

—Letter to the members of the New Church in Baltimore (27 January 1793)



John Adams

"Eight millions of Jews hope for a Messiah more powerful and glorious than Moses, David, or Solomon; who is to make them as powerful as he pleases. Some hundreds of millions of Mussulmans expect another prophet more powerful than Mahomet, who is to spread Islamism over the whole earth. Hundreds of millions of Christians expect and hope for a millennium in which Jesus is to reign for a thousand years over the whole world before it is burnt up. The Hindoos expect another and final incarnation of Vishnu, who is to do great and wonderful things, I know not what. All these hopes are founded on real or pretended revelation.... You and I hope for splendid improvements in human society, and vast amelioration in the condition of mankind. Our faith may be supposed by more rational arguments than any of the former."

—Letter to Thomas Jefferson (24 September 1821)

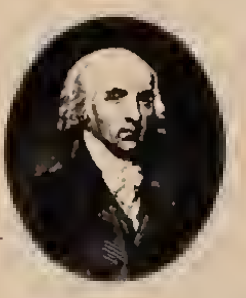
Thomas Jefferson

"Millions of innocent men, women and children, since the introduction of Christianity, have been burnt, tortured, fined, imprisoned: yet we have not advanced one inch towards uniformity. What has been the effect of coercion? To make one half the world fools, and the other half hypocrites. To support roguery and error all over the earth."

—"Notes on the State of Virginia" (1781-82)

"...the priests indeed have heretofore thought proper to ascribe to me religious, or rather anti-religious sentiments, of their own fabric, but such as soothed their resentments against the act of Virginia for establishing religious freedom. They wished him to be thought atheist, deist, or devil, who could advocate freedom from their religious dictations. But I have ever thought religion a concern purely between our God and our consciences, for which we were accountable to him, and not to the priests."

—Letter to Mrs. Harrison Smith (6 August 1816)



James Madison

"Who does not see that the same authority which can establish Christianity, in exclusion of all other Religions, may establish with the same ease any particular sect of Christians, in exclusion of all other sects? That the same authority which can force a citizen to contribute three pence only of his property for the support of any one establishment, may force him to conform to any other establishment in all cases whatsoever?"

—"Memorial and Remonstrance Against Religious Assessments" (1785)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Keep God Out of It!

Religion in the Elections

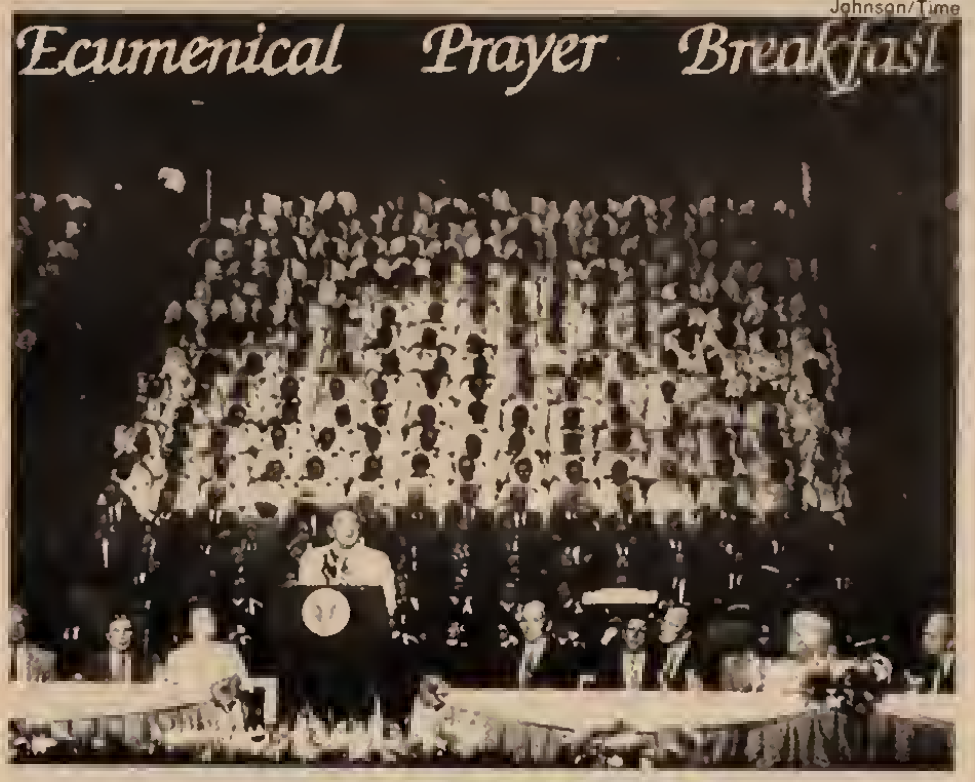
They want a Cold War Inquisition. Last month there was the spectacle of fundamentalist revival preaching at the Dallas Republican convention, with thousands of businessmen and their wives gloating that "God is a Republican" and his anointed spokesman is Ronald Reagan. And with the U.S. commander in chief's key ally, the anti-Communist Polish pope Karol Wojtyla, spearheading Cold War II in Eastern Europe and Latin America, the Vatican is also aggressively exerting its reactionary influence in the United States. It used to be that the Democratic Party was denounced by the Republicans as the party of "rum, Romanism and rebellion." But today you have Catholic bishops openly campaigning for the Republican right and attacking middle-of-the-road Democratic Catholic ethnic politicians like Gerry Ferraro and Mario Cuomo for (horror of horrors) "secular humanism." Religious bigotry is being unleashed by the American ruling class to goad the American people into line behind the war drive against the Soviet Union. In order to destroy the gains of the Russian Revolution of 1917, the greatest victory for the world working class, the American rulers must now attack the gains of the American bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1776, namely, the separation of church and state!

The Protestant fundamentalists and Catholic hierarchy are pounding hard at one of women's most fundamental rights, the right to abortion, while attempts to enforce prayer in the public schools are reaching frightening proportions. If the Republicans do get their way and pass a constitutional amendment forbidding *all* abortions, you can bet there *will* be a lot of praying in school (please, god, let me not be pregnant). And, bitterly, there will be a lot of dead and mutilated teenagers who in desperation get butchered in back-alley operations. Above and beyond this vast increase in human misery, there would be the terror and humiliation enforced on kids who maybe don't *want* to pray, particularly when the "official" prayer is probably going to be some variant of General Midwinter's "barbecue-the-Commies" diatribes out of Len Deighton's *Billion Dollar Brain*: "Dear Heavenly Father,...help us to awaken our beloved country to its great danger. Help us to cleanse it and hold it safe from the godless forces of Communism that surround it and threaten it from within."

The tidal wave of enforced intolerance is scaring a lot of people. As Joseph Kraft noted in an article titled "Elmer Gantry Time" (*Washington Post*, 6 September): "...religious zealots in this country see in Russia the shrine of atheism—the enemy incarnate. It was logical, not far-out, for the president to stigmatize the Soviet Union as 'the evil empire' in a speech to a religious group. Insofar as he continues to play to the fundamentalists, it will be impossible to reach accommodation with Moscow." But of course Reagan doesn't *want* to reach accommodation with Moscow: he wants a holy war and nuclear Armageddon. And he could do it: this Elmer Gantry's got the bomb.

But not to worry, Reagan tells the American people: like the old song says, "We never can lose, boys, with god on our side." There's a one word answer to that: Vietnam. America's rulers are *still* trying to recover moral momentum after that stunning defeat. Much of this religious hysteria is intended to overwhelm the American public's justified mistrust and unwillingness to get involved in any more such debacles. Thus all the "God is an American" rhetoric, combined with appeals to primitive macho anxieties about sex and the home: send women back to the hearth, grab your gun and shield the wife and kids from the "pinko-Commie" enemy within. But there's the enemy without, too, hence the "evil empire" rhetoric and Reagan's alliance with the Vatican for whom Soviet Russia is the "anti-Christ."

Johnson/Time



Brack/Black Star

Above: Reagan leads pray-in in Dallas, while Moral Majority demagogue Jerry Falwell (right) proclaims God is a Republican.

Just because Reagan's zealots are scaring the hell out of people is no reason to think Democratic liberal Cold Warrior Mondale is any better. Looking increasingly like a wimpy loser, Mondale's "answer" to this barrage is to whine that he himself is the son of a minister, while letting his running mate Ferraro take all the heat. Mondale presided as vice president under that other inept hypocrite Jimmy Carter, whose administration (including the sinister Polish Catholic irredentist Zbigniew Brzezinski) coincided with the emergence of a politically bellicose religious fundamentalist movement. Carter, a born-again Baptist and part-time Sunday school teacher, set out to rejuvenate the "moral fibre" of a demoralized and economically declining nation under the slogan of "human rights," his administration's ideological cover for war preparations against the USSR. What Carter sowed, Reagan is reaping with a vengeance.

Whose Bigotry Will Prevail?

Of course, the current alliance between the Catholic hierarchy and Reagan's collection of nativist American holy rollers, revivalists and Protestant fundamentalists has its peculiar features, which more thoughtful (or at least practical) politicians like Mario Cuomo recognize. Responding to Archbishop John O'Connor's assaults on Ferraro and himself for refusing to ban abortion, Cuomo made the simple point: "With regard to abortion, the American bishops have had to weigh Catholic moral teaching against the fact of a pluralistic country where our view is in the minority" (*New York Times*, 14 September). "Whose Christianity?" he rightfully asked regarding pleas to declare America a "Christian country." Indeed, it was only with the election of John Kennedy in 1960 that Catholics were for the first time admitted nationally into the mainstream of American political life. Whether this is enough to overcome a century of anti-Catholic prejudice and WASP ethnic hostility to Italian and Polish immigrants is still a tender question.

If the Catholic hierarchy's anti-Communist alliance with Moral Majority fundamentalism may rebound against the ethnic Catholic population in this country, this danger is much greater for right-wing Jewish Zionists. The *Commentary* crowd may find that their worst enemies are not the Commies after all. For Jerry Falwell and his ilk, the United States is a white Christian country and Jews don't conform on either count. One delegate at the recent B'nai B'rith convention, where Reagan and Mondale exchanged barbs, said half jokingly, "sometimes I think he [Reagan] wants to make Israel strong so that when he makes the United States into a Christian country, he can send us all over there" (*New York Times*, 7 September). For faithfully serving the New Right, Norman Podhoretz and wife Midge Decter could even find themselves in the Promised Land whether they want to go there or not. Not many American Jews would like living in Israel with its constant military mobilization, 400 percent a year inflation and theocratic dictatorship.

The Catholic hierarchy railing against abortion and the American Zionist hierarchy railing for war with Russia help fuel a social climate in which abortion clinics are bombed and union organizers and reds are murdered in cold blood in broad daylight, i.e., a social climate in which the *terrorist* ultraright flourishes. A mass fascist movement in America would be nativist as well as racist sparing neither Catholics nor Jews while it targets blacks, reds and unionists.

The Second Time Around

In Cold War II Reagan & Co. want to replay the late '40s-'50s anti-Communist McCarthyite hysteria, with guns drawn. Only this time the country's in much worse economic shape, with the capitalists therefore contemplating more desperate measures to restore their profit system. The leading characters are increasingly drawn from what used to be known as the "lunatic fringe" of American political life, which under Reagan is becoming the mainstream. And the nuclear bombs are bigger and better than ever this time.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 364 — 12 October 1984

You Can't Fight Reagan with Democrats!

Anti-Soviet Nut vs. Cold War Hawk

Downing/Newsweek

Der Spiegel

OCTOBER 8—Every morning, it seems, Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale get up and ask, "Mirror, mirror on the wall, who's the biggest warmonger of them all?" At this game, Reagan has a distinct advantage. If he loses a debate, with the resources of the Pentagon at his disposal, he can stage another bloody provocation to rally people 'round the flag. He got his missiles into Europe with the dead bodies of the KAL 007 passengers. Now the U.S. Navy is parading warships only eight miles off Nicaragua, they're using napalm in El Salvador, and another blast in Beirut could be a tripwire for the U.S. to launch a "preventive strike"

AP

U.S. forces in Honduras poised for invasion of Nicaragua.

against "Soviet surrogates" at any time. Speaking at the United Nations on October 2, Nicaraguan leader Daniel Ortega warned that the United States was preparing new aerial and naval attacks:

> "The military offensive is ready to begin October 15th of this year. The mercenary forces of the CIA and the Pentagon are already concentrated in the areas bordering Nicaragua in Honduras and Costa Rica. Also ready are the U.S. forces that would be used for bombings, troop landings and direct incursions into Nicaragua."

Will it be an "October surprise," as Ortega warns, or a "December surprise" as the Democrats say? We don't know. But they're already digging trenches in Havana and Managua.

Ronald Reagan has a lot of people scared, and rightly so. In his rap song "Re-Ron," Gil Scott-Heron expresses the fears of many black people at the chilling prospect of "four more years":

> "It's the neutron bomb for Lebanon,
> it's the gladiator invader of Grenada,
> It's millions more for El Salvador,
> he's up to his kiesters with the Sandinista.
> Would we take Fritz with our grits?
> We'd take Fritz the Cat.
> Would we take Jesse Jackson?
> Hell, we'd take Michael Jackson.
> We don't need no re-Ron, we've seen all the re-runs before."

Cold Warrior Mondale

It isn't easy to compete with Ronald Reagan ("We begin bombing Russia in five minutes") as a Cold War militarist, but Walter Mondale is giving it his best shot. In his latest TV ad the Democratic contender pretends he's General MacArthur. As he inspects military bases in the Philippines and runs around U.S. aircraft carriers, the voiceover drones: "An army veteran, a solid leader. Mondale's defense plan calls for real growth in military spending, combat readiness...." Perhaps upset that Reagan is winning the "gender gap" as a "man's man," the colorless Mondale is out to prove his prowess as a Yankee imperialist pig.

In recent weeks he retrospectively endorsed Reagan's rape of the tiny black West Indian island of Grenada, reaffirmed his opposition to "no first use" of nuclear weapons and voiced support for the deployment of the first-strike Pershing 2 missiles in West Europe earlier this year. In a major foreign policy interview with the *New York Times* (18 September) Mondale joined in the U.S. war on the Nicaraguan revolution, under attack by CIA-directed *contras*, by threatening to "quarantine Nicaragua if it uses any force outside of its borders." Asked how he would respond if the radical nationalist Sandinista government acquired Soviet MIG jet fighters, which they need to defend their country against American attack, he replied, "the Soviets [would] have to get out of there and it means we have to take such steps as to bring about that result." For some time the Sandinistas looked to the Democrats to stop, or at least moderate, Washington's war against them. But now a pro-Sandinista paper in Managua headlines its editorial: "Reagan, Mondale, It's the Same Thing."

In the Near East—a volatile region which could easily be the spark for World War III—Mondale is even more hawkish than Reagan. Sensing that Jewish voters are disturbed by Reagan's close association with Christian fundamentalist demagogues like Jerry Falwell, he is playing the "friend of Israel" line for all it's worth. Unlike the present administration, he promises to recognize Jerusalem as "the capital of that good country," thereby officially underwriting the Zionist rulers' seizure of the Arab West Bank. More generally, he promises "through a strategic cooperation relationship to strengthen Israeli confidence" (as if the Zionist generals are too docile!) Meanwhile, over the latest bombing of the U.S. embassy in Beirut, presidential buck-passing has escalated rapidly, with Mondale accusing Reagan of "letting these terrorists humiliate us and push us around."

It might be funny, except that "combatting international terrorism" is now the code word for U.S. imperialism's war drive against the Soviet Union. And that is deadly business indeed. Mondale's recent statements clearly show to anyone not willfully blind the *bipartisan* nature of the anti-Soviet war drive. What fundamentally unites Republicans and Democrats is their shared conviction that the U.S. must "prevail" over the USSR, and that the spread of "Communism"—social revolutions against imperialist capitalism—must be crushed from Central America to the Soviet Union itself. The workers and oppressed peoples of the world must defend the gains of the Russian October Revolution, despite

continued on page 8

Zionism's Fascist Shock Troops Polarize Israel /6

Zionist Israel Divided /7

Victory to Yale Workers!

On October 5, a phalanx of New Haven cops moved in and arrested 190 striking Yale University clerical workers for staging a "non-violent, silent witness for equality" in front of Yale president Giamatti's mansion. Who does Giamatti think he is, some patrician hack in the Roman Empire who can have ungrateful plebes thrown to the lions? Drop the charges against the Yale 190! The Spartacus Youth League, which has been actively involved in building support for the strike, calls on Yale students to take a stand for the rights of labor: *Boycott all classes, walk the picket lines, and shut Yale down tight!*

Riggs/NY Times

New Haven, October 5—Striking Yale campus workers face line of cops outside president's mansion before mass arrest of 190. Drop the charges!

The clerical and technical (C&T) workers, organized by Local 34 of the Federation of University Employees, set their pickets up against the ivied walls of Yale University on September 26 after more than a year of negotiations for their first contract. A key issue for this predominantly female workforce is equal pay for equal work. Yale's fat cat administrators sitting on top of a $1.1 billion endowment claim they can't afford the union's wage demands! As striker Lucille Dickess noted, "it would appear they want to starve us out."

Last week, members of the IBEW showed up at Yale to make a donation to the strike fund, returning the next day with a squad of 25 pickets to bolster the lines. Yale's maintenance and dining hall workers in Local 35 of the Federation of University Employees (whose contract expires next January) have been honoring the lines of their union brothers and sisters in Local 34. This action by Local 35 has forced the administration to shut down all but one dining hall. The *Wall Street Journal* (5 October) chortles that the "rising Yuppies and Yuppiettes" of the student body are "underwhelmed" by the strike. In fact, Yalies are groomed to be capitalist *bosses*, not just professionals. For students who reject this future as a Yale-trained ruling-class prig, the Spartacus Youth League has something to offer: commitment to the cause of the working class, beginning at Yale with a boycott of classes, to shut the campus down.

Last year, students who ostensibly support Local 34 formed "Students for a Negotiated Settlement" (SNS), and their game is as lousy as their name. Strictly "neutral," they cross picket lines with their "Settle!" buttons gleaming and circulate wimpy petitions stating, "We, the undersigned, have been forced to cross Local 34's picket line to attend essential academic activities.... We resent being forced to choose between our conscience and our education." SNS members and sympathetic faculty have moved over 100 classes off campus. This token gesture of support for the strike serves only to continue the normal business of the university with a minimum of disruption. The SYL says: No business as usual! A strike affords students an opportunity to get an education in the class struggle. As the old miners' refrain goes, "There are no neutrals here—which side are you on?" Against the impotent moralism of SNS, the SYL has called on Yale students to get out of the classroom to join the workers on the street. Picket lines mean don't cross!

Yale University wanted this strike. The administration thinks it can weather the largest strike in its history and bust the union. But not if labor plays hardball with the Ivy League. The Yale administration will not be moved by moral "witness" and by a "graduated" campaign of pressure tactics. What's needed is militant action, *now*. Mass picketing could quickly seal off the campus, stop all University activities and *win this strike*. And that means solid action by the campus unions, backed up by the local labor movement, faculty and students, to shut Yale down tight!■

New York Court Lets Lynch Mob Cops Walk

Put Away Racist Murderers of Michael Stewart!

In an outrageous and unprecedented decision on October 6, New York Supreme Court justice George Roberts threw out the manslaughter indictments against three white NYC transit cops involved in the brutal murder of Michael Stewart. Dedicated grand jurors had refused to go along with a D.A. cover-up and insisted on digging up the truth about the murderous TA police lynch mob.

In the early morning hours of 15 September 1983, Stewart, the black 25-year-old son of a retired NYC transit worker, was arrested and beaten unconscious for allegedly scrawling graffiti in a 14th Street subway station. He was admitted to Bellevue Hospital hog-tied, handcuffed, with his ankles bound together with surgical tape and with more than *60* wounds on his body. Stewart never recovered consciousness and within two weeks he was dead. A family doctor observed massive hemorrhaging of Stewart's eyes, a symptom of strangulation. Yet when Stewart died city chief medical examiner Elliot Gross claimed the cause of death was a "fall" down stairs and had Stewart's eyes *secretly removed!*

This ghoulish cover-up of police murder has been reinforced by the courts, the prosecutors and the grand jury system. Manhattan district attorney Robert Morgenthau dragged out a grand jury investigation into the Stewart murder for eight months. Eyewitnesses testified that eleven cops, all white, pummeled Stewart during and after his arrest. But only three were charged, and with manslaughter, not murder. Further, the indictment was so legally defective that lawyers for Stewart's parents called it "not worth the paper it is written on; the cover-up must be exposed."

Now even this slap on the wrist has been dropped. Why? At the request of the Transit Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, the cops' "union" which is defending the executioners-in-blue, Justice Roberts ruled that the "integrity of the Grand Jury had indeed been breached" by one of its members, Ronald Fields, a courageous Manhattan schoolteacher. Fields conducted a personal investigation including visiting the murder site, taking photographs and circulating them along with press clips to jurors. As a result, three other jurors visited sites mentioned in the testimony.

The justice said Fields "repeatedly alluded to a 'cover-up' and suggested that the grand jury was not getting all of the evidence." That is the truth! Grand juries are supposed to have complete independence in their investigations. In fact they are rubber stamps for the D.A. Against leftists and black and labor militants, grand juries rubber-stamp witchhunting star chamber proceedings. Against racist killer cops they are rubber stamps for a D.A. cover-up.

Morgenthau attempted to have Fields removed from the grand jury for carrying out the ostensible mandate of a grand jury, for conducting the "fair and impartial" investigation the D.A.'s office refused to do. In August Fields went to the state Supreme Court to demand a hearing into the real misconduct of the D.A.'s office which "dominated the grand jury and interfered with its independent functioning." Among other charges, Fields accused Morgenthau's assistants of hindering the jurors from bringing more serious charges against Stewart's killers.

Lawyers for all sides including the Manhattan D.A.'s office have said that after extensive research they could find no other case in the United States in which an indictment was dismissed for grand juror "misconduct." Attorneys for the Stewart family and Fields have called on Governor Cuomo to appoint a special prosecutor. But in this racist capitalist society where the lynch mob murderers of black transit worker Willie Turks are turned loose to roam the streets again, there's no justice for the oppressed in the bourgeois courts.

The heavily integrated Transport Workers Union (TWU) should take the lead in mobilizing the social power of NYC labor to demand vengeance for Willie Turks and Michael Stewart. Put the lynch mob murderers and racist killer cops in Attica and throw away the key!■

Amsterdam News

MICHAEL STEWART

TROTSKY

New Deal "Liberalism" and Yankee Imperialism

The founding conference of the Trotskyist Fourth International in 1938 recognized that behind the "democratic" rhetoric of Roosevelt's New Deal lay the predatory aims of U.S. imperialism. Then as now Democratic Party "liberalism" meant bloody repression and colonial exploitation for the Latin American masses.

LENIN

The Roosevelt administration, despite all its bland pretensions, has made no real alteration in the imperialist tradition of its predecessors. It has emphatically reiterated the vicious Monroe Doctrine; it has confirmed its monopolistic claims over Latin America at the Buenos Aires Conferences; it has given the sanctification of its approval to the unspeakable regimes of Vargas [in Brazil] and Batista [in Cuba]; its demand for a bigger navy to police not only the Pacific but also the Atlantic is an example of its determination to wield the armed force of the United States in defense of its imperialist might in the southern part of the hemisphere. Under Roosevelt, the policy of the iron fist in Latin America is sheathed in the velvet glove of demagogic pretensions of friendship and "democracy."

—Fourth International Founding Conference, "Thesis on the World Role of American Imperialism" (1938)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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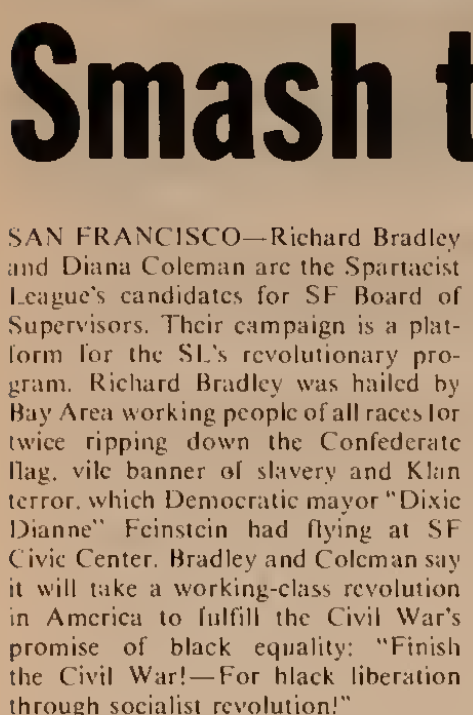
No. 364 **12 October 1984**

Bradley, Coleman Campaign in S.F.

Smash the Anti-Soviet War Drive!

SAN FRANCISCO—Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman are the Spartacist League's candidates for SF Board of Supervisors. Their campaign is a platform for the SL's revolutionary program. Richard Bradley was hailed by Bay Area working people of all races for twice ripping down the Confederate flag, vile banner of slavery and Klan terror, which Democratic mayor "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein had flying at SF Civic Center. Bradley and Coleman say it will take a working-class revolution in America to fulfill the Civil War's promise of black equality: "Finish the Civil War!—For black liberation through socialist revolution!"

Candidate Diana Coleman presented the Marxist perspective—in contrast to the bankrupt reformism of anti-Soviet, pro-Democratic Party "pressure" politics—when she spoke from the floor at an election forum September 26 at SF State sponsored by Socialist Action (SA), which is running Sylvia Weinstein



WV Photo

Diana Coleman at 1983 Oakland rally for victimized phone workers.

for Supervisor. Weinstein—who was a frequent candidate of the Socialist Workers Party until the SWP's massive bureaucratic purge of oppositionists—now represents the social-democratic SA group. Coleman confronted Weinstein over SA's fulsome support for anti-socialist Polish Solidarność:

> "We condemned Solidarność as a company union, the pope and Wall Street's hope for capitalist restoration in Poland. That's why Reagan who smashed PATCO loves Solidarność. I think it is revealing that Solidarność activists who have tired of trying to restore capitalism in Poland are now emigrating en masse to South Africa, the bastion of the 'free world.' So let me suggest to Sylvia Weinstein that she ask the anti-apartheid militants of South Africa who are fighting the repressive regime there what they think of Polish anti-communists who go to South Africa to live off the superexploitation of blacks."

Weinstein, typically, rose to the defense of the émigrés, at a moment moreover when South Africa's hideously oppressed masses are courageously resisting the brutal apartheid state. Declaring Polish Solidarność "magnificent," she snarled at Coleman: "So don't give me any crap about what you think of the Polish members of Solidarność who are going to South Africa, or would probably go to any other country, to escape the prisons and the oppression of the Soviets and the Stalinist bureaucracy of Poland"! For Weinstein, credentials in "anti-Stalinism" apparently cancel out anything. But indeed, thousands of Solidarność members emigrated not from Poland, but from Vienna where they were already in exile! They *chose* to live in South Africa, where there is privilege and luxury... if you are white and prepared to support the racist torturers' regime. You can bet these stalwarts of CIA "trade unionism" in Poland aren't championing the South African black unions' fight against apartheid slavery.

The British *Economist* (9 January 1982) put it bluntly:

> "Polish refugees have escaped with little more than their skins, but those skins are white.... Recruitment of immigrants is a soft option for companies which might otherwise be forced to expand their black training programmes."

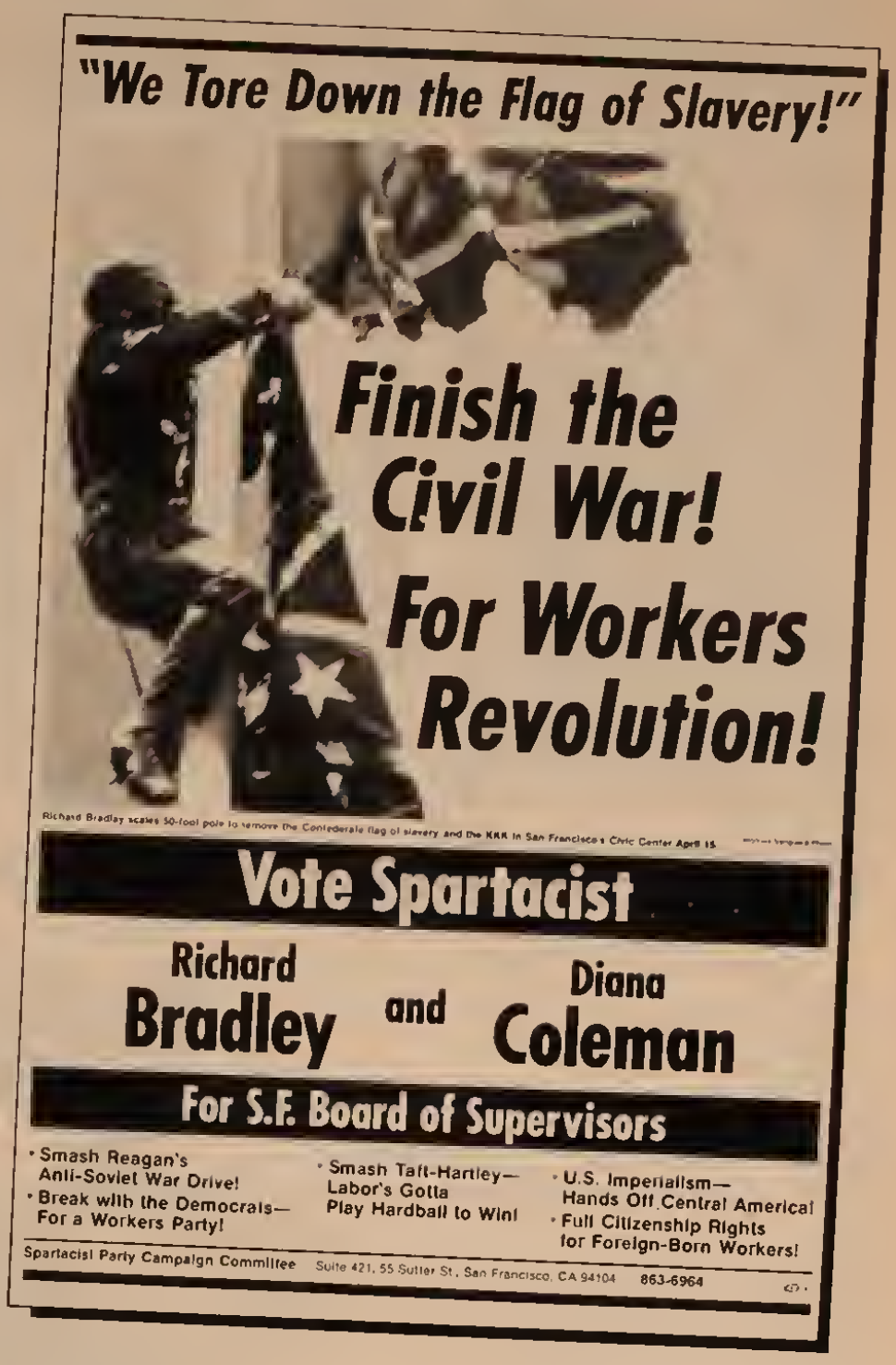
The imperialists and their labor agents, the AFL-CIO Cold Warriors, hypocritically manipulated the Polish workers' disaffection with the incompetent, repressive Polish Stalinist bureaucracy. They seek to turn the masses toward Western "democracy"—i.e., capitalist restoration for imperialist profit, making Poland into NATO's Eastern Front, thereby taking a giant step toward nuclear war, and turning the Polish masses over to wage slavery, mass unemployment and the tender mercies of the anti-Semites and the pope.

To recover the historically socialist traditions of the Polish working class from the Stalinist pretenders who drive the people into the arms of NATO and Catholic reaction, what is required is a Trotskyist party, struggling against Solidarność clerical reaction, to fight for workers political revolution against the bureaucrats and in *defense* of the historic gains of the Russian October Revolution and all its extensions. Sylvia Weinstein and SA stand on the *other side*. In December 1981 Nat Weinstein and others marched for Solidarność alongside the Libertarian Party, anti-Communist fans of Milton Friedman's free-market starvation "shock treatment" on behalf of Pinochet's Chilean junta.

At that moment, when all the Cold Warriors were weeping for Solidarność, New York's *Amsterdam News* (2 January 1982) felt obliged to point out that the poor starving Poles eat better than a lot of people in Harlem, or Haiti:

> "Who can say that they have seen in Poland any conditions that approach what is commonplace in Haiti? Who can honestly assert that living conditions or political liberty is anywhere as bad in Poland as they are in Haiti?...
> "The Haitians—and the Black South Africans are another example of America's hypocritical concern with political liberty—are not abused by a Communist tyrant. They are Black, unskilled and illiterate."

While the *Amsterdam News*, for years the mouthpiece of the most conservative section of the black "establishment," tries for credibility among its restless readership, comrade Sylvia Weinstein is sensitive to another constituency. SA's campaign is geared to the petty-bourgeois rad-libs who have fallen in line behind the anti-Soviet crusade of both war-crazy Reagan and the Democrats.



In contrast to SA's anti-Soviet, low-level reformism campaign—whose slogan is "It will be a great day when our schools get all the money they need and the Navy has to hold a bake sale to buy a ship"—Spartacist candidate Coleman explained from the floor that the capitalist state cannot be "reformed" into working on behalf of the toiling masses. The tasks of American revolutionists are to lead the working people to establish their own class rule:

> "Our program is the program of socialist revolution, something which I notice is never mentioned in your brochure.... We know that capitalism can't be changed at the ballot box. Unlike you, who are running to 'bring working-class representation into city government,' we fight for a *workers* government that will expropriate all major industry and establish a planned socialist economy. Social-democratic politics are a disaster for the working class. As for reforms, which we are in favor of, they are a by-product of the struggle for revolution!...
> "You gave as your qualification that you helped organize the Greyhound strike solidarity committee. Well, let's be more blunt about these things: Socialist Action, as waterboys for the trade-union bureaucracy, gooned with the bureaucrats and sometimes the San Francisco police to protect the Greyhound bus station against hundreds and thousands of workers who were chanting 'Picket lines mean don't cross!' and who wanted to stop scabs and stop scab buses. You accused the Spartacist League of trying to give leadership to that struggle. Damn right! We will do our duty as proletarian revolutionists and attempt to give leadership to the coming wave of class battles and the coming American revolution.
> "And unless the American revolution coincides exactly with international proletarian revolution, we workers may need a Red Army and a Red Navy, and they won't be funded by bake sales."

SA supporters' gooning for the sellout bureaucrats against militant workers at Greyhound is a direct continuation of the class-collaborationist role they all learned to play so well during the SWP's "leadership" of the right wing of the antiwar movement during Vietnam.

Following the forum, Weinstein could only cry "Never!" to Coleman's proposal that the two candidates hold a formal debate. And when Diana rejoined, "Is this a continuation of the SWP's policy of debating Klansmen like Metzger but not the 'commies'?" Weinstein stormed out of her own meeting. Of course, if Weinstein really hopes to avoid political debate with the Spartacist League (for now, anyway), she can join her Polish friends in South Africa.... ■

Spartacist Forum

Meet the Candidates!

Bradley and Coleman for S.F. Board of Supervisors

Friday, October 26, 7:30 p.m.
Ella Hill Hutch Community Center
1050 McAllister St.
For more information: (415) 863-6963

SAN FRANCISCO

☐ Please send further information on the campaign.
☐ I endorse the campaign of Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman for SF Board of Supervisors.
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55 Sutter St., Suite 421, San Francisco, CA 94104

Australian Dockers Hot-Cargo Ship to South Africa

MELBOURNE, Australia—Labour action in solidarity with South African black miners and black townships fighting bloody apartheid terror is continuing in ports around Australia. On October 7 the *Safocean Mildura*, a Dutch-registered ship with cargo bound for South Africa, was blacked ["hot-cargoed"] for 24 hours by waterside workers (longshoremen) in Melbourne. This action followed earlier bans initiated in Sydney by maritime unions against shipping to South Africa in protest at the state terror coming down against the current explosive upsurge of black struggle against the apartheid regime.

On September 6, in the wake of murderous repression of mass protests against rent hikes in black townships like Sharpeville, the Waterside Workers Federation (WWF) blacked the *Safocean Nederburg*, a South African freighter on the Safocean service. As soon as the watersiders lifted their ban the tugmen in the Firemen and Deckhands Union of New South Wales slapped on their own ban, which kept the ship idle for another 48 hours. According to the Melbourne WWF's 11 September *Official Branch News*, 24-hour bans hit the *Safocean Nederburg* in every port the vessel visited. Stan Clarke, acting secretary of the Melhourne WWF, indicated that the *Safocean Mildura* would get the same treatment when it visited the Port of Adelaide in South Australia and Fremantle on Australia's west coast.

Australian maritime unions have a long history of solidarity with black struggle against apartheid, and were known internationally for their political strikes and actions against the Vietnam War. These traditions continue to have a real base on the waterfront. At times of sharp social struggle like right now in South Africa, international labour action is crucial. To strike a blow against the apartheid rulers, the recent bans against the *Nederburg* and *Mildura* ships must be extended to *all* cargo bound to or from South Africa. This kind of class-struggle action must be taken up in ports around the world! ■

Freedom and Asylum for Durban's Six Anti-Apartheid Fighters!

western union **Telegram**

7 OCTOBER 1984

TO: SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE SHULTZ
STATE DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER LOUIS LE GRANGE
PRETORIA, SOUTH AFRICA

FOR THEIR COURAGEOUS OPPOSITION TO PRETORIA'S NEW RACIST CONSTITUTION, WHICH REINFORCES APARTHEID DISENFRANCHISEMENT AND ENSLAVEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA'S BLACK MAJORITY, SIX MEMBERS OF NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS AND UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT WERE FORCED TO SEEK REFUGE IN BRITISH CONSULATE IN DURBAN. NOW THREE OF THEM WHO LEFT THE CONSULATE HAVE BEEN ARRESTED UNDER SOUTH AFRICA'S DRACONIAN DETENTION LAWS WHICH REQUIRE NEITHER CHARGES NOR TRIAL AND WHOSE VICTIMS ARE FREQUENTLY TORTURED AND MURDERED. THE REFUSAL OF U.S. AND BRITAIN TO GRANT ASYLUM TO THESE VICTIMS OF APARTHEID TERROR AGAIN CONDEMNS THE REAGAN AND THATCHER GOVERNMENTS AS GUARDIANS OF PRETORIA'S BRUTAL APARTHEID REGIME. PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE DEMANDS BOTHA GOVERNMENT IMMEDIATELY FREE THE THREE AND GRANT SAFE CONDUCT TO THESE SIX FIGHTERS FOR ELEMENTARY CIVIL RIGHTS AND HUMAN DIGNITY. WE DEMAND U.S. GRANT THEM POLITICAL ASYLUM.

PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Class Struggle Can Topple Rightist Strongman Jayewardene

Victory to Women Textile Strikers in Sri Lanka!

For the past three months, workers in the industrial town of Ratmalana near Colombo, Sri Lanka, have waged a solid and determined strike against Magnum Garments Ltd. The strikers are young Sinhalese women. *WV* has received an urgent appeal from the Magnum strikers, members of the All Ceylon Commercial and Industrial Workers' Union, signed by the union's general secretary, S. Siriwardene. "The strike now enters the 60th day," wrote Siriwardene on September 12. "Our members are determined to break the intransigence of the Management. We need your support to sustain this struggle.... We make this appeal in the spirit of international solidarity with the struggling workers of the world." The strikers are demanding payment of a 100 rupee wage increase (U.S. $4 a month) won after a strike last February, which the arrogant bosses are now refusing to pay. Currently the Magnum workers earn a maximum of 23.5 rupees a day, the equivalent of 94 cents!

This summer, a militant six-month strike at Polytex Garments Ltd. came to an end with an agreement between management and the workers, who belong to the Industrial Transport and General Workers Union. Among the provisions was a substantial wage increase and the reinstatement of seven women dismissed for union organizing. The Polytex victory was particularly important because the plant is one of the Jayewardene government's pet projects, the Greater Colombo Economic Commission Area, established for the benefit of foreign capitalists. Here, as in the so-called Free Trade Zones, sweatshop conditions prevail while union organizing is made all but illegal. The Polytex victory was a victory for all the thousands of young Sinhalese women, like those at Magnum Garments, brought in from the rural areas, living in barracks conditions far from their families, to be worked practically to death and then discarded, their health ruined, after an average of five years work.

At the request of the union leadership at Polytex, the Spartacist League of Lanka had initiated an international solidarity campaign. Telegrams were sent from unions and other organizations in England, France and Canada. In Australia, Spartacist comrades collected the equivalent of more than 8,700 rupees for the strikers. About two dozen Polytex strikers attended a support demonstration built by Spartacist comrades at Colombo University; most of the students who turned out for it were women undergraduates, many of whom donated funds for the strikers.

The Island

Young Sinhalese women at Magnum Garments have been on strike since July.

These outbursts of courageous class struggle by oppressed Sinhalese women workers at Polytex and Magnum occur against the backdrop of deepening poverty of the masses and draconian repression by J.R. Jayewardene's rightist government. Strongman Jayewardene is trying to sell the country to the imperialists for unrestrained economic exploitation and military convenience. His most brutal blows have fallen on the Tamil population, who are mainly Hindus, a national minority of about 3 million in a country of 12 million mainly Buddhist Sinhalese. Army terror in the Tamil north and government-orchestrated mass pogroms against the Tamil minority in the south and on the upland plantations—aimed in part at securing strategic Trincomalee harbor on the historically Tamil east coast for U.S. imperialist military aims in the Indian Ocean—have resulted in exodus of Tamils into the north, where a low-level insurgency resists the Sinhalese military occupation. In August in the northern region around Jaffna, the government launched another military campaign of terror: hundreds were killed or rounded up as "suspected terrorists" while thousands were left homeless as villages were razed to the ground.

The Tamil youth of the north, facing the full fury of J.R.'s bonapartism, aim by their militant resistance to the army occupation to break the north and east away and establish a Tamil nation of "Eelam." Marxists defend the right of oppressed nations to self-determination. And recognizing that the pogroms have forcibly separated the island's peoples, we support the right to Tamil Eelam. We understand why the Tamil youth bitterly look upon the Sinhalese population—abandoned to chauvinist "leadership" when the class-collaborationist "left"(with very honorable exceptions) capitulated to Sinhalese communalism in the late 1950s—as one seamless reactionary mass. But the Sinhalese masses are not South African whites living in luxury by participating in racist superexploitation, but impoverished workers and peasants mercilessly ground down by their strikebreaking government and starved by the capitalists and the imperialist plunderers of the IMF. They are scarcely different from their Tamil cousins.

The Sinhalese women striking the textile sweatshops show the potential for *class* struggle throughout the island against J.R., as did the strike last spring of the hideously oppressed but economically strategic plantation workers. Several hundred thousand workers on the tea "estates"—mainly women and overwhelmingly Tamils who are "stateless" in their own country—held out against vicious intimidation and won their demands. The Jaffna militants struggling for their national liberation must look toward a fighting unity of all the class enemies of J.R.'s capitalist tyranny, or their "Eelam" will be an enclave of impoverished refugees in the barren north, totally dependent on capitalist India's Mrs. Gandhi—brutal oppressor of her own national minorities—for support against bloody Sinhalese reaction holding sway over the rest of the island. Sections of the Tamil nationalists and their bourgeois leaders hope eagerly for a massive Indian intervention to reverse the terms of communalist oppression on the island, as has happened more than once in Cyprus. This is what the Sinhalese fear, and what drives many into the arms of the racist rulers.

Only the perspective of internationalist class struggle in defense of the Tamils and all the exploited and oppressed offers a way forward. Today the courageous women at Magnum Garments need international support. Victorious proletarian struggle can squash Jayewardene's plans to make the island a haven for the U.S. military in the escalating war drive against the Soviet Union. It can bring down Jayewardene and his regime of genocide. It can open the door to the revolutionary organization of the oppressed masses of Lanka, as a staging area for socialist revolution throughout the Indian subcontinent.

We urge our readers to send contributions and telegrams of support for the Ratmalana strikers to: All Ceylon Commercial and Industrial Workers' Union, 457, Union Place, Colombo 2, Sri Lanka. Victory to the Magnum Garments strikers! ■

Moscow Says "Nyet" to Honecker Trip

East Germany's Dangerous Flirtation with Bonn

Defend the Soviet Union and DDR!

Not this time, anyway! The West German bourgeoisie is disappointed. They would have been only too happy to see DDR [East German] state council chairman Erich Honecker come hegging to West Germany. After Christian Democratic politician Franz Josef Strauss slipped billions in loans to East Germany, Honecker's projected visit was seen as one more step in the strategy of tying the DDR more closely to the West, making it economically dependent and thus systematically undermining the socialist foundations of the DDR. The bait was to be an inter-German "Marshall Plan," so that the hourgeoisie could reconquer the eastern regions lost in the Second World War.

That is how the "peaceful" policy of German imperialism plays a key role in Reagan's mounting anti-Soviet war drive. But Moscow's *"nyet"* threw a monkey wrench into their counterrevolutionary plans. We Trotskyists say: Stop Honecker's dangerous flirtation with West German imperialism! Only revolutionary reunification can overcome the division of Germany, in the framework of a United Socialist States of Europe: The nationalist "alternative"—whether decked out in revanchist red-white-black [imperial] colors or cloaked with social-democratic/Stalinist claptrap about a fictitious "neutral Germany"—means bloody counterrevolution. Any attempt to form a capitalist Fourth Reich would unleash a Third World War—and this time not only Germany but all of humanity would be destroyed in an atomic holocaust.

Aware of German imperialism's increased economic, political and military strength, the German bourgeoisie is increasingly frank in bandying about its revanchist appetites. To date, it still hasn't recognized the DDR as a sovereign state and it still claims to speak for the populace of the DDR. The "Minister for Internal German Relations," Heinrich Windelin, engages in rabble-rousing at "Exiles Conventions," and Helmut Kohl talks of "overcoming the unnatural line... which not only divides Germany: on the other side of the Wall are not just old German cities and provinces—Weimar, Leipzig, Dresden, Eisenach; on the other side of this dividing line also lie Prague and Bucharest and Budapest, and of course Warsaw and Cracow too." It's all Europe he's after! *Pravda*'s July 27 headline incisively characterized the goals of German imperialism: "Revanchism Blooms in the Shadow of American Missiles."

The tactical differences with their American NATO partners and President Reagan—whose "voice test" remark, "We begin bombing in five minutes," was no joke (like the KAL 007 provocation in September 1983, it was the expression of *concrete war preparations*)—don't make German imperialism the least bit more peaceful. There's a joke in NATO circles that a "tactical nuclear weapon" is one that explodes over Germany. The German bourgeoisie doesn't want a war that it can't win here and now. But it is armed to the teeth, and with the lifting of the West European Union's ban on it producing strategic bombers and long-range missiles, West Germany has become the full-fledged and strongest bulwark of Europe. And its road to taking back "Pomerania," "Silesia" and "East Prussia," Saxony, Thuringia and East Berlin is through economic blackmail and undermining of the DDR and the East European workers states.

When the scab union Solidarność, that willing instrument of the CIA and the West German banks, attempted to seize power in Poland, the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands [TLD, German sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency] warned that Solidarność counterrevolution in Poland would also endanger the foundations of the East German workers state—and wouldn't stop there, of course. Capital still dreams of a victory parade through Moscow. West German businessmen used to joke that if the Poles couldn't pay up, they should take out a mortgage on "Silesia" and "Pomerania." Nothing doing! Against the German bourgeoisie's revanchist appetites, their bloody *Drang nach Osten* [drive to the East], we counterpose the revolutionary mobilization of the German proletariat.

With the rising unemployment, mass layoffs and factory closures in the West, it's not hard to see that the smashing of private ownership of the means of production, the planned economy and the state monopoly of foreign trade are historic gains of the workers states, which must be defended by the workers of the world despite the usurpation of power by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Der Spiegel

Reininger/Contact

Above: East German Stalinist Erich Honecker (left) pursues detente with Bonn chancellor Helmut Kohl. (right) even after first-strike Pershing 2 missiles, aimed at Soviet Union, are deployed in West Germany.

ABRIDGED FROM SPARTAKIST NO. 51, SEPTEMBER 1984

SPD Nationalism: An Anti-Soviet Weapon

When Honecker canceled his visit under Soviet pressure, the SPD heaped scorn on the Bonn government. In a *Spiegel* interview, opposition Social Democratic Party leader Willy Brandt boasted that he represented the better national party and castigated Kohl as a dilettante. Brandt humorously recounted how former CDU economics minister Ludwig Erhard once asked him how many billions it would take to buy back the DDR. Brandt knows that money alone can't buy the DDR, that it will also take a political agency of counterrevolution in the workers state.

The SPD poses as the truly national party with a greater distance from American imperialism. According to Brandt, "Even given my loyalty to the Atlantic alliance, no one has ever told me that the current alignments are history's final verdict." Thus the SPD waged its "missile election campaign" in 1983 as a loyal party of NATO and the Bundeswehr [West German army]. The nationalist "left" and the petty-bourgeois Greens are tailing along in the wake of the SPD, supporting its carefully groomed image of a "social-democratic alternative."

Based on its tradition as a reformist party, and as the "left" flank of nationalism, the SPD exploits the yearning for peace and the national sentiment of the working masses in West and East Germany. But a peaceful counterrevolution in Germany, a peaceful reunification on a capitalist basis, is a social-democratic illusion that even the SPD leadership doesn't believe. A Fourth German Reich means barbarism and atomic holocaust.

Honecker's Dangerous Flirtation with the West

It wasn't so much the desire for new loans that was drawing Erich Honecker to Bonn, but his attempts to keep an inter-German détente alive in the midst of imperialist preparations for war against the Soviet Union. In an interview with *Neues Deutschland* (20 August) Honecker declared: "In view of

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Camera Press

Yevgeni Khaldei

Left: At Yalta conferenca in February 1945 Stalin (right) agraed to divide Germany with Western imperialists Churchill and Roosevelt. Right: Soviet Rad Army liberates Berlin from Nazi rula, May 1945.

Zionism's Fascist Shock Troops Polarize Israel

Arabs, Jewish Protesters Drive Kahane Out of Town

Riding a wave of right-wing agitation for a genocidal "final solution" to the "Arab question," Zionist fascist Meir Kahane was recently elected to the Israeli parliament (Knesset). But when Kahane, using his parliamentary immunity, announced he was going to march on the Arab village of Um El Fahm in northern Israel to "register" Arabs for forcible deportation, he was opposed by a rare demonstration of Arab-Jewish unity. On August 29, more than 20,000 Israeli Arabs and 2,000 Jewish protesters mobilized together to stop Kahane and three busloads of his armed thugs from their murderous provocation. Under a hail of stones, the Kahane thugs were held off and finally escorted away by the cops.

The Hitler-like rabbi called Um El Fahm "a nest of vipers and Jew-haters" which has "no right to exist," because "there are no Arab towns, only Jewish towns occupied by Arabs." Kahane was threatening to carry out inside Israel proper the same kind of anti-Arab terror that is commonplace in the occupied West Bank. This was seen as a threat to Israel's *internal* equilibrium, with its pretense of democratic rights for the Arab minority. Anti-Kahane Jewish demonstrators came from throughout the country to join residents of this town in the predominantly Arab region of Galilee. They gathered at the entrance to the town and lined the main road to Um El Fahm, many wearing yellow stars with the Hebrew words for "Racism Won't Pass."

Today, the main political currents of the Zionist establishment, "Labor" Alignment and Likud, have united in a coalition government. And the government is deeply intertwined with ultraright terrorist organizations like Gush Emunim. This interpenetration is being revealed daily in the trial of 25 members of the Jewish "underground." These Zionist terrorists are responsible for planting bombs that crippled two West Bank Palestinian mayors. They threw hand grenades and machine-gunned students at Hebron's Islamic University, killing three. They also planned to bomb five Arab buses and blow up two of Islam's holiest shrines in East Jerusalem, the Dome of the Rock and Al Aksa Mosque. Yet the *New York Times* (17 September) reports that their trial is conducted in a "picnic atmosphere" with police guards and spectators warmly greeting the murderous defendants.

The extreme rightward polarization of Israeli Jewish society in the aftermath of the 1982 Zionist blitzkrieg in Lebanon has turned notorious mass murderers like Ariel Sharon, the butcher of Sabra and Shatila, into heroes among large sectors of the population. This growth of fanatical ultraright Zionism and especially its clerical fascistic stormtroopers has shocked many secular Jews of European (Ashkenazi) origin. They themselves are threatened: remember Emil Grunzweig, murdered at a 1983 "Peace Now" demonstration in Jerusalem by a hand grenade as Begin/Sharon supporters, mainly "Oriental" Jews from Arab countries, chanted, "We shall kill you.... We shall give you a holocaust." At Um El Fahm, a Kahane supporter threatened, "When we finish with the Arabs, we intend to deal with the Jewish leftists and doves."

Bar-Am/NY Times

Um el Fahm, Galilee, August 29: 20,000 Israeli Arabs and 2,000 Jewish protesters repulse Zionist fascist Meir Kahane and his murderous henchmen.

UPI

Jerusalem: Trial of Zionist terrorists conducted in "picnic atmosphere."

Kahane, a Brooklyn-born rabbi who for years tried to pass as a gentile, "Michael King," became notorious in the U.S. for building the ultraright terrorist Jewish Defense League, which attacked black militants and bombed Soviet diplomatic offices. Emigrating to Israel in the early 1970s, he built a fascist cult called the Kach party. Openly campaigning for the expulsion and genocide of Palestinian Arabs from the Israeli-occupied West Bank, Golan, Gaza and southern Lebanon as well as the 600,000 Arabs who are Israeli citizens, Kahane's armed thugs, often Jews from the U.S., have terrorized Arab communities and schools.

"Labor" Zionism Produced Sharon

Kahane is a convenient lightning rod for a Zionist establishment no less dedicated to the repression and extermination of the Palestinian Arab people and possessing the sovereignty of armed state power. Jewish support for the Um El Fahm demonstration came not only from Israel's left and its large liberal Zionist "peace" movement, but also from Labor Alignment. In fact the keynote speaker at the Um El Fahm protest was Jerusalem's "Labor" mayor Teddy Kollek, who rules over annexed Arab East Jerusalem where brutal beatings by the infamous Border Police are a daily occurrence. Kollek presents the liberal face of Zionism, talking of Jewish-Arab coexistence while selling tax-deductible Israel Bonds to American Jews to finance Sharon's murderous exploits.

Not coincidentally, both Sharon and Kollek had the same mentor, David Ben Gurion. A kibbutznik, leader of the Jewish settlement in Palestine and Israel's first prime minister and defense minister, Ben Gurion played at being both a "socialist" visionary and ruthless exponent of Zionist expansionism. His vision was that of one of his favorite Bible quotes, from "Exodus": "I will not drive them out from before thee in one year; lest the land become desolate, and the beast of the field multiply against thee. By little and little I will drive them out from before thee, until thou be increased, and inherit the land." Needless to say, for the Zionists, the Canaanites of the Bible are the Arabs of today.

In the early 1950s, while fortifying an Israel flush with the conquests of 1948-49 and ruled by "Labor" Zionists, Ben Gurion sought another dimension to his Bible-inspired plans. Ariel Sharon was selected by Ben Gurion to form "Unit 101," a secret military force to stage "retaliatory" raids on neighboring Arab countries. One of Sharon's major operations was an attack on the town of Kibyeh where 69 Arab residents, mostly women and children, were blown up in their homes. Unit 101, whose members were rigorously selected, came mainly from the kibbutzim. As Israel Shahak has noted: "Sharon knows well, as Begin does not know, that the kibbutzim and the moshavim (the 'working settlements') produce the best available murderers in Israel."

While today some elements of "Labor" take fright at the growing respectability of fascist terrorist gangs in Israel, this coalition of thoroughly bourgeois and Zionist parties created Israel through bloody expulsion of the Palestinian Arab nation. In 1948 they got rid of practically all Arabs along the Mediterranean coast (Haifa, Jaffa, Acre, etc.). And where a few large concentrations of Arabs remained, such as in Nazareth, the Zionists embarked on the "Judaization of the Galilee." Upper Nazareth, overlooking Arab Nazareth, was created by settling Ashkenazi Jews there, assuring a surrounded and "pacified" Arab population.

But after the 1967 "Six Day War" in which they took the West Bank, Gaza, Sinai and the Golan Heights, Israelis could no longer pose as enlightened Jews making the desert bloom through "socialistic" experiments. The Zionists' "Greater Israel" subjected a million and a half Arabs to the systematic terror of colonial rule. No longer was it "conquest of labor" and "conquest of land"—expelling Palestinians while exploiting Hebrew workers. While Israel is not South Africa, its economy has become increasingly dependent on the superexploitation of Palestinian Arab labor. The result was the rise of kill-crazy religious sects and a new generation of bloodthirsty "sabras" who revel in keeping Arabs under the Zionist jackboot.

Even under the right-wing Likud governments of Menachem Begin and his even more fanatical successor, Yitzhak Shamir, Kahane's terrorist pronouncements and acts have been denounced and he has received an occasional light sentence. But as a former Israeli paratrooper told the *New York Times* (14 August) at an anti-Kahane protest during the opening of the Knesset: "Kahane did not just come from the sky. He says brutally what a lot of Israelis say quietly. He's a fruit of the occupation." A poll conducted on the eve of the recent elections showed that 15 percent of Israeli Jews supported deporting Palestinian Arabs from the occupied territories; another 43 percent supported an apartheid solution in which they could stay only if deprived of all political rights.

Shamir has not forgotten his own days in the terrorist underground as a leader of the Stern Gang which together with Begin's Irgun murdered 254 unarmed Palestinian villagers at Deir Yassin in 1948. He now claims that the acts of the present Zionist "underground" are not terrorist but merely "unauthorized military activities." Moreover, a number of Gush Emunim supporters of this modern-day "underground" are army officers high up in the military administration of the occupied West Bank. Another recent poll of Israeli Jews showed that almost a third supported the actions of these genocidal terrorists.

As the courageous Israeli civil libertarian Israel Shahak noted in a recent interview with *Workers Vanguard*: "Israeli Jewish society is being more polarized and about half of it is being rapidly Nazified. The more the U.S.A. supports Israel, the greater and more rapid will that Nazification be." The Zionist Hitlerite Kahane represents not only a broadly supported genocidal campaign but the fact that ultraright Zionism, which is increasingly becoming "respectable" in Israel, is fueled by cadres and money from the U.S.

Zionist Fortress in Crisis

The Zionist fortress is in deep social crisis. Israeli expansionism, especially the ruinous Lebanese war and occupation, has ravaged the economy, generating a 400 percent a year inflation rate. A restless working class has seen its real wages fall 15 percent under Likud. And the armed forces are demoralized by the prolonged occupation of southern Lebanon in the face of stubborn Arab

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Israel Shahak on:

Zionist Israel Divided

Dr. Israel Shahak, chairman of the Israeli League for Civil and Human Rights, is a renowned fighter for Palestinian rights and a perceptive and scathing critic of Zionism. He is a survivor of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp who immigrated to Palestine in 1945. Like the best of his generation of Jewish immigrants, Shahak is acutely sensitive to the parallels between Zionist Israel and Nazi Germany, especially in the aftermath of the 1982 Israeli blitzkrieg into Lebanon and the Israeli-sponsored anti-Palestinian holocaust at Sabra and Shatila.

Shahak, along with many liberals and reformists, looked to Reagan and the bourgeois Zionist "Labor" Alignment to tame Begin/Sharon. Nevertheless, Shahak has been relentless in exposing the hypocrisy of "Labor" which created and ruled Israel for 28 years through first the expulsion and then the oppression of the Palestinians. Of even greater importance for the American left has been his insistence that support for Israel from both the U.S. government and the U.S. Zionist movement has fueled the growing Nazification of the Israeli state.

Workers Vanguard *expresses its gratitude to Dr. Shahak for his informative and insightfully annotated mailings of translations from the Israeli press which served to enrich the article "Zionism's Fascist Shock Troops Polarize Israel," which appears on page 6. And for the interest of our readers we reprint with permission the following article by Israel Shahak which appeared in the 10 August 1984 issue of* Middle East International *(London).*

Israel is proverbially and actually the most written about country, but despite this, it is in my opinion the most misunderstood and the most unknown society in the world, and I mean the Israeli Jewish society, not the Palestinians, about whom there is quite a lot of more or less accurate knowledge. In fact ignorance of Israeli Jewish society outside Israel is perhaps the most important single political fact of the Middle Eastern situation. The famous "cocktail circuit" in which diplomats, foreign journalists and gullible visitors tell each other what they want to hear is spreading misleading information about Israeli Jewish society just as it did about Iranian society in the last years of the shah's regime.

Why is this so? There are, in my opinion, two reasons which reinforce each other. There is the "myth of Israel" (and of Judaism too) which brings many people to Israel on a secular pilgrimage in exactly the same spirit as pilgrims from the West had their belief in the Chinese "cultural revolution" confirmed by visits to Mao's China. But there is also the fact that Israeli Jewish society has for some years been in a process of rapid polarisation. By now there are, for all intents and purposes, two Jewish nations in Israel which hate each other, and in many ways the situation now is more frightening than it was during the 1981 elections, precisely because of the absence of the physical violence so prevalent then. Now one can talk with the "second nation" without risking more than verbal unpleasantnesses.

During the recent election campaign I used to go, about every other afternoon, to the corner of King George and Yehuda Halevi streets in Jerusalem, where political parties distributed their written material and where people gathered to talk politics. I will try to describe some of my experiences and conclusions, which are fully supported by the best reporters of the Hebrew press.

First some definitions. On the popular level all those who oppose the Likud government are treated as one bloc by their enemies. For Likud people Navon is a communist; Rabin wants to deliver Israel (not merely the occupied territories!) to the Arabs; Peres is an agent of the PLO, and so on. These things are really believed and if one expresses disbelief there is an immediate verbal explosion of abuse. But all this is really of little importance. When a person asserts that Navon is a communist in the pay of Moscow, as frequently happens, he does it calmly and the audience is not aroused unless there is disagreement. There are however in my experience four questions, very frequently raised, which immediately heat up Likud supporters and even more so supporters of the more extreme parties such as Tehiya or the religious parties, and provoke debate even within this camp. Two of them are of a sexual nature and two of an existential nature. All are politically more important than the questions the diplomats talk over with each other.

The first sexual question is: "Do you want an Arab to marry your daughter (or your sister)?" The less polite use another word for "marry." Likud supporters have no doubt that this is the greatest danger to Israel, but more important, they know that everyone will be united on this point and aroused to vocal passion. However, I have a long experience in arguing with my people (of both nations) since I have no illusions about them. It is possible to answer this question with another, in the traditional Jewish manner: "And do you want your wife to commit adultery with a Jew?" On this basis it is possible to hold a discussion, but I must regretfully report that it leads nowhere. After a short time the opinion builds up (even among the very pious) that however regretful or sinful adultery between Jews may be, it is nothing compared with fornication between a Jewess and an Arab male. Exactly as with anti-Semites and anti-black racists, it is far less shocking if the Jew is male and the Arab is female.

The second sexual question concerns Jews only, and is much more divisive for the Likud camp. I first heard it when Ariel Sharon visited Jerusalem on his own campaign. Several young people close to him shouted: "Arik, lead us to rape the women of Ma'arach (the Labour alignment)!" I hope I will not be suspected of playing the devil's advocate by reporting that Sharon was visibly shocked and shouted to them: "Shut your mouth." Several others reported similar exchanges, and I have heard this question gravely discussed by groups of Likud supporters, with no unanimous conclusion reached. The discussion has however an important political implication: a significant group, more extreme than *all* the Likud leaders, is rising, represented at present by such parties as Tehiya. One should not be surprised at this development.

The existential questions which are discussed are, first, "Who has the right to kill Arabs—the government or individual Jews?" and second, "What is the 'nature' or the 'mentality' of the Arabs?" The first question is of course connected to the Jewish terrorist underground. Perhaps the most important divide between the "two nations" in Israel is the completely different attitude to the question of whether the killing of an Arab by a Jew constitutes murder. All Likud supporters (especially those of the religious parties) assert flatly that it does not. They are backed up on this point by the prime minister, Mr. Shamir (who defined Jewish terror as "unauthorised military action"), by many other politicians and by all Israeli rabbis. On the other hand all the Ma'arach leaders take a very firm view that a crime is a crime, no matter who commits it or against whom it is committed, and they are supported in this by their "nation." It is instructive to watch literature being distributed and admiringly absorbed among "the other nation," which justifies the murders in the Islamic College in Hebron on the ground that each Palestinian student is a paid-up PLO member. The placing of explosives in Arab buses is justified by the argument that since Palestinians don't themselves kill the "PLO terrorists," they all become guilty and thus deserving of death. Again, a sort of discussion is possible here but it leads nowhere. It is possible to ask from what exact age the Palestinian children are supposed to catch and kill "the terrorists" and how the Jewish terrorists could have known that Arab babies would not be present on the buses to be blown up. But Nazis, of all nationalities, have an answer to everything. This is the reason why discussion with them leads nowhere. The answer in this case is either "kill them while they are still young" or the famous Talmudic quotation "Kill the best of the Gentiles, smash the brains of the best snake." The only question which remains to be discussed, and indeed *is* discussed by those who agree with such slogans, is how and when and by whom, and of course the famous old question of whether "this is good for the Jews." I interfered on one such occasion with an old joke: someone goes into a synagogue and exclaims: "There has been a flood in China and a million Chinese have been drowned!", and is asked in return: "Is this good or bad for Jews?" But the joke was received in all seriousness and I was asked: "Really, is this good or bad for the Jews?"

The last question widely debated is about the supposedly fixed "nature" or "mentality" of all Arabs. It is extremely significant that the more ancient or mythical the "examples" of the supposed "Arab nature" are, the more eagerly they are believed and discussed. The 1929 Hebron riots are much more important as "evidence" than all the Israeli wars, including the Lebanon war, but the "image" put together of Ishmael as described in the Book of Genesis and its commentaries is the most important of all. Again, one can dispute it but it leads quickly to the question: "Do you deny the Word of God which described Ishmael as a wild man?" or: "Do you deny what our ancestors believed?" The nature of Israeli education over the last few years rather encourages such questions.

One can assume that 40 per cent at least of Israeli Jews support such opinions or at least do not oppose them, but at the same time an equal or slightly larger number abominate them. The contrast between the "two nations" covers many other social areas, for example the theatre (one considers it in principle a poison, the other is a passionate theatre goer) or buying of books (one of the Hebrew papers polled the participants in the recent "book market" held in the main Tel Aviv square: 80 per cent were for Ma'arach and 20 per cent for Likud). There are some in the middle, and for their votes the whole campaign was waged, since the two camps themselves do not change. This is the main fact which emerged from the election campaign of 1984. ■

Rubinger/Time

Rubinger/Time

Israeli society polarized. Left: Liberal "Peace Now" Zionists protest Begin/Sharon's massacre of Palestinians at Shatila/Sabra camps in Beirut, September 1982. Above: Fanatical Zionist settlers from the Israeli-occupied West Bank demand bloody terror against Arabs.

Nut vs. Hawk...

(continued from page 1)

its degeneration under the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, against the bloody rulers of Wall Street and the Pentagon.

"Liberal" Face of Imperialist Militarism

While the Nicaraguan Sandinistas, directly under the gun of the Yankee imperialists and their *contra* mercenaries, may be shedding some illusions, their self-styled supporters on the American left are out electioneering for the man who threatens to "quarantine" the Nicaraguan revolution! From the "State Department socialists" of Michael Harrington's DSA to the Moscow-line Stalinists of the Communist Party to the ex-Maoists of the Communist Workers Party, *Line of March* and the rad-lib *Guardian*, Walter Mondale is presented as a champion in the fight to "dump Reagan."

A sophisticated version of this "lesser evil" line comes from radical journalist Alexander Cockburn. Cockburn admits:

> "They keep saying that the best reason to vote for Walter Mondale is Ronald Reagan. But since Mondale filed to change his name and political identity to Reagan halfway through September, this argument doesn't carry quite the weight that it once did."

He goes on to enumerate Mondale's agreement with Reagan on (1) Nicaragua, (2) El Salvador, (3) Grenada, (4) the missiles in Europe, (5) increased military spending, and (6) the Near East. Nonetheless, Cockburn concludes, "...we must pray that the Democratic ticket does as well as possible, since anything that slows Reaganism, particularly in Congress, is a plus."

Sygma

Cold War hawk Mondale supports Reagan's rape of black Grenada a year ago; endorses U.S. plans to crush Nicaraguan revolution.

So will the Democrats keep the U.S. out of war? Remember that in 1964 radicals from the CP to the New Left supported Lyndon Johnson (SDS' slogan was "Part of the Way with LBJ") against the darling of the Republican right, Barry Goldwater. Johnson won a landslide victory, promising there would be "no wider war in Asia." In a matter of months, however, LBJ began bombing North Vietnam and increased the U.S. forces in South Vietnam from 20,000 to 150,000. In fact, *every* war by American imperialism in the 20th century was begun under a liberal Democrat, not a right-wing Republican: World War I under Woodrow Wilson, World War II under Franklin Roosevelt, the Korean War under Harry Truman and Vietnam under Kennedy and Johnson. This is no coincidence. The Democratic Party, which poses as the "people's party" of U.S. capitalism, has a broader base than the Republicans, widely viewed as the party of big business. Thus the Democrats can better mobilize labor, blacks and ethnic minorities, and liberal intellectuals for the necessary wartime sacrifices, on behalf of imperialism.

Celebrating the triumph of the right at the Republican convention in Dallas, "neo-conservative" Democrat Jeane Kirkpatrick paid homage to the Democratic Party founding fathers of Cold War anti-Communism: "These were the men who developed NATO, who developed the Marshall Plan, who devised the Alliance for Progress" (*New York Times*, 21 August). America's Madame Chiang Kai-shek would have people believe that Mondale & Co. have abandoned the aggressive anti-Communist militarism of their forebears, Truman and Kennedy. Not so. The difference between the Reagan gang and its Democratic opponents is one of rhetoric and tactics, not goals.

Mondale occasionally appeals to the widespread fear that Reagan is nuclear trigger-happy. Speaking at the American Legion convention (of all places) early last month he sounded almost like an anti-nuke peacenik, saying there will be "no winners" of a third world war, "no free world—only a poisoned, lifeless world." But the real purpose of this speech was *not* to push for a nuclear weapons freeze, but for a buildup of *conventional* warmaking capacity: "I will make a fundamental shift of resources toward readiness and sustainability of our conventional forces." These plans are just as dangerous as Reagan's fantastic "star wars" schemes, especially when linked to NATO's plans for a new generation of "smart" weapons designed to take out the Soviets' rear echelon forces. Nuclear holocaust is just as likely, if not more so, through the escalation of a conventional war as through an insane attempt at a first strike against the USSR.

This is not the first time the Democrats have emphasized conventional weapons for conventional wars. In the 1960 elections Kennedy and his whiz-kid advisers like Robert McNamara and McGeorge Bundy criticized the prevailing NATO doctrine of "massive retaliation," i.e., to immediately launch its arsenal of nuclear missiles if NATO forces were losing on the ground (as was expected). Instead they wanted a "flexible response," requiring a massive buildup in U.S. conventional forces. This, of course, did not prevent John Kennedy from almost blowing up the world in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis.

Orris/NY Times

Cuban children digging trenches on Isle of Youth. Cuban people remember Bay of Pigs, are prepared to defend revolution against renewed threat of Yankee imperialist invasion.

The Democrats' "flexible response" to the "Communist threat" was to be tested above all in Vietnam. The U.S. war machine dropped more bombs on that Southeast Asian country than all the tonnage of all the combatants in World War II! But the Pentagon planners had not counted on the incredible heroism and fortitude of the Vietnamese workers and peasants. Vietnam became the greatest defeat in history for American imperialism. That long, losing, dirty colonial war sapped popular support at home for foreign military adventures and anti-Communist crusading. Gravely weakened by the Vietnam debacle, in the late 1960s/early 1970s America's rulers had to maneuver for advantage through "détente" with the Soviet Union.

The so-called "human rights" campaign of the Carter/Mondale administration served as the bridge between the post-Vietnam détente and Cold War II. It was intended to restore America's tarnished credibility as leader of the "free world." We wrote at the time:

> "Not only has this sinister campaign met with the eager approval of professional anti-communist liberals and reactionaries, including most importantly the U.S. trade-union bureaucracy, but it has also gathered wide support from previously disaffected layers of the petty bourgeoisie.
>
> "...the Spartacist League has stated repeatedly that the Carter 'human rights' crusade is not merely hypocritical but is aimed at whipping up chauvinist, anti-Communist sentiment in order to strengthen the hand of the U.S. to act as gendarme of the 'free world' and put the Soviet Union on the defensive."
>
> —"The Main Enemy Is at Home," *WV* No. 163, 24 June 1977

Having served its purpose, Carter's "human rights" campaign is today denounced from the right not only by the Reagan gang but also by Mondale: "we did not emphasize enough the times when there was tension between other security interests and human rights" (*New York Times*, 18 September).

Smash the Anti-Soviet War Drive!

Mondale squawks like a hawk, but he could be a dead duck electorally. Conventional wisdom has it that Reagan is riding the crest of the "new patriotism," and that no amount of flag-waving by the "wimpy" Democratic candidate will convince voters that he's better at the war game than rootin'-tootin'-shootin' Reagan. Moral Majority ayatollah Jerry Falwell boasts that the only way Reagan can lose this election is to bomb Great Britain. But the "new patriotism" is a very superficial mood. What is Reagan's great triumph in reasserting American global power? Columnist Russell Baker recently noted:

> "If this were to be believed, patriotism had flared last October when, on the island of Grenada, 5,000 American ground troops with combat air support and an American fleet of 10,000 sailors whipped the hegabbers out of 700 Cubans, most of whom were construction workers."
>
> —*New York Times Magazine*, 23 September

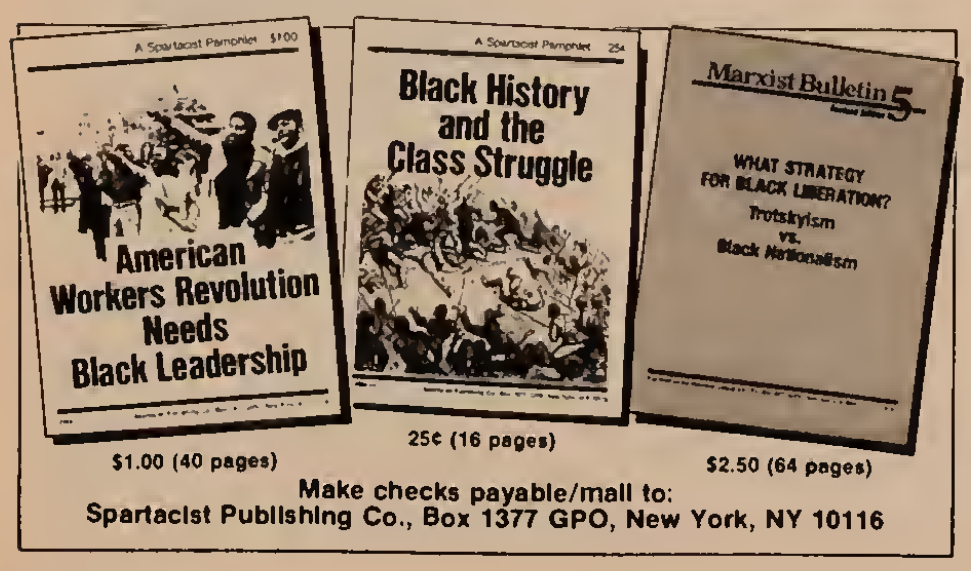
Where the odds are a little more even, the American people have shown no enthusiasm for foreign military adventures. Look at Lebanon: after one man drove a truck bomb into the center of Marine headquarters at Beirut airport, killing 241 U.S. troops, the popular reaction in the U.S. was to "get the hell out before more soldiers get killed for nothing." Reagan's ignominious withdrawal from Lebanon was his biggest foreign policy defeat to date.

And invading Nicaragua will be no Grenada-style walkover, either. There American combat troops, many of them poor black and Hispanic youth with little desire to fight for Yankee imperialism, will encounter a people in arms defending their country and their revolution. As Sandinista junta coordinator Daniel Ortega said at the UN:

> "If peace does not come and the war continues, and with it, the likelihood of a U.S. military intervention, we want the world to know that the Nicaraguan people—barefoot, ragged, and with empty stomachs—are going to fight to the end, until we achieve peace, by either defeating the invaders or immolating ourselves if imperialist aggressiveness leaves us no other choice....
>
> "We are certain that our sacrifice would not be in vain and that all three million Nicaraguans could be annihilated, but our example would triumph and multiply among the peoples of the world and among the people of the United States as well."

As American revolutionaries we have a special responsibility to stop U.S. imperialism from unleashing the full force of its war machine against the Central American masses. Beneath the surface of bourgeois electoral politics there exists a widespread hatred in this country for everything Reagan stands for, among trade unionists who remember how he destroyed the PATCO air controllers union, among blacks and Hispanic poor who have seen their children starved to pay for MX missiles and Trident submarines, among women infuriated by the rise of Moral Majority bigotry. And memories of Vietnam have hardly faded.

The bipartisan war drive *can be defeated* through class struggle. Workers in transport unions must boycott arms shipments to the Central American butchers and *contra* mercenaries, to the South African racist regime and all the other "free world" despots. If the United States invades Nicaragua, there must be a mass mobilization of organized labor, blacks and Hispanics, students and other sections of American society to deal the imperialist war machine a defeat *at home*. This means above all breaking the working class and oppressed minorities from the "liberal" party of Yankee militarism. For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■



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Fight New FBI Witchhunt!

The capitalist state's campaign to unleash its secret police has taken a new and ominous turn. *Espionage* laws are now being used against journalists to cut off "unauthorized" information from government sources. On October 2, the FBI arrested a U.S. naval analyst, Samuel Loring Morison, for providing satellite photographs of a Soviet ship to the authoritative British publication, *Jane's Defense Weekly*. Mr. Morison is the United States editor of *Jane's Fighting Ships*, the standard reference work. This is a dangerous outrage, and a big step toward an "Official Secrets Act" to throttle press "leaks." It is only the second time espionage laws have been used in such cases—the first was over the Pentagon Papers.

Who the feds are going after is also significant. Mr. Morison is the grandson of naval historian Samuel Eliot Morison, author of the definitive 15-volume *History of the United States Naval Operations in World War II*. Moreover, every secret service in the world routinely keeps *Jane's* informed about everyone else's armed forces. Morison was just doing his job, following the rules of the game. But the Reagan administration wants to change the rules.

Meanwhile, the court system is enthusiastically backing the government's "terror" scare directed against perceived political opponents. In August the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals in Chicago ruled that the FBI could spy on organizations simply on the basis of "advocacy," overturning a 1981 agreement reached by the Alliance to End Repression and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) with the FBI that it would *not* conduct such investigations. Chastising the FBI for its earlier "improvident" agreement, the court premised its ruling on "public concern with domestic terrorism" and stressed the need to investigate groups which "may [!] be engaged in the long-range planning of terrorist acts."

Even before this chilling ruling, FBI director William Webster reassured right-wing Senator Jeremiah Denton's "Terrorism" subcommittee that even a decision upholding the agreement in the Alliance/ACLU case would have no effect on the FBI's spying activities, as there is "not going to be any situation... in which advocacy is the only thing involved" (Hearing before the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, 14 March 1984). Anyone familiar with the FBI knows that such "things" can always be invented.

In another assault on American citizens' rights, the Supreme Court recently upheld Reagan's 1982 ban on travel to Cuba (except for relatives and certain kinds of professional research and journalism), justifying this by "weighty concerns of foreign policy," namely the administration's ludicrous assertion that tourists' holiday rum-and-coke tabs would be used by Cuba to buy bullets for terrorists. Emboldened by this ruling the government has subpoenaed the records of Marazul Tours, Inc. in order to investigate the "legitimacy" of 2,000 trips to Cuba by journalists, researchers, lawyers and other professionals. The targeted records contain the names of 13,000 Americans who have traveled to Cuba since 1982. Those found in violation of this draconian travel ban face potential sentences of *ten years* in prison and a $50,000 fine.

The FBI has already stepped up its harassment of liberal protest groups such as CISPES. According to the CISPES newspaper *Alert!* (September 1984), FBI agents have told CISPES members, their employers, landlords and friends that it is a "terrorist" organization, while church groups aiding refugees from Central American death squad terror have been interrogated for supposedly shielding guerrillas. Last August a leader of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) returning from Nicaragua had all his literature seized by U.S. Customs, alleging that it was potentially "seditious."

In a series of lawsuits stemming from the Watergate era of exposure of the FBI's deadly COINTELPRO program, the government is hardlining it, repeatedly asserting that any and all of its secret police activities were perfectly legal. Both in suits brought by the SWP and the National Lawyers Guild the government maintains every one of its crimes is wholly justifiable by the need to combat the supposed domestic terrorist threat to the security of the United States. In the case of Muhammed Kenyatta, a civil rights activist driven off the campus of Tougaloo College in Mississippi in 1969 by COINTELPRO "dirty tricks," the government's legal brief asserts that even fabricated threatening racist letters were a necessary part of the FBI's "law enforcement responsibilities" (*New York Times*, 11 June).

This sweeping attempt to reassert the state's terror/spy apparatus' unlimited right to probe and harass political opponents and to label them as "terrorists" was codified in the FBI's "Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines" announced in March 1983, which falsely painted Marxists and other political opponents as criminal, terrorist enterprises. Recognizing that these Guidelines are nothing but a set-up for the legal murder and wholesale destruction of the left, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League instituted a lawsuit against the FBI's "Terrorism" Guidelines and their application to our organization, in order to defend not only ourselves but the existing democratic rights of the working-class movement.

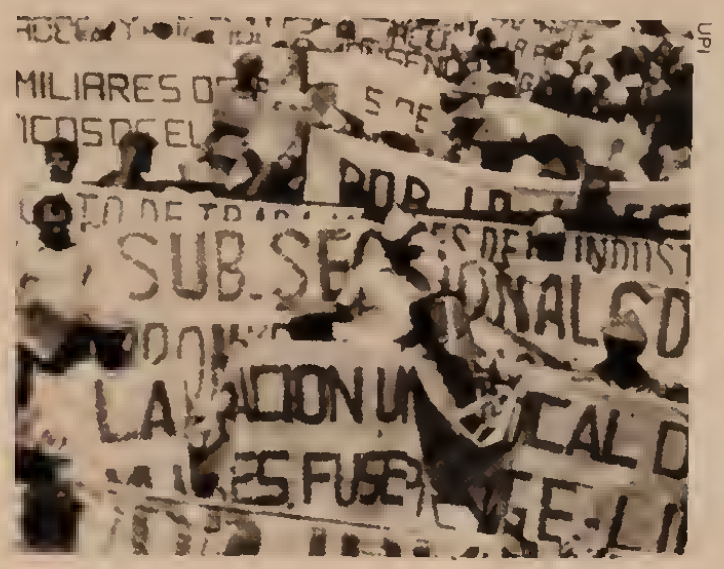
As the anti-Soviet war drive heats up, our organization sticks way out as defenders of the Soviet Union. Ask the Black Panthers what it means to be labeled "terrorist" by the state. As we have said, we do not intend to be blown away in the dead of night, as nameless, faceless victims. A workers party has the right to organize! Fight the new McCarthyism—Support the SL's suit against the FBI Guidelines! Send contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Freedom for Salvadoran Trade Unionists!

On September 15, some 9,000 militant trade unionists and families of political prisoners marched to the presidential palace in San Salvador, defying army threats, to demand freedom for imprisoned trade unionists and other victims of junta terror. The demonstration had been called in opposition to the official government Independence Day march by the leftist MUSYGES labor federation (Movimiento de Unidad Sindical y Gremial de El Salvador) and the Mothers Committee of the Disappeared. The previous Sunday, 4,000 coffee and sugar refinery workers had marched to the government center of the capital protesting anti-working-class decrees. This resurgence of working-class action is an extremely important development in El Salvador, where the present civil war resulted from brutal repression of the explosive labor struggles of 1979-80.

The phony Salvadoran elections last spring, in which the CIA spent over $2 million to install José Napoleón Duarte in power, were designed to impress Congressional liberals and world opinion. Since then, while the activities of the death squads are down, the army is maintaining the level of terror by indiscriminate bombing of the rural population. However, there has been an opening for a limited revival of the urban labor movement which the combative unions have rushed to fill, beginning with the bold march of several thousand people through the streets of San Salvador last May Day, in defiance of the state of siege. This was soon followed by a series of strikes, notably the six-week strike by postal workers in June-July, which sparked sympathy strikes by other government workers.

The U.S. labor movement has an internationalist duty to aid their brothers and sisters in El Salvador struggling in the face of incredible repression. During the 1979-80 wave of terror, not a single union hall in the capital escaped being dynamited or firebombed. According to the trade-union federation FENASTRAS, 8,239 trade unionists were either killed, abducted or wounded in bursts of machine-gun fire.



UPI

San Salvador, September 15: 9,000 unionists and families of the "disappeared" march demanding freedom for imprisoned workers' leaders and other victims of right-wing terror.

Today, hundreds of trade-union prisoners are being held in Duarte's jails, principally at Mariona Prison on the outskirts of San Salvador. Many of these labor militants were in the vanguard of the struggles of 1979-80—the fight for their freedom is at the heart of the struggle for workers revolution in El Salvador. The present campaign is focused on the electrical workers of STECEL, including its president Héctor Bernabé Recinos, who is also general secretary of FENASTRAS. STECEL led off the 1979 strike wave with its dramatic bold occupation of the Río Lempa power plant, turning off the lights of the whole country and protecting themselves against the army by electrifying fences around the plant! STECEL was at the head of every mass march, but in August 1980 on the eve of an ill-planned general strike, the bloody junta of Duarte & Co. arrested the entire union leadership and clapped them in jail, putting the plant under military occupation.

The STECEL leaders were held for 70 days at National Guard headquarters where they were beaten and tortured. In 1982 Héctor Recinos' wife and 13-year-old daughter were seized in their home by the army and have never been seen again. To date the STECEL leaders have been in prison more than four years without a trial and without ever being charged. In a message for May Day 1983 Recinos said:

> "However, comrades, despite the institutional violence and the covering up of our real condition as prisoners for whom there are presently no possibilities of a trial, we will not falter in our revolutionary vocation, which is being put to the test in these unjust circumstances.
>
> "It is a duty of all revolutionary workers to undertake common efforts aimed at strengthening our struggle, which is the struggle of all oppressed peoples, and to block the interventionist plans of the common enemy of humanity: American imperialism, the principal support for the internal enemies of our people. Only the unity of all workers can become a barrier stopping the escalating intervention in which we are already immersed. We must multiply our efforts to confront it, united as one unyielding fist."
>
> —*Guazapa*, 11-20 February 1984

While the bulk of the "solidarity movement" in the U.S. has devoted itself to getting Congressional Democrats to put empty "human rights" riders on Reagan's bills, it has generally ignored the imprisoned trade unionists and in some cases refused to defend them at all, as in the case of the left-wing FSR prisoners (see "Free Salvadoran Unionists!" *WV* No. 350, 16 March 1984).

Conditions in the country are so bad that some social democrats in the U.S. labor bureaucracy have been shaken out of their usual torpor to mount a campaign for the Salvadoran unionists. Even so, "AFL-CIA" chief Lane Kirkland grotesquely dismissed the threat to these workers' lives, because under the new Constitution "no official execution can take place" (*Village Voice*, 29 May). Kirkland called only for a "fair trial," while condemning power strikes such as that carried out by STECEL as a "danger to public health and safety"!

Resolutions and telegrams are not enough to save these endangered class war prisoners. The Spartacist League and class-conscious workers in the U.S. have fought to "hot-cargo" (refuse to handle) military goods to El Salvador. *Now* is the time to raise a worldwide cry of protest backed up by powerful union action to free the imprisoned Salvadoran unionists! ■

E. Germany...

(continued from page 5)

the increasing tensions in the international situation, the DDR more than ever considers that securing and consolidating peace is the primordial question. This is particularly true for the two German states and their relations with each other. I stressed this to Federal [West German] chancellor Helmut Kohl right after they began installing the NATO missiles." In order to achieve a "coalition of reason" with the German bourgeoisie, Honecker even publicly declared, concerning the [Soviet] SS20s stationed in the DDR as a countermeasure [to the American Pershings and cruise missiles], "We don't want those fiendish things here."

The growing nationalism extends even into the top levels of the party bureaucracy, a petty-bourgeois layer based on proletarian economic foundations, where social democracy still has a great attraction (as shown by the Bahro case). Although the bureaucracy of the East German deformed workers state is subordinated to the Kremlin, it is subjected to the objective pressure of the most highly developed capitalist economy of West Europe. Stalinism can't just brush aside this pressure, nor does it dare to overcome it through revolutionary struggle on this side of the Wall [West Germany]. We seek to expropriate the industrial wealth and power of West Germany on behalf of the poorer nations of East Europe.

As the counterrevolutionary echo of West Germany's nationalist "peace" movement, among high school and university students in the DDR a pacifist movement has emerged which even in the face of the imperialist warmongering against the DDR and the Soviet Union calls for unilateral disarmament of East Germany. The Stalinist bureaucracy has proved itself completely incapable of effectively countering this movement. Erich Honecker himself received the West German Green members of parliament, including anti-Communist Solidarność-lover Petra Kelly and General Bastian (who last dealt with the Soviet Union as a volunteer on Hitler's Eastern Front), and concluded a "private peace treaty" with them. A mini-"peaceful coexistence," which the DDR along with Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria would like to achieve on a larger scale, even at the cost of the defense of the Soviet Union.

Yet Honecker is no Green, nor a closet social democrat. The son of a Saarland miner, he joined the Communist Party at the age of 14; he rotted for ten years in Hitler's prisons, from which he was freed by the Red Army. As a faithful Stalinist, he opposed the anti-bureaucratic uprising of the East German working class in 1953. In 1961 he supervised the construction of the Berlin Wall, a bureaucratic measure aimed at defending the DDR's economy against the constantly increasing loss to the West of skilled workers. Erich Honecker is a prisoner of Stalinist politics in class-divided Germany, where the status quo is untenable in the long run. And so he opens the DDR to the West.

The only way out is a solution directed against the bureaucracy itself: the revolutionary mobilization of the working class. This is the perspective of 17 June 1953, when the East German working class rose up against its political oppression, polarized the bureaucracy and incited the West German working class toward the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie. The DDR bureaucracy tried to win time, to catch its breath, through deals with imperialism, yet with this strategy it became a victim of imperialist power politics. The only real road to defending the revolutionary conquests in the DDR is to build revolutionary Trotskyist parties in East and West, to lead the socialist revolution in West Europe and the political revolution to oust the bureaucratic parasitic caste in the Soviet bloc. The powerful industrial proletariat of East and West Germany is the key to the struggle for a United Socialist States of Europe.

Stalinist Status Quo Politics: No Weapon Against Imperialist Threats

Pravda quite rightly warned Honecker against starting down the path of selling out to the West. But the idea of a separate German détente policy is by no means some brilliant invention by Honecker. The recipe comes from Moscow's kitchen. For example, during the 1983 parliamentary elections, Soviet foreign minister Gromyko hurried to West Germany specially to give moral support to the opposition social-democratic "peace" forces. Right up until the installation of the American medium-range missiles, the Soviet bureaucracy saw inter-German détente as being in its own interest. And one inevitably recalls Stalin's 1952 offer to give up the East German planned economy in favor of a "nonaligned" Germany.

Stalinism finds itself in a dilemma from which it cannot escape. Since it fears world socialist revolution, which would strip it of its own privileged position, it attempts a difficult (and ultimately hopeless) balancing act between imperialism and the proletariat. Stalinist policies are continually seeking "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, in order to protect so-called "socialism in one country" (or even half a country!). Yet the Soviet bureaucracy is hardly blind either to the American or West German plans for aggression. Quite the contrary: the latest West German offer of billions in loans to the

Spartakist

Denouncing social-democratic "peace" movement, German Trotskyists say "Defend East Germany/Soviet Union!" and "For the Revolutionary Reunification of Germany!"

DDR must have given the Kremlin an acute sense of déjà vu, painfully recalling the Marshall Plan with which U.S. imperialism tried after World War II to strengthen the capitalist economies of West Europe and to undermine the East European "People's Democracies."

Of course, it's a good thing that "the lights are still burning late in the Kremlin," but all the Kremlin has to say to Honecker's affair with the West is "Back to Yalta." As *Pravda* put it in its above quoted commentary:

> "At the same time, during the Stockholm conference U.S. secretary of state Shultz talked of 'non-recognition of the division of Europe' which was supposedly carried out in 1945. Add to that the May NATO meeting in Washington, which endorsed Bonn's formula demanding the 'restoration of German unity' and also discussed plans to move U.S. divisions stationed in West Germany up to the DDR border, and it isn't hard to recognize what place West Germany is assigned in the strategy of the 'crusade'."

"Overthrow Yalta" has indeed become the battle cry of all the Cold Warriors, from Shultz and Reagan to Mitterrand and Solidarność. Their slogan means preparation for a new imperialist war, just as Hitler's slogan "Down with the Versailles Treaty" was a call for the Second World War. For imperialism, rolling back Yalta, refusing to accept the division of Europe, means reversing the overthrow of capitalism in the East European workers states. Yet the Kremlin's clinging to the status quo is a policy doomed to failure.

The Yalta [and Potsdam] accords between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet Union brought the Red Army, victorious over Hitler fascism, to a grinding halt after rolling westward; forced the Stalinist-dominated workers movements in Italy and France to adopt a policy of "national reconciliation" with capitalism at a time when the working class could have seized power; strangled the revolution in Greece and divided Germany instead of creating a socialist German workers state. And all that despite the fact that it was the Red Army and not the Western Allies which decisively crushed Hitler, the Russians who freed all Berlin. Yalta opened the opportunity for imperialism to unleash a war drive against the Soviet Union from 1947-48 on, and thus as a self-defense mechanism induced the Soviet Union to establish the East European bureaucratically deformed workers states.

As we wrote at the time of the European Security Conference in Helsinki nine years ago:

> "However much Stalin's epigones may dream of permanently locking up a division of Europe, seeking to contractually prohibit revolution and counter-revolution, in the final analysis two Europes are as impossible as the reconciliation of the interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie."
>
> —"From Yalta to Helsinki: The Diplomacy of Betrayal," WV No. 77, 19 September 1975

Neither the Berlin Wall nor deals with imperialism can truly defend the land of the October Revolution and the other deformed workers states. This requires the Bolshevik policies of Lenin, who insisted that the German Revolution must come to the aid of the Russian; the October Revolution must be defended by extending it; capitalism must be destroyed worldwide through a strategy of international proletarian revolution. A Trotskyist world party must be built to lead the struggle for socialist revolution in the capitalist world, and to sweep away the Stalinist bureaucracy through proletarian political revolution. At stake is the defense of the DDR and the Soviet Union through international proletarian revolution; at stake is the future of humanity. ■

Zionist Fascists...

(continued from page 6)

resistance.

The Labor/Likud grand coalition is dedicated to solving the Israeli economic quandary through even more savage cuts in the living standards of the working people. The Israeli rulers will also hold out their hands for more largesse from Washington: this blood money provisions the Zionist fortress in the front line of U.S. imperialism's drive for nuclear war with the Soviet Union. In the meantime they may try to create some more "established facts." The last time these parties joined together in a "National Unity Government" it was a prelude to the 1967 war, which marked the transition of Israel from a settler state into a would-be colonial power, from expelling Palestinian Arabs to exploiting cheap Arab labor. Now after the West Bank has come the "North Bank": Israel's occupation of southern Lebanon. But Israel's vast imperial appetites are limited by its narrow social resources: three million Jews cannot conquer 100 million Arabs, and every square foot of new Arab land Israel seeks to absorb heightens lethal contradictions for the "Jewish state."

Zionist Israel is a deathtrap for the Jewish people. If they are to have a future, the Hebrew working class must be broken from their Zionist rulers and exploiters and won to the cause of Palestinian national justice. The anti-Kahane protest at Um El Fahm, uniting Arabs and Jews, shows the real potential for a binational revolutionary party dedicated to the right to self-determination for both the Palestinian Arabs and Hebrew-speaking people with a Socialist Federation of the Near East. ■

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Phone Union Militants Demand:

Fight AT&T Layoffs!

OAKLAND—Thousands of phone workers, many of them with high seniority, who thought they had a lifetime job, were stunned when AT&T announced August 27 the layoffs of 11,000 workers nationwide, the bulk of them in job categories covered by the Communications Workers of America (CWA). In typical phone company bureaucratese AT&T declared a "broad timeframe" in which "surplus" employees who will be "impacted" by the layoffs will first be notified, on September 17, and after being offered "available options" will be taken "off payroll" on November 30. The "available options" range from various paltry lump sum cash buy-outs to forced transfers and downgrades, including to other cities, bumping lower seniority workers in the process. Some 4,900 CWA phone installers alone are slated to go, along with long distance operators, communication technicians and clerical workers. In the former Western Electric division, workers with up to 15 years of seniority face the ax.

The layoffs come in the wake of the court-ordered "divestiture" of AT&T, whereby local Bell phone companies were severed from AT&T to "increase competition." Given a green light by Reagan's destruction of PATCO and the passivity of the treacherous labor tops, employers in the airline and trucking industries have used similar "deregulation" to go on a union-busting tear, slashing wages and benefits and putting thousands on the unemployment lines. Together with vicious speedup, constant harassment and firings of union stewards and militants, and widespread "contracting out" of jobs to non-union outfits at substandard wages and conditions by Pacific Bell, the impending AT&T layoffs signal an across-the-board offensive aimed at smashing the CWA and the other unions in the phone system.

Faced with this, any union leadership worth its salt would respond with nationwide mass action to bring the arrogant and widely hated AT&T to its knees; hundreds of thousands of phone workers occupying the buildings, rallying support from unionists across the country. This is the strategy being called for by the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), the class-struggle opposition in the CWA. A September 11 MAC leaflet issued to members of CWA Local 9410 in San Francisco declared: "The only way to stop these layoffs is to make the unions one big fist with thousands of workers sitting in and locking the bosses out. It's not a question of 'legality,' it's who *wins*. Play by the bosses' rules and we lose."

But from national CWA president Glenn Watts on down, the union misleaders have been working overtime to prevent a fight by union members. Forced on strike by Ma Bell last year, Watts & Co. rammed through a rotten contract that gave the bosses a free hand for layoffs and speedup—after refusing to do anything to win the strike, letting scabs routinely cross deliberately small picket lines. We warned then that the contract "won't prevent a single layoff or forced downgrade or transfer. There's nothing to prevent subcontracting to scab firms" (*WV* No. 337, 9 September 1983). In early 1982 when MAC blew the whistle on secret company/union meetings where the company's mass layoff plans were discussed, then-president of San Francisco Local 9410 Jim Imerzel flatly denied that layoffs were coming and launched a year-long McCarthyite witchhunt trial in an attempt to expel MAC spokesman Kathy Ikegami for telling the truth.

The day after AT&T's August 27 announcement, national CWA president Watts—who is a member of the "Labor Committee" of the Democratic Party—issued a press release in which he attempted to conceal the union misleadership's treacherous collaboration, claiming the layoff announcement "was dropped virtually out of the blue." There is, of course, no proposal to fight the layoffs—especially not in an election year with Democrat Mondale worried about charges of catering to "special interests." Besides, as the main component of the CIA's AIFLD "labor" front, the CWA leadership is best at advising how to break strikes, not call them. Watts' only complaint, echoed by the local misleaders, is to whine that they weren't "consulted" before the announcement.

The San Francisco Local 9410 leadership under Imerzel successor Marie Mallett called a special union meeting for September 12 "to keep the membership informed." (The nervous bureaucrats apparently feared a spontaneous reaction from angry members at the regular union meeting scheduled for September 18, one day after those being laid off were to be notified.) Union members told a *WV* reporter that having informed the membership of the layoffs, a pathetic "action program" was proposed: to "petition" management and set up "informational picket lines" at the Public Utilities Commission (not even at a phone company location) to protest subcontracting.

This do-less-than-nothing "action" proposal had been unanimously adopted by the Executive Board, which includes two members of "Members United for Workers Rights" (MUWR), a sorry collection of ostensible leftists and would-be bureaucrats. The MUWR won six of the ten local delegate spots to the recent CWA National Convention on a program that said they would support any proposal that opposed layoffs. As there were none made (MAC member Kathy Ikegami couldn't run for delegate, having been suspended from the union for warning of layoffs), the MUWR delegates kept their mouths shut. Now they form a common front with the in-bureaucrats against the membership, revealing their true colors.

When Kathy Ikegami counterposed a real action proposal, "This union will immediately call effective action—sit-down strikes—to stop layoffs, subcontracting and to rescind the firings," MUWR spokesman and Freedom Socialist Party supporter Constance Scott, playing lawyer for the bureaucrats, replied that while MAC was "absolutely right," sitdowns are "not realistic."

The MUWR was formed in 1983 after Kathy Ikegami had been put on trial. Sensing that the Imerzel/Mallett leadership would get its hands dirty with the layoff issue and Ikegami's trial, and hoping the MAC would be creamed in a bureaucratic purge, they opened shop as the "respectable opposition." In fact, the phone company has fired four MAC members since the strike in August 1983, including strike militants Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, who were saved from a stretch in state prison only by a vigorous labor-centered defense campaign by the MAC-initiated Phone Strikers Defense Committee and a lot of work by the Spartacist League.

The MUWR's are part of the "new school" of aspiring bureaucrats who look to the Department of Labor to install them in office, with the usual strings attached. Last March, in a belated "defense" of Kathy Ikegami, they issued a leaflet quoting the so-called "freedom of speech" provisions of the reactionary Landrum-Griffin anti-labor act, a not-so-veiled threat to take the union into the bosses' courts. In all political respects they mirror the present misleadership. They are merely opportunist "outs" who want "in."

In contrast, the MAC, with its action program of hard class struggle, independent from the bosses' courts, government and political parties, is the only strategy that can bring the power of labor to bear against the phone bosses' union-busting layoffs. They put it well in their September 11 leaflet:

> "But look at the U.S. coal miners' strike in '77-78. 'Friends of Labor' Carter and Mondale tried to shove Taft-Hartley down their throats. The miners hung tough and made Carter eat his injunction. And in Britain today, the coal miners have held out for 26 weeks, battling it out against Thatcher, her army of cops and scabs. Everything they've done is 'illegal.' Screw the bosses' rules! The miners are fighting like hell against heavy odds to stop mass layoffs. We must do the same thing here." ■

WV Photo

San Francisco: The Militant Action Caucus campaigns against phone layoffs, April 1982.

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Company Cop Bieber Gets His Payoff

GM Workers:
To Hell with this Sellout!
For a Real Auto Strike!

For an Elected National Strike Committee!

WV Photo

Pickets outside Chevy Truck Assembly plant, Flint, Michigan, September 19: "Nobody goes in, nobody goes out," strikers vow. Bureaucrats are now sweating as the big UAW GM locals are voting down sellout contract.

OCTOBER 8 GM workers aren't buying this giveaway contract. A week ago, General Motors, Wall Street, Walter Mondale and United Auto Workers (UAW) president Owen Bieber figured they were home free. The company and UAW tops had just negotiated what the business press called the deal of the century: GM, flush with over $6 billion in profits, got off with a 1.3 percent wage increase for most assembly line workers in the first year, and *no* wage increase for the rest of the contract. Mondale didn't have to worry about a long strike that could sour his election campaign. Solidarity House pushed it through the GM council in St. Louis easily enough. Van Nuys went for it. Bieber was so confident that he arrogantly announced *his* payoff from his buddy Iacocca: the Judas' seat on the Chrysler board, formerly held by Doug "Giveback" Fraser.

But now they're sweating. One after another, key locals across Michigan have thrown the contract back in Bieber's face: Saginaw, Lansing, Kalamazoo. Lordstown turned thumbs down by a 3-to-1 margin. Bieber admitted he was "concerned" and "uneasy." And the UAW tops are really putting the screws on the smaller locals. *Never* has a GM pact been turned down by the ranks, and it won't be easy to get a "no" vote past the UAW bureaucracy. Remember what happened in the '73 Ford pact: they just stopped counting, forced re-votes at key plants, pulled guns on dissidents in the Local 600 exec board and even shot a militant protesting the re-votes. But auto workers know they're in a good position right now to wring some real concessions from the greedy auto barons—if they fight for it.

Angry auto workers know Bieber's "job security" talk is a lie—the GM contract will grease the skids for tens of thousands of layoffs. At a meeting Saturday of the largely black Fleetwood workers in Detroit, Local 15 members booed and hissed the international reps and local officers pushing this crap. They cheered when one worker denounced these flunkies for GM: "The only job security we have is our *job*, and you're here to sell us this contract for a $180 payoff." Every day now auto workers are uncovering new giveaways in this rotten deal:

- the union is split with "tiered" wage hikes,
- COLA is siphoned off to pay for GM's $1 billion layoff plan,
- union dues are jacked up,
- foremen seniority is restored.

The contract lets the company change work rules (speedup) like crazy, which is why local bargaining is going so easy: there's nothing left to negotiate.

This contract is a license for GM alone to destroy 100,000 union jobs. But, for the crisis of U.S. capitalism which put hundreds of thousands of workers on the dole the AFL-CIO tops and their presidential candidate Mondale have only one solution: poisonous protectionism which sets U.S. workers against their class brothers abroad and breeds vicious racism at home as demonstrated by the brutal murder of Vincent Chin.

Auto workers: *now* is the time to take on the Big 3 auto bosses, while they are caught with a short supply of cars, heavy demand and billions in the bank! Bieber's threat to the heavily black locals in Detroit, Pontiac and Flint which have yet to vote is a long losing strike run by his gang of class traitors in "Sacrifice House." To hell with Bieber! A *real* auto strike, a strike to *win*, won't be led by the fakers who told 13 GM locals to go it alone. The powerful action by Toledo Jeep and AP Parts workers last May showed that the UAW ranks are ready, willing and able to fight. What they need is a fighting leadership. Shut down every last GM plant, and take out Ford and Chrysler as well! A national strike committee of elected delegates from every local, with a program of militant class struggle, could lead an auto strike which would reverse the years of givebacks and layoffs, rallying the rest of labor and the black masses of the industrial Midwest.

For a Class-Struggle Leadership

It's not just Bieber, the UAW's GM council overwhelmingly approved this stinking sellout. There wasn't a peep of protest from local officials over Bieber's appointment to the Chrysler board—which makes him *officially* a company cop. And the handful of local bureaucrats who have criticized the contract, like Pete Kelly, president of the GM Tech Center, were quick to take down the picket lines before the ink was dry on the settlement. Housebroken "oppositionists" like Kelly, who was appointed by Bieber to the National Negotiating Committee, will never fight to unleash the power of labor/black Detroit against the auto bosses.

Auto workers looking for leadership won't find it in the reformist Communist Party (CP) or Socialist Workers Party (SWP). These pseudo-socialists are so subservient to the bureaucracy that they can't bring themselves to utter the word "sellout" no matter what. The SWP's misnamed *Militant* (5 October) doesn't even bother to call for a "no" vote, much less a strike against GM. The CP's *Daily World* (22 September) reluctantly squeezed out some of its endless Mondale and Ferraro photos to cover up for Bieber, quoting a Pontiac local official saying "our people are very delighted" with the contract. These fakers are covering up for the Solidarity House gang in order not to embarrass the Democrats' anti-Reagan "coalition." But you can't fight Reagan with Democrats, and you sure as hell can't beat GM by keeping cool for Mondale.

Seats on government and company boards, support for "friend of labor" capitalist politicians only undermine the unions. To fight effectively labor must be completely independent from the bosses and rely on its own power. The pro-company labor bureaucracy cannot be reformed, it must be ousted and replaced with a class-struggle leadership, one which fights to forge a workers party as a vanguard of all the oppressed. A fighting workers leadership will be built in class struggle, and a solid auto strike that breaks the cycle of givebacks and sellouts would go a long way.

GM workers know they have to shut the auto giant down tight to win. At the Fleetwood contract meeting October 6, workers demanded that the union take out all the GM locals as in 1970. But even in '70, UAW president Woodcock kept 27 General Motors plants working before he sold out that long, bitter strike. Woodcock (who got his reward as Carter's ambassador to Peking) hung GM workers out to dry, as Bieber will try to do if he is forced by a contract rejection to call a strike. Auto workers: don't leave it to Bieber! For an elected, national strike committee to shut down GM and the rest of auto! Stop GM's layoff plans with a fight for jobs for all, 30 hours work for 40 hours pay! Screw Mondale—oust the bureaucrats, break with the Democrats, for a class-struggle workers party! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 365 26 October 1984

Defeat Yankee Imperialism!

Reagan, Mondale Mean War on Central America!

Military Victory to Salvador Leftist Rebels!

Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

In the United States there's an election. But in Central America revolutions are at stake. Revolutions that have been half a century in the making, against bloody tyrannies installed and protected by their American masters. Time and time again these tiny countries have been the landing ground for U.S. troops, who left behind their scavenging guard dogs, the Somozas and their ilk, to pick over the booty. And today the Yankee imperialists are threatening to invade once more. As Nicaraguan leader Daniel Ortega said at the UN this month, "The winds now blowing over Central America foretell of a holocaust for our peoples." But Hurricane Reagan could also unleash revolutionary storms, from the coasts of Central America to the heartland of North America.

CIA mercenaries in Nicaragua, CIA assassination handbooks for "*contras*," now CIA spy planes shot down by Salvadoran guerrillas—the U.S. is running a real Murder, Inc. down there. And that's only the beginning. They're supporting mercenary armies of more than 12,000 men against Sandinista Nicaragua, with American fleets cruising off both the Pacific and Caribbean coasts, a dozen new air bases and landing fields constructed in Honduras, and almost constant military maneuvers. Nicaragua's harbors are mined, the economy strangled, oil depots blown up, teachers killed. Why? It's revolution vs. counterrevolution in Central America. And the Yankee imperialists, Reagan and Mondale, Republicans and Democrats, are all *contras*.

Patricia Flynn

Vietnam? No, El Salvador. U.S. helicopters ferry Pentagon chief Weinberger into embattled San Vicente province.

Meanwhile the imperialist politicians politely debate the future they have in store for war-ravaged Central America. The Republicans openly state their intention to overthrow the radical Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) government: "Nicaragua cannot be allowed to remain a Communist sanctuary," says their platform, while the CIA directs and finances counterrevolutionary terrorists besieging the country from north and south. Democrat Mondale announces that if the Sandinistas don't play by Washington's rules then the U.S. should "quarantine Nicaragua." If Managua gets the MIG jet fighters it needs to defend against American air strikes, that would be "intolerable," says Mondale, and the U.S. should "take steps" to get them out. And, of course, they all love Duarte.

A quarter century ago, in the 1960 elections, a similar "debate" was held, with the formal positions reversed: liberal Kennedy called for U.S. support to the Cuban *gusano* "fighters for freedom" while conservative Nixon, caught off guard, called for a "quarantine" of the Castro regime. *And both of them knew* that the CIA already had preparations for an invasion underway, the operation that ended in ignominious disaster at the Bay of Pigs. This time, also, the plans are far advanced but on a far larger scale. The munitions are prepositioned in Honduras, airfields carved out of the jungle to serve as staging points, sophisticated radar installations in place to guide American aircraft. Both Mondale and Reagan are more than willing to use negotiations to try to bludgeon the Nicaraguans into leaving themselves militarily unprepared to face U.S. invasion.

It's not just that the Central American policies of the twin capitalist parties look increasingly alike. They share a common framework: the anti-Soviet war drive. At San Francisco Mondale beat down every attempt to put the

continued on page 12

CIA Murder Manual

Talk about "state-supported terrorism"! The CIA murder manual made public this week is a veritable recipe book of provocation, assassination, blackmail, lying, kidnapping, sabotage ...you name it, they've got it. This complete terrorist handbook is published by none other than the United States government to be handed out to the murdering Nicaraguan "freedom fighters." And it's accompanied by a how-to-do-it comic book on everything from stopping up toilets and pulling down power cables to putting dirt in gas tanks and nails on highways, setting off false fire alarms and hoarding and stealing food. All for the "Christian" campaign to overthrow the "godless" Sandinistas.

As we have repeatedly pointed out, the Reaganites' hysteria campaign against "terrorism" is the ideological banner of their anti-Soviet war drive... and a smokescreen to disguise the fact that the United States is the chief perpetrator of "state-supported terrorism" in the world today. Now it's all laid out in black and white. The CIA's 42-page Spanish-language primer, entitled "Psychological Operations in Guerrilla Warfare," directs the *contras* to, through "selective use of violence," "neutralize carefully selected and planned targets, such as court judges, police and state security officials." "Professional criminals should be hired to carry out selective jobs," it counsels, to "bring about uprisings and shootings that will cause the death of one or more people to create a martyr for the cause." Also, provocateurs "armed with clubs, iron rods and placards and, if possible, small firearms, which they will carry hidden," along with other "shock troops" equipped with "knives, razors, chains, clubs and bludgeons" should "march slightly behind the innocent and gullible participants" as the counterrevolution progresses.

The White House's clumsy attempts at cover-up reek of Watergate: the president had "not known" of the document; it was only "the first draft"; "everything that was not policy was deleted"; the author was a "low-level contract employee" of the CIA; it was

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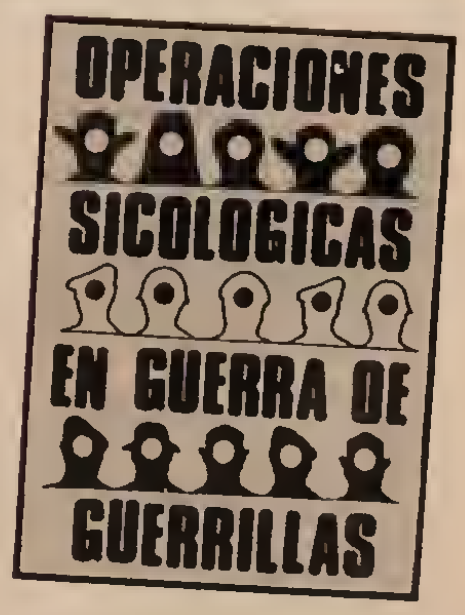


In black and white: "state-supported terrorism" made in U.S.A.

Is Koch a Fascist?

4 September 1984

Dear Comrades:

I apologize for the lateness of this letter. I think the issue involved is important enough that late is better than never.

The article about Mayor Koch in *WV* No. 351 characterized him as, except for some rounded edges, "as chemically pure a fascist as you can get," comparing him politically to Meir Kahane, who just now has also "made it up the greasy pole" into a Knesset seat.

Koch certainly is a racist pig, who specializes in insulting, slandering and humiliating the oppressed. If *WV* wants to call him a borscht-belt fascist or Ilse's Jewish nephew or whatever, well, giving him a taste of his own medicine is only fair play. But as a serious political characterization it's way off.

Koch's rhetoric, style and mindset are nasty. But in terms of what he's actually *done*, which is surely the criterion for Marxists, the difference between Koch and the rest of them is quantity, not quality. He's certainly not the only big-city mayor these days who's been slashing social services, mobilizing the Yuppies against labor and siccing the cops on blacks. Koch's slogan, insofar as he has one, is "I love New York." In 1973, the Chilean reactionaries who were paralleled to Koch in the article scrawled "Djakarta" on walls and buildings in Santiago. It is important to remember that the political content here is quite different.

Hypocrisy may be the tribute vice pays to virtue, but it's not the dividing line between a fascist and a right-wing bourgeois-democratic politician. In "Third International After Lenin," Trotsky defined fascism as "a state of civil war on the part of capitalist society waged against the rebelling proletariat." That's not what Koch is about. He's simply a New York right-wing demagogue, reflecting and amplifying the rightward motion among the local white, and in particular Jewish, petty-bourgeoisie and labor aristocracy. Or, putting it another way, he engages in his sick antics not because he's an extremist fanatic, but because they get him votes.

Calling Koch "the counterpart of the present butchers in power in Jerusalem" is fine; if he moved to Israel he'd undoubtedly support Likud over "Labor." But that doesn't make him a fascist. Now that there's a real fascist in the Knesset, the distinction should be clear. Even the butcher Sharon has disassociated himself from Kahane—for the moment at least.

Koch's ultra-Zionism may actually have less to do with deep-seated political conviction than cynical political calculation. This spring, parading Sharon through Queens seemed like a smart political maneuver. Koch's hysterical anti-Jackson campaign also looked like a winning tune—until the Democratic convention, where he discovered he was singing off-key. He was actually quoted describing Jackson's apology speech as "superb"—probably because he'd been warned the party tops might not back him against primary challengers if he didn't clean up his act.

Conrad/NY Times

Koch with Israeli mass murderer Ariel Sharon (left).

In *RCY Newsletter* No. 11, there's a very good article titled "Jews and American Fascism." It states:

> "To identify fascism as extreme ethnic nationalism is completely anti-Marxist. Fascism is a counter-revolutionary movement whose base is the bulk of the petty bourgeoisie and lumpen elements reacting to the proletariat's failure to take power in a revolutionary crisis. Ethnic politics, even in its most reactionary forms, is bound up with bourgeois democracy to the extent it makes concessions to pressure groups (or, for that matter, allows them to exist)."

There *are* figures on the fringes of American politics, like the late unlamented Congressman McDonald, who are ideologically quite close to fascism, with corners more or less rounded depending on their constituencies. In fact, although McDonald's John Birch Society is not a fascist organization, the ideology it propagates is in some ways a "chemically purer" variant of 100% American fascism than that of the Southern-particularist KKK. Koch is very bad, but he's not in the same league. He is, now, the worst big city mayor in America, only because the Yortys, Rizzos, and other white backlash mayors of the late '60s have all been replaced by blacks. But a fascist he isn't.

Comradely,
J. Horowitz

WV replies: Abstract Ed Koch from his environment, analyze him under laboratory conditions and what you will get is a chemically pure fascist. Brother Horowitz wants to pretend that we simply say Koch = Kahane, so he says U.S. = Israel. He ignores the very different contexts in which these two racist pigs operate.

Our article noted that the difference between Koch and the fascist killers in Israel led by Meir Kahane is that "Koch made it up the greasy pole in a bourgeois democratic society." But his racist antics are more than vote-getting stunts. Koch is a racist demagogue, liar and general megalomaniac—in short, his "psychic apparatus is part of the standard fascist profile." At the same time we pointed out, "Of course, as the Jewish mayor of New York City in the United States of America, he has a few restrictions. He can't lead an American nativist movement in white sheets. He's out of time and out of place. For Edward Koch really belongs in the ruling establishment of Israel, terrorists who enjoy the respectability conferred by power."

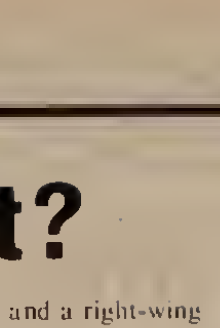
To build a fascist movement takes more than being fascist-minded. There has to be an *opportunity*, and in America Jewish fascism is not in the cards. Rather, Jews would be among the fascists' victims, as we have frequently stated. Koch's problem is precisely that he *can't* lead a mobilization of middle-class rage nationally, he's stuck in New York, so he takes out his frustrations on the city's minorities (who are the majority in this city) and unions. This mayor of New York treats blacks and Hispanics like he was the Israeli military governor of the Gaza Strip! And Koch's connections with Ariel Sharon are more than just "political maneuvers": Koch and the butcher of Sabra/Shatila are real soul brothers. A *New York Times* reviewer of Koch's autobiography, *Mayor*, noted that the author "displays an almost paranoiac sensitivity to slights" and "oozes with the sweat that Philip Roth squeezed from Portnoy, Zuckerman and Eli, the Fanatic." More like "Eli the Wolf," the all-purpose terrorist from Long Island who left a trail of bodies from Vietnam to the West Bank.

On the other hand, our reader makes far too much of the shadings between Sharon and Kahane; see "Zionism's Fascist Shock Troops Polarize Israel," *WV* No. 364, 12 October, which notes that the anti-Arab terrorists are intimately tied to Sharon's pals in the army. Trotsky pointed out more than once that "it would be unpardonable...to convert Bonapartism and fascism into two logically incompatible categories." The difference is in their road to power: the bonapartist relies on the saber while the fascist mobilizes the enraged petty bourgeoisie against the organizations of the working class, oppressed minorities and the institutions of democracy. But, "having arrived in power, the fascist chiefs are forced to muzzle the masses who follow them by means of the state apparatus" ("Bonapartism and Fascism," July 1934).

Experiencing the Koch years in NYC, one is reminded of the film *Sleeper*, in which Woody Allen reawakens a few centuries hence to learn that his civilization was wiped out in a nuclear war. He asks, how did this war begin? We really don't know, comes the reply, but we think a man named Albert Shanker acquired the atomic bomb. Just think what would happen to civilization if Ed Koch got hold of nuclear weapons! But his cohorts in Israel already have. ■

TROTSKY

Honor John Brown and Harpers Ferry Uprising



LENIN

October 16-18 was the 125th anniversary of the 1859 anti-slavery uprising at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, led by the revolutionary abolitionist John Brown, which prepared the civil war that ended slavery in the U.S. In 1881 Frederick Douglass, former slave and leading black radical democrat, delivered an oration at Harpers Ferry on his friend and comrade:

But the question is, Did John Brown fail? He certainly did fail to get out of Harper's Ferry before being beaten down by United States soldiers; he did fail to save his own life, and to lead a liberating army into the mountains of Virginia. But he did not go to Harper's Ferry to save his life. The true question is, Did John Brown draw his sword against slavery and thereby lose his life in vain? and to this I answer ten thousand times, No! No man fails, or can fail who so grandly gives himself and all he has to a righteous cause.... If John Brown did not end the war that ended slavery, he did at least begin the war that ended slavery. If we look over the dates, places and men, for which this honor is claimed, we shall find that not Carolina, but Virginia—not Fort Sumter, but Harper's Ferry and the arsenal—not Col. Anderson, but John Brown, began the war that ended American slavery and made this a free Republic. Until this blow was struck, the prospect for freedom was dim, shadowy and uncertain. The irrepressible conflict was one of words, votes and compromises. When John Brown stretched forth his arm the sky was cleared. The time for compromises was gone—the armed hosts of freedom stood face to face over the chasm of a broken Union—and the clash of arms was at hand. The South staked all upon getting possession of the Federal Government, and failing to do that, drew the sword of rebellion and thus made her own, and not Brown's, the lost cause of the century.

—Frederick Douglass, "John Brown: An Address at the Fourteenth Anniversary of Storer College" (1881)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 365 **26 October 1984**

Levin/Black Star photos

1980 NYC transit strike: Koch incited middle-class commuters against heavily black union.

Ulrich Sandhaus: Dangerous Nazi Punk

Readers of Workers Vanguard *may remember one Ulrich Sandhaus, expelled from the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands in 1982 as a "proto-fascist" whose cause was later taken up by the self-proclaimed "External Tendency" (ET) of North America and their cothinkers in Germany, the Gruppe IV. Internationale (GIVI—Fourth International Group). (See "The 'External Tendency': From Cream Puffs to Food Poisoning" in* WV *No. 349, 2 March.) Defense of the "honor" and "democratic rights" of this scum was taken up as an obsession for a few months by the ETs, later to be quietly shoved on the back burner. Now, as the article below (adapted from the TLD's* Spartakist *No. 51, October 1984) shows, Sandhaus has been definitively exposed for what he is: a dangerous Nazi-punker thug, an enemy of all decent people.*

After the article appeared in Spartakist, *the TLD received a pathetic letter of protest from the GIVI. They start out by condemning the attack on Gisela Borowski. Then they squeal:*

> *"Your public accusation that we are responsible for this attack, or that we provided political cover for such an action to the circle around Sandler [Sandhaus], is criminal slander!"*

But after demanding, "lay your proof on the table," they provide it themselves:

> *"Some comrades who are now members of the Gruppe IV. Internationale correctly supported U. Sandler's 1982 campaign against your slanders, without thereby giving him—or any other signatory—a blank check."*

Well, like we said. We warned the left and workers movement about this guy. You chose to vigorously take up his defense. What do you think about your "slandered" hero now, ET/GIVI?

ADAPTED FROM SPARTAKIST NO. 51, OCTOBER 1984

On the night of August 22, Gisela Borowski, a supporter of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD—sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency) was lured into a trap and brutally attacked in the West Berlin subway, suffering a dangerous head injury. The assault was planned and supervised by the 29-year-old woman's former boyfriend, Ulrich Sandhaus, an ex-leftist who is now a rabidly anti-communist, skinhead punker well known for his violent proclivities. The assailant, Sandhaus' present companion who was just doing his dirty work, was Elisabeth Borsch.

Getting off the subway car at her home stop, Gisela's path was blocked by Sandhaus and Borsch who stepped directly in front of her. Borsch grabbed the young woman and screamed: "If you guys call Uli a fascist once more, something's going to happen to you!" and began hitting her, particularly in the face. Borsch, clad in punk regalia, was visibly armed; she wore a leather armband with sharp spikes. As Gisela defended herself and attempted to free herself, Borsch swung around a plastic carrier bag containing a sharp object and smashed it into Gisela's left temple. The blow knocked Gisela almost unconscious. She was staggering and bleeding profusely from a deep gash and other cuts on the head. Gisela narrowly escaped from the station. As she arrived home a few minutes later, she was immediately barraged by threatening phone calls from Borsch.

In the emergency room of the West Berlin hospital the gash was stitched up. There was a straight line of gashes running diagonally from the temple across the left ear, a distance of over three inches. An inch in either direction and it could have been fatal, punctured her temple or taken out an eye! As it is, serious damage has been done to the muscles and probably nerves at the temple, seriously impairing movement of the jaw. This may require complicated surgery and long-term treatment and there is the danger of a permanent handicap. Gisela has filed charges against Sandhaus and Borsch.

Spartakist

"Direct action" by Uli's idols. Skinheads bloody anti-Nazi demonstrators in Gummersbach, April 28. Among the victims were 70-year-old survivors of concentration camps.

Who Is Uli Sandhaus?

Sandhaus was a contradictory figure who, over the course of several years, moved from Marxism to punk-fascism on the transmission belt of the "new German nationalism." When he joined the TLD in 1979, superficially he appeared to be a normal youth, deeply discontented with society as it is. He seemed to accept the Marxist solution to the crisis of capitalism. On the other hand, he consistently sought fulfillment in black jackboots, lots of studded leather, chains, macho behavior. Little by little—through ever shorter haircuts, Wehrmacht-style pants, etc.—he began to embody his skinhead ideal. He developed a preference for fascistic skinhead "Oi" music. ("Oi" is the infamous "Paki bashing" battle cry of the British fascists of the National Front. They scream it at the moment their jackboots kick in the heads of Asians and blacks.)

After he was expelled from the TLD, he was celebrated as nature's nobleman and encouraged in his development by a group of ex-Trotskyists, the so-called Gruppe IV. Internationale. Caught up in the current of bourgeois nationalism, he gravitated steadily toward the lumpen skinhead scene. There—in the fluid transition between the "no future" generation and the "master race" ideology, in a spectrum of the youthful lumpen-proletariat, utterly estranged from the process of production and the organizations and goals of the workers movement—a process of ultranationalist regroupment is taking place. Fascistic elements can develop here and recruit by and for "direct action," i.e., terror.

In 1982 we had a key fight in the TLD over resurgent bourgeois German nationalism, the dominant mood in the "new Germany" of today. This was the point at which we parted ways with Sandhaus, as we took up the indispensable struggle against the poison carried by social-democratic "left" nationalism into the left and workers movement. When politically confronted, Sandhaus defended the black steel helmet with German eagle and swastika in his living room, his glorying in "Deutschland über Alles," the fact that he had begun to openly mimic and ridicule the Turkish language, as "private" matters, questions of "taste." Moreover, he had provocatively and savagely bragged that "one German is worth 50 Tamils"! Why not? That is, after all, the meaning of "Deutschland über Alles."

Sandhaus' head is full of German eagles and swastikas and the hideous splendor of resurgent German nationalism—but in fact he belongs in one of the more squalid sections of Hitler's SA. Sandhaus' whole political profile became that of a brownshirt of Weimar Germany. This revolting individual and his ilk must not be allowed to set foot again in any public function of the left or workers movement and certainly have no place in any workers organization, especially the trade unions! It is exactly this kind of person who, in the course of the class struggle, must be confronted by the German workers movement, disarmed and rendered nil. We called him a *proto*-fascist at the time of his expulsion. Now, after the attack on Gisela Borowski, it is clear that he has opted for "direct action" and stands firmly on the side of those who carry out terrorist assaults against leftists, communists, women, foreign workers.

Sandhaus Under the Wing of the "External Tendency"

The Gruppe IV. Internationale has politically nurtured Sandhaus over the last two years. Members of the GIVI left the iSt as the most eager apologists for German nationalism. And since Sandhaus virtually reeked of it, it was not surprising that, having been taken under their wing, he was one of the main political collaborators on their only "program," a critique of the iSt ("Where is the iSt Going?").

Last December, the ETs tried to slander us with a "petition campaign," a COINTELPRO-style provocation, saying that we had "physically attacked" one of their honchos, a certain Bob Mandel, because supporters of the SL/U.S. confronted Mandel politically at a strike rally in San Francisco about his role as a scab and a liar. As plenty of eyewitnesses unanimously reported, no one laid a finger on him. In their recent documents they have now backed off, writing, in the ET version, that Mandel "could have been" attacked. In the GIVI version, it reads: "He barely escaped being beaten." Truth, lies—they don't give a damn.

Spartakist

Ulrich Sandhaus

You don't have to be an FBI or *Verfassungsschutz* (West German political police) agent to serve the anti-communist witchhunt that is accelerating against us. And the ETs did just that—violence-baiting us, setting us up for repression and persecution by the bourgeois state. With Sandhaus there's a difference. With a little help from his friends of the ET, he has joined the irregulars of that state. The ETs have nurtured and encouraged him in his anti-communism, and thus gave him the green light for this violent assault. But watch out, Bob Mandel! Sandhaus doesn't like foreigners, commies, women. We can't imagine that he likes Jews either. And he doesn't tend to waste words in expressing his hatred; he is quite direct.

The GIVI is now left with the millstone around their necks: the Nazi helmet, "Oi" music, the spiked leather armbands, the chains: all are "private" matters, questions of "taste," as the ETs described it to us on both sides of the Atlantic. Tell it to the Kurdish and Turkish leftists and workers, to the Tamils and Palestinians, who are already victims of the Gestapo methods of the West German and West Berlin state powers.

We have warned repeatedly that it is necessary for revolutionaries to wage a sharp struggle against resurgent German nationalism—both of the social-democratic and rightist varieties. This struggle is fundamental to the program we fight for in the left and workers movement. If you don't take up this struggle, you find yourself very soon doing the bidding of the class enemy and in bed with the scum of the earth like Sandhaus and his attack dog. ■

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Finish the Civil War! For Workers Revolution!

Vote Spartacist 4

Bradley and Coleman for S.F. Board of Supervisors!

WV Photo

Richard Bradley brings campaign to Muni transit workers.

SAN FRANCISCO—On picket lines, at union halls and in working-class and black and Hispanic neighborhoods, the Spartacist campaign of Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman for SF Board of Supervisors is reaching out to working people disgusted by the "choice" between anti-Soviet nut Reagan and Cold War hawk Mondale. Our candidates are campaigning to hammer home the simple truth that this racist capitalist system won't be brought down through the ballot box but through revolutionary class struggle. What's needed is a workers party, which will be built in the fight to smash the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive which threatens all humanity with thermonuclear annihilation. It will be built in the struggle to mobilize the power of U.S. labor in real internationalist solidarity *action* to aid our class brothers and sisters fighting apartheid terror in South Africa and junta death squads in Central America. It will be built in the fight to mobilize labor's power against the KKK/Nazi terrorists emboldened by the rampaging bourgeois reaction, and against the *migra* deportation raids, right here in California.

The campaign comes as the powerful San Francisco labor movement has been hit with a concerted union-busting assault by the employers, from the local Greyhound bosses who enlisted the Democratic mayor's cops for head-busting during the Greyhound strike to the arrogant owners of posh restaurants and hotels (including Mayor Feinstein herself) and the department store bosses who locked out hundreds of workers in retaliation against the recent Macy's strike. Meanwhile, the Feinstein administration is running a nasty little witch-hunt against the Muni bus drivers and city housing workers.

The class lines have been drawn sharply in TWU Local 250-A, the heavily black transportation union of Muni drivers in San Francisco. Mayor Feinstein has conducted a ten-year racist, anti-labor vendetta against the Muni workers, going back to her sponsorship in 1974 of "Proposition L" to slash city workers' wages and her strikebreaking role during the 1976 city workers strike. Feinstein, who has built her career as a swaggering enemy of city workers, has tried to whip up the petty bourgeoisie of "gentrified" San Francisco (a city less than 13 percent black, in contrast to Oakland across the Bay, which is almost half black) against the Muni workers, painting a picture in the press of a bunch of lazy, tax-evading thieves, high on drugs, etc.—these are the men and women who sweat to meet backbreaking schedules in broken-down old buses on the hills and crowded streets of the city! In August a black Muni driver was hospitalized after a teenage punk threw battery acid in the driver's face as he drove his route.

Yet even as she yearns to dismantle the TWU, the Muni workers' executive board (which is itself mainly black) is backing Feinstein and her union-busting administration to the hilt. When Bradley and Coleman spoke at the October 1 E-board meeting, they were met with open hatred by the Muni bureaucrats. It was Richard Bradley who twice last April scaled the 50-foot flagpole in SF Civic Center to rip down the Confederate flag of slavery, striking a blow against the arrogant "Dixie Dianne" and for the program of integrated class struggle. Yet TWU local president Jonnie Gilbert, who denied Feinstein's attacks on Muni drivers, stood with Feinstein and the flag of slavery when he baited Ritchie to "find another flagpole to climb"! Union members felt differently.

The reason for the bureaucrats' hostility became clear at the October 18 membership meeting as Muni drivers, who know that the Dixie "Stars and Bars" had been aimed at them, enthusiastically greeted the Spartacist candidates and slammed their misleaders. "They ain't together, man; that's why we're trying to get rid of them," a black driver told Bradley. Another black driver spoke for many workers when he shook Bradley's hand outside the meeting, "You're the guy that pulled the flag down! It was on the news. I'll give you a vote." A third worker told of being sickened by having to drive past the flag of racism and KKK terror every day on his route, saying he was proud he could now tell his children it was torn down.

Bradley and Coleman have brought the campaign to the picket lines of Local 2 of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers, now in the eighth week of a strike crippled by the union bureaucrats' impotent strategy of selective strikes, consumer boycotts and refusal to shut down all the restaurants and hotels as

continued on page 11

Government Out of the Bedroom!

Spartacist candidates for SF Board of Supervisors held a press conference October 16 to oppose Democratic mayor Dianne Feinstein's order closing down the gay bathhouses. Even before the city's most recent moves to force closure of the bathhouses and other gay establishments, Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman had made this question an issue in their campaign. Their campaign brochure states, "While her cops turn a blind eye to gay-bashing in the Castro, Feinstein's campaign to close the bathhouses is an attempt to whip up anti-gay hysteria utilizing the real medical AIDS crisis as a cynical pretext." Below are excerpts from Coleman's statement to the press:

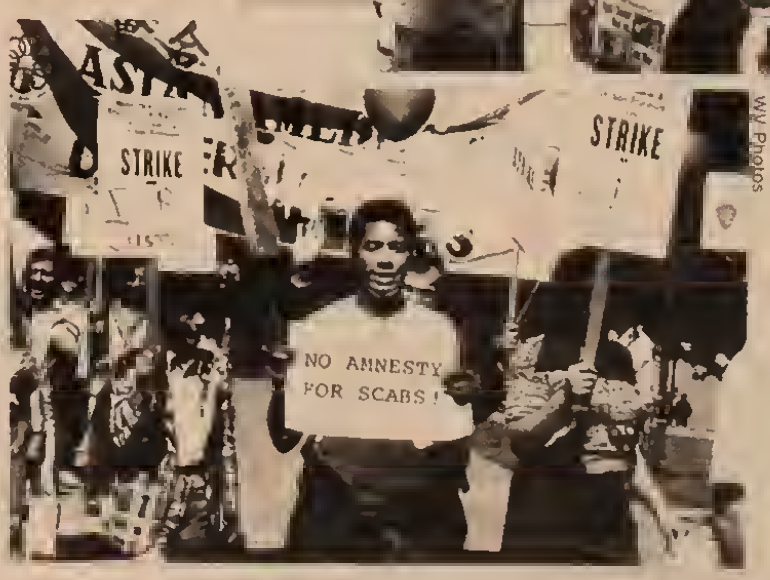
"Feinstein is trying to do what Jerry Falwell could never get away with.... She wants to show that she can sanitize San Francisco, and that's part of a national effort by the Democrats to 'out-Reagan' Reagan. If AIDS is to be eliminated it will be done through effective financial funding for scientific research. This measure will simply ensure that gays who are forced out of the bathhouses become the victims of gay-bashing and police violence.

"What is happening in San Francisco is part of a larger picture, part of regimenting the American population for war against the Soviet Union, and it has created a reactionary social climate where the separation of church and state is under attack, where abortion clinics are being firebombed in the name of 'right to life' and where the Moral Majority invades the classroom and the bedroom.

"The gay Democrats like Harry Britt, of the Democratic Socialists, are power brokers for the huge bloc of gay votes which they have channeled into support for Feinstein and the Democratic Party. Now they dutifully fall in line behind the Democratic Party right-wingers from Feinstein to Wendy Nelder in approving the closing of the gay bathhouses and sanctioning this anti-gay witchhunt. Disgusting, but not surprising.... It only confirms the Spartacist League view that the Democratic Party, one of the twin parties of capitalism, is no friend of labor or the oppressed.

"The working class, armed with a vision of a truly free society, is the only social force which can defend all the oppressed and lay the basis for a new society by uprooting the material bases of social oppression. That's what our socialist election campaign is all about."

Diana Coleman joins striking restaurant workers on picket line, calls for all-out support to strike from SF labor movement.



WV Photos

Restaurant strikers rally, September 15. Bradley and Coleman say: Picket lines mean don't cross!

Longshoremen: "Hot-Cargo" South African Apartheid Butchers!

SAN FRANCISCO—The October 18 meeting of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Local 10 voted to refuse to work South African cargo on the next ship of the Nedlloyd Lines (which handles West Coast-South Africa shipping), in solidarity with the millions of South African blacks defying murderous repression. The Spartacist League supports class-struggle unionists' efforts for an emergency international labor boycott of all shipping to and from South Africa at this crucial time. While the ILWU Local 10 motion falls far short of this, it nonetheless poses concrete *union action* in defense of South Africa's embattled black toilers. Longshoremen must seize this opportunity and fight to stop *all* shipping for the South African apartheid butchers.

As we go to press, it is reported that 7,000 soldiers and police sealed off three black townships south of Johannesburg October 23, arresting more than 340 people in an attempt to choke off the continuing township revolts against apartheid rule. Soldiers and police laid siege to the huge black ghetto of Sebokeng about 40 miles from Johannesburg before dawn, searching thousands of homes for leaders of the protests. Now more than ever there is urgent need for international labor action in solidarity with the embattled black toilers of South Africa!

Militant longshoreman Stan Gow, a veteran of 25 years on the docks and a member of the local's Executive Board, attending his first union meeting since a serious industrial accident four months ago, put forward a motion that longshoremen refuse to handle all shipping to and from South Africa during the present savage repression against the black masses. He denounced reliance on Cold War Democrat Mondale and criticized the Executive Board's token proposal to stop the next Nedlloyd Lines ship on a one-shot basis. Howard Keylor, a small-time aspiring bureaucrat and supporter of the anti-Spartacist "External Tendency," spoke in support of the Executive Board proposal, originated by him, because, he said, "it would get good publicity for the cause and for the union."

But even this modest proposal for nice words and "publicity" rather than determined union action to strike a blow at the apartheid regime at a point of real vulnerability was too much for longtime Communist Party sympathizer Leo Robinson. In a ten-minute diatribe he attacked Gow and the Executive Board motion and put up an amendment that longshoremen should work all ships, refusing to handle only the specific South African cargo of the one ship, making it difficult even to locate what's to be boycotted. The officers gladly supported this amendment, and the now further watered down proposal carried.

In Local 10, whose members are two-thirds blacks, and in the face of the broad sympathy among Americans for the victims of apartheid terror, the bureaucrats and their "left" advisers felt compelled to do something. Stan Gow has made "hot-cargoing" goods to South Africa a real issue in Local 10. In June 1983 Gow and Militant Caucus members from ILWU Local 6 (warehouse) organized an emergency picket of the South Africa-bound *Nedlloyd Kimberly* to protest the apartheid regime's execution of three African National Congress guerrilla fighters (Robinson openly opposed this effort while Keylor merely spit on it). At the time Gow was facing a trial in the local for trying to stop the loading of an El Salvador-bound freighter as part of his campaign for labor action to stop American arms shipments to the bloody Salvadoran dictators. Gow's fight to mobilize action against the South Africa-bound ship deepened the respect he had won among the members, who defeated the bureaucrats' witchhunt.

Stan Gow is fighting for labor action to enforce international working-class solidarity on behalf of those struggling for freedom in South Africa. His fight is a part of building a real class-struggle leadership in the ILWU. Longshoremen must join with Gow to extend the Local 10 motion into an emergency boycott of all shipping to and from South Africa. ■

WV Photo

Oakland, June 1983—Protesting South Africa-bound ship, Nedlloyd Kimberly, longshore and warehouse militants appeal to fellow workers to "hot-cargo" apartheid butchers.

Friend of Vietnam Assassinated

We print below a statement issued October 22 by the Spartacist Campaign Committee.

On Saturday, October 13 Professor Edward Lee Cooperman, 48, was shot through the neck in his office at California State University/Fullerton by reactionary Vietnamese assassin Minh Van Lam. Dr. Cooperman, a nuclear physicist and national chairman of the U.S. Committee for Scientific Cooperation with Vietnam, was widely known for his efforts to aid war-ravaged Vietnam. One of the first Americans to travel to Vietnam after the fall of Saigon, he was a frequent visitor thereafter. Targeted by the sinister, highly organized Vietnamese *gusano* network in Orange County, he was cut down as he was embarking on a major study of the effects of the defoliant Agent Orange on Vietnam. The assassination of Edward Lee Cooperman is an outrage, and his death is a loss to every partisan of the Vietnamese Revolution.

In Hanoi, the Vietnam News Agency charged October 17 that the CIA had masterminded the slaying of Dr. Cooperman, well known for his political views and his studies of the herbicide. They linked the Cooperman assassination to the brutal death squad attack in San Francisco last May 29 on two elderly Vietnamese patriots with long histories of defense of Vietnam against imperialism. In that attack, Nguyen Van Luy was critically wounded and his wife Pham Thi Luu was killed. Although responsibility for this murderous assault was claimed by the ultrarightist "Vietnamese Organization to Exterminate Communists and Restore the Nation," an outfit both known and feared in the SF Vietnamese community, the FBI claimed to have "no information" on the group.

In the last months of his life, Dr. Cooperman received repeated death threats, of which he informed the FBI and on whose advice he bought a gun and practiced with it to defend himself and his family. Yet now the FBI denies any knowledge of the threats, and is not investigating the murder, while the Fullerton police are obscenely stating that the murder stemmed from a "personal relationship" between the killer and his victim!

CIA spokesman Patti Volz responded to the charge of masterminding the Cooperman slaying: "It's totally absurd. We don't engage in assassination" (*New York Times*, 20 October). This at the very moment the CIA murder manual of assassination and other "state-supported" terrorism aimed at toppling the Nicaraguan government has become public knowledge!

The arrogant U.S. imperialists, smarting from the first war they ever lost, still long to teach Vietnam a "bloody lesson." To this day they refuse to recognize the government in Hanoi. And those in this country who remind them of their defeat—like authentic Vietnamese patriots Luu and Luy, and Edward Cooperman who worked for solidarity between the Vietnamese people and the Americans whose sons were used as cannon fodder of the imperialists' dirty colonial war—are mowed down in the streets. And now the White House has proposed to bring thousands more "refugees"—the CIA-trained ARVN generals, torturers, drug-pushers, pimps left behind in Vietnam when their imperialist masters were driven out—to this country where they are given a free hand (at least) to spread their counterrevolutionary terror.

EDWARD LEE COOPERMAN

LA Times

Not simply a vicious vendetta, this terror campaign is intimately linked to the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive aimed at reclaiming for capitalist exploitation and imperialist plunder everything from Ho Chi Minh City to Havana and Moscow. But the imperialists will not succeed! The heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants fought for over three decades to liberate their country from Japanese, French and American imperialism. That struggle was the inspiration for a generation of American radical youth. Now they confront U.S.-abetted aggression from Thailand, Cambodian reactionaries and China. The future American socialist revolution will liberate the resources of our country to carry forward the work undertaken by Edward Cooperman, helping in the socialist reconstruction of a land devastated by the phosphorus bombs of the decadent American imperialist order. And that revolution will settle accounts once and for all with the kind of CIA/fascist assassins that struck Edward Cooperman down.

Victory to the Miners! Shut Down Britain!

Margaret Thatcher: Enemy of the People

LONDON—It wasn't the "big bang" of industrial action needed to push the miners strike forward to victory, but it certainly shook up the Tory government. The bomb blast that ripped through the Grand Hotel in Brighton in the early hours of October 12, the last day of the Conservative Party conference, came closer to obliterating the government of the day than anything since Guy Fawkes tried it 380 years ago. Within hours the Provisional IRA had phoned in a statement claiming responsibility for targetting the "British cabinet and Tory warmongers." The IRA message openly taunted the Tories: "Today we were unlucky, but remember we only have to be lucky once. You will have to be lucky always."

Luck was about the only thing Margaret Thatcher & Co. had going for them that morning. As Whitehall belatedly instituted a top secret internal security investigation (which someone will no doubt shortly leak), recriminations flew about the abject level of security in Brighton. The editor of the *Times* claimed that 11 hours before the blast he had been allowed to promenade through the hotel lobby and several public rooms without once being checked for identification. It turned out an FBI tip-off only two weeks earlier had warned of a major IRA attack. And while Fleet Street gutter rags "revealed" with shock-horror that the IRA now had access to "microminiaturised" timing devices (roughly the sort to be found in a video recorder), an anonymous senior minister complained that the massive police deployment in Brighton had spent most of its time looking for striking miners armed with tomatoes.

Little more than a year after its sweeping electoral victory, the arrogant, complacent Thatcher clique is today widely despised and deeply isolated, its rally-round-the-Union Jack "Falklands factor" in shreds. In contrast to the wave of anti-Irish hysteria which greeted several past IRA mainland bombing campaigns (like the periodic, indefencible pre-Christmas High Street bombs or the vicious Birmingham pub bombings of ten years ago), reaction among wide layers of the population to this IRA attack against the Tory cabinet ranged from a shrug of the shoulders to adulation to hilarity. Even "respectable" bourgeois papers focussed on the security ball-up, not on the fact that the Iron Lady and her minions were almost blown to kingdom come.

AP

Photographers International

Hated Iron Lady and her minions were almost blown to kingdom come by IRA bombing of Grand Hotel in Brighton, October 3 (right).

Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock predictably extended his sympathy to the hated Thatcher, even congratulating her on her determination to "carry on." But in the factories and coal fields the response was worlds apart. One large Birmingham-area car plant erupted in spontaneous applause upon hearing that Thatcher's hated bully-boy trade and industry secretary Norman Tebbit was among those injured. One worker quipped that the cops would have a hard time making arrests—there were 50 million suspects! A joke circulated in mining communities that whoever carried out the attack should be shot... for missing their target. Even local elected Labour councillors refused to condemn the IRA. Said one in Camden, North London, "I do not regard the target of the bombing—Margaret Thatcher—as being in any sense an innocent target" ([London] *Standard*, 18 October). Certainly not. Thatcher's regime is currently driving anti-apartheid fighters out of the British consulate in Durban into the torture dungeons of her racist anti-Soviet ally, Botha's South Africa.

This bloodthirsty Tory government, which has presided over the deaths of Irish hunger strikers, brutalised black and Asian youth from Brixton to Birmingham, wantonly butchered hundreds of Argentine sailors on the *Belgrano*, systematically pauperised millions of its own people through mass unemployment, unleashed brutal cop terror against the miners and their communities, is today in deep trouble. What the IRA blast illuminated in its wake is the product of seven months of hard and bitter *class struggle*.

The heroic miners strike has brought on a social and political crisis of British capitalism which has sharpened and augmented the chronic economic crisis. When the traditionally conservative pit deputies union NACODS [foremen and safety inspectors], which for three weeks sat on an 82 percent strike vote, finally announced the date for a strike which could shut even the scab Nottinghamshire coal field, the Stock Exchange dropped 30 points, the largest fall in history. On 1 October the Bank of England was forced to organise a massive emergency bailout operation involving more than £300 million when Johnson Matthey Bankers' bankruptcy threatened to throw the city financial centre into chaos. (Clearly, "uneconomic" pits are one thing, "uneconomic" banks another.) The hardline Tory *Economist*, which for months has urged the government to inflict a crushing defeat on the miners, now expresses open pessimism about an outright victory for the government and concern about the state of "Thatcher after Scargill." Even the Church of England, a vital pillar of the Tory establishment often dubbed "the Tory party at prayer," has openly attacked the government's handling of the strike.

Key sections of the ruling class are today concerned not simply about the likelihood of defeating the miners but about the prospect of irreparable damage to the social fabric of British society with its centuries-old institutions designed to attenuate revolutionary explosions. The police, the courts and the elected government are viewed with disrespect and even contempt among millions. With some five million chronically unemployed, even many delegates to the Tory party conference found Thatcher's "Let them eat cake" arrogance a bit too much. This government *can be defeated* and the capitalist system which stands behind it blown apart. It is not through hurling a few bombs that the British ruling class and its apparatus of repression will be dislodged but through the bursting of British capitalism *from within* through revolutionary class struggle. The social crisis posed so starkly in this country today can only be resolved in favour of the working class through a socialist revolution which the workers' misleaders seek might and main to stifle.

The miners have taken more than 8,000 arrests, seen two of their comrades murdered on the picket lines and thousands more injured, their families deprived of daily necessities. Now their union, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), faces massive court-ordered fines, sequestration of funds and possible jailing of its leaders. All signs point to a hard, cold and bitter winter. Renewed negotiations instigated by NACODS have again broken down, with NUM president Arthur Scargill accusing the Coal Board of attempting to assassinate the union, and Thatcher brazenly ordering her hatchetman Ian MacGregor to toe the line of no compromise. All but the government's own kept analysts acknowledge that by December coal stockpiles at the power stations will be dangerously depleted. Selective power cuts have already been reported in the northeast of England, vindictively targetting schools, hospitals and old-age homes. The long-awaited confrontation over the movement of

Storrock/Network

At coal mine near Leeds militant miners take on Thatcher's scabherding police.

coal from the pitheads now looms on the horizon, and Thatcher will not hesitate to use the troops.

Yet for all the cheap words of praise and empty promises of support at the recent Trades Union Congress (TUC) and Labour Party conferences, the miners are still alone on the picket lines. And if the labour misleaders have their way, they will be left to fight alone throughout the winter. There is today in Britain a profound crisis of leadership of the labour movement. While literally millions want to back the miners and beat the scabherders, the reformist Labour/TUC leaders fear and hate the prospect of a serious class-wide confrontation with the capitalist state which poses the question: *which class shall rule?* Thus they are ready not only to let Thatcher off the hook but to isolate and sabotage the miners' struggle. Stop this treachery! The miners must not stand alone! Strike with the miners to win!

Labour Movement Polarised

A year after being pilloried and seemingly isolated by the TUC bureaucrats for his outspoken opposition to anti-Soviet warmongers Thatcher and Reagan and their creature, counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność, Arthur Scargill has today become without doubt the most popular figure in the labour movement. What was graphically clear at the Labour Party conference early this month was that deep and antagonistic forces are pulling and tugging at the party, pointing on the one hand to cowardly parliamentarist crawling before Thatcher and, on the other, toward class struggle which could sink the Iron Lady. Kinnock himself posed the issue in his speech: change government through the ballot box or by defiance of Tory laws? He of course wants only the former which, translated, means bowing to police terror and Thatcherite union-busting, and despicably condemning the "violence" of striking miners.

Even as Kinnock spat on the miners' struggle, one of Thatcher's hirelings provocatively infiltrated the Labour conference to serve Scargill with a writ threatening imprisonment for contempt, which led to a massive £200,000 fine being levied against the NUM plus another £1,000 against Scargill personally. (The latter fine was subsequently paid anonymously, the donor stating he didn't want to see Scargill imprisoned and turned into a martyr.) The NUM leader's response contrasted admirably with "Judas" Kinnock: "I want to make it absolutely clear that if the choice facing me is to be committed by the High Court to spend a prison term in Pentonville or any other jail for standing by this trade union or our class, or alternatively having to live with the imprisonment of one's mind for betraying one's class then there is no choice as far as I am concerned. I stand by my class and my union."

For all Kinnock's denunciations of "violence" (i.e., industrial action to defend jobs), it was evident that even a significant section of labour movement officials are not prepared to subordinate their future to the racist, union-busting "law and order" of the Tory reactionaries. Kinnock was battered and bruised from the first day of the conference when resolutions supporting the miners and denouncing police violence were passed against his scarcely veiled opposition. A further motion to support defiance of government spending limits by local Labour councils was adopted, and after Scargill was resoundingly cheered.

Yet in the end, the left stepped in to bail out Kinnock. They do not want a full-scale confrontation with Thatcher any more than he does. Resolutions that would have committed the labour movement to concrete *action*—even a feeble proposal for a 24-hour day of action—were hastily scuttled. The Kinnock/Hattersley nightmare ticket was unanimously re-elected. In the interests of maintaining "unity" with the strikebreakers, finks and open CIA-lovers in the Labour right, the "lefts" were prepared to betray the millions of workers and oppressed who want to fight alongside the miners *now*. Leading "left" Tony Benn baldly defended the refusal to attack Kinnock: "Nothing would give greater pleasure to the government if they thought we were falling out among ourselves...." To the contrary: the current crisis has demonstrated the burning necessity to *split* the Labour Party, to break the working-class base from its pro-capitalist misleaders, in order to forge an authoritative revolutionary workers party.

September 3: Spartacist League/Britain marches outside Trades Union Congress, demanding all-out labor action to bring down Thatcher.

Even Scargill, who has emerged head and shoulders above the rest of the trade union and Labour "lefts," is incapable of providing a programme to unite the working class in struggle against Thatcher. Limiting the fight to the confines of a narrow industrial dispute, all he offers is a reformist scheme to bolster British industry through protectionist import controls and a reworn version of Wilson/Callaghan's "Plan for Coal" to be implemented under a future Labour government. Thus no more than the rest did Scargill pose a direct challenge either to Kinnock's leadership or his electoralist treachery.

The British Communist Party (CP), with its wide influence amongst miners in Kent and Wales as well as Scotland where their own Mick McGahey reigns as NUM vice president, has actually blocked efforts necessary to *win* this strike. It was McGahey who struck the treacherous deal to keep funnelling coal into the Ravenscraig steelworks. Given its narrow Labourite reformism, the CP is incapable of providing leadership for this struggle which so obviously could bring Thatcher down and shake British capitalism to its foundations.

Arthur Scargill has been hounded by the bourgeois press and Labourite Cold Warriors alike for his forthright denunciation of Lech Walesa's Polish Solidarność, the only "union" Thatcher and Reagan like. The CP has stood by and watched him twist in the wind. Scab Walesa has now made clear where he stands on the strike in a message to a delegation from the "National Working Miners Committee" (scabs) which came to Poland seeking his support: "I am very sympathetic to your movement. My greetings to the British miners who are fighting for democracy in their union" ([London] *Daily Mail*, 9 October). Meanwhile, the British Stalinists have done nothing to *stop Polish scab coal*, a move which would be a real shot in the arm for the strike and help win the miners to see their direct interest in defending the Soviet-bloc deformed workers states. A revolutionary opposition to the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy would organise to support the NUM's rightful demand that these scab shipments stop now!

Shut Down the Country!

Twice already, with the two national dock strikes, the country was brought to the verge of a general strike—a general strike which could have been realised had the "left" leaders of the rail and transport unions seriously implemented their pledges of solidarity and joined the miners in all-out strike action. Both times, the docks union leaders and TUC engineered a sellout, the second time ignominiously so. What is needed is to reverse the sellouts and for all unions which claim to support the NUM to *strike with the miners*. This is the road to the general strike needed to bring this hated Tory government to its knees. The pit deputies must stop equivocating and come out now. *Trade union defence squads* must be organised to repulse strikebreaking cop/scab terror.

The miners must appeal to other unions to strike alongside them against all redundancies [layoffs], as well as raising demands for no denationalisations and for a substantial wage rise with full cost-of-living protection. Such a fight for jobs would not only win the allegiance of millions of unemployed, but could act to undermine the strikebreaking capacity of the troops, many of them working-class lads forced into the army as an alternative to the dole queue [welfare lines]. Militants from other striking unions, the women's support groups, the unemployed and minority organisations must be drawn in to form *joint elected strike committees* which could lay the basis for alternative organs of power to the strikebreaking capitalist state.

A victory for the miners will not only bring the vindictive Iron Lady to her knees but open the road to doing away with the class system whose savagery and horror she so well embodies. As moth-eaten British capitalism seeks to revitalise itself on the blood of its workers, it raises again the spectre of the mass misery on which it rose to imperialist dominance. A tragic harbinger of what Thatcher intends for the British working class when she talks about a return to "Victorian values" is the recent death of a striker's 14-year-old son killed while scavenging a spoil tip [waste pile] for coal to heat the family home. And then the government denied the family Social Security funeral benefits as punishment for supporting the strike.

The depth of self-sacrifice and the breadth of support for this strike is a recognition that on its outcome hinges the fate of trade unions, entire communities and the livelihoods and security of every working-class and minority family. This country is a tinderbox of social contradictions. There is only one solution for Britain's workers and oppressed: the struggle for a workers government to expropriate the profiteers and warmongers and establish a planned economy capable of making this country a decent place to live in. Key to this is the fight for a revolutionary leadership of the labour movement uncompromisingly committed to class struggle against capitalism. Only then can the myriad crimes of this long-outlived imperialist ruling class be finally avenged. That is why we say: The miners must not stand alone! Strike now with the miners! Bring the Iron Lady to her knees! ■

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Cold War "Terror" Scare

UPI

San Francisco cops brutalize fame liberal/reformist demonstrators seeking to pressure Democratic Convention. AFL-CIO bureaucracy marches for Mondale (below, left).

WV Photo

and the Democratic Convention

Nothing excites a capitulator as much as a chance to indict a revolutionist for something the capitulator is himself guilty of. Hence after the Spartacist League last July offered to defend the Democrats' rights against cop bonapartism and rightist violence, polemics charging us with being soft on the Democratic Party were penned by several opponent groups: the Morenoites, the Avakian group, the sinister Workers League and the so-called "External Tendency." The ET differs from the others in that, while behaving as the most vicious of our enemies, it professes to critically support the SL, being composed of some former SL members, of generally rightist coloration, who quit the party in fear of the Reagan years.

These groups now accuse us of inventing a fictitious threat to the Democratic Convention, so as to get close to the Democrats under cover of "defense." To make such a case our critics must dismiss the whole reactionary climate of bourgeois intimidation and victimization in this period: cop bonapartism, government-protected racist/fascist terrorism, FBI witchhunting, the ideological mobilization for war. (Such touching faith in the stability of bourgeois democracy is displayed by our opponents only when it suits them. A couple of years ago, Bob Avakian himself applied for political asylum in France (!), while the Workers League's crisis-mongering proclivities are legendary—they once maintained that the use of the National Guard in Boston to clean up after a blizzard was a "dress rehearsal for military rule.")

For the ET, which remember is supposed to stand in some kind of solidarity with the SL, belittling the bonapartist climate expressed around the Democratic Convention serves an additional function: it enables them to belittle the dangers confronting our revolutionary party directly, the better to excuse the way that they themselves criminally abet the real, actual, operational, deadly dangerous campaign which targets the Spartacist League for bourgeois repression and cop violence.

But the issues of ostensible concern in the ET letter (see page 9)—centrally, the question of democratic rights—are worth examining dispassionately. Because for Marxists—unlike the opportunists of all stripes, for whom "defense" is synonymous with an appetite to suck up to the forces you are "defending"—defense of democratic rights is integral to defense of the oppressed.

Reagan/Shultz's "anti-terrorism" campaign was brutally enforced on the streets of San Francisco during the Democratic National Convention. Preceding the convention, the press carried a barrage of articles citing "police sources" as concerned about supposed "terrorist" attacks. Under this pretext, a massive police mobilization did indeed—as we had earlier predicted—turn the convention into a militarized zone, unleashing cop violence against the tame liberals and reformists who demonstrated in conjunction with the Democratic gathering. The demonstrators, who were threatened in advance in the press, penned in by the cops, some of them beaten and arrested, were there to lobby the Democrats on behalf of various liberal causes. Their mistreatment was part of a concerted effort to intimidate that bourgeois gathering politically and physically—and it worked. The delegates stayed underground, in the convention center bunkers; San Francisco businesses, from restaurants to prostitutes, complained bitterly at not getting the patronage they expected. After the convention, some small fraction of the delegates ventured into the city, finding to their surprise that it was not such a bad place after all.

As we have pointed out before, genuine Marxists are hardly the only targets of Reagan's campaign of domestic reaction backed up by increasing state bonapartism. The drive for anti-Soviet war abroad means attempted regimentation at home; thus the new FBI guidelines which officially equate political opposition to the government with "criminal terrorism," thus the Supreme Court decisions and presidential directives granting sweeping powers to the police and secret police, thus the unleashing of native fascist groups against blacks and minorities. In San Francisco, the government threat of violence against political opponents was exercised against the Democrats' radical/liberal "fringe." What happened at the Democratic Convention was sinister, it was orchestrated, and it was intended to include the Spartacist League among its targets.

As early as April, the *San Francisco Chronicle* (20 April) carried a story listing the SL as among "some of the small, ultra-left groups operating in the Bay Area that police fear may play a violent role in demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in July." The other groups listed were Avakian's Revolutionary Communist Party, the Communist Workers Party and the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee. This malicious smear job was picked up and elaborated by the *New York Post*. Our specific inclusion in this violence-baiting libel was no accident: it appeared just a few days after SL supporter Richard Bradley, dressed in the uniform of a Union Army sergeant, scaled a 50-foot flagpole in SF Civic Center to tear down the Confederate flag—banner of slavery and KKK terror. This popular action by the SL proved both ultimately successful (the slavery flag flies no more and has been replaced by a historic Union flag) and

Der Spiegel

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Der Spiegel

As Reagan prepares "Star Wars" against Soviet Union, fake-lefts embrace "lesser evil" Mondale, certified Cold War hawk.

intensely embarrassing to Democratic mayor "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein.

In a statement to the *Chronicle* (published after we threatened to sue for libel, citing our remarkably successful record of legal challenges to efforts to set us up), SL spokesman Al Nelson presented our attitude toward the convention. While emphatically upholding the right of those who did wish to demonstrate there to exercise that right without being subjected to police violence, "terrorism" smears or ultra-rightist assaults, the statement said:

> "For our part, we think the Democratic Party convention will be a monumental bore. We have no interest in seeking to lobby or pressure this party of racism and imperialist war. To do so would only serve and strengthen the unfortunate illusion that this party has something to offer working people."

In fact it is our opposition to tailing the Democrats which is the SL's real crime in the eyes of our opponents. While the rest of the left has moved sharply to the right over the past decade of accelerating bourgeois reaction, the SL, refusing to bow to the pressure of the anti-Soviet popular front, has become the visible communist opposition to the new Cold War. Our intransigent defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism's war threats, our leadership of mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the Klan/Nazi fascists, our championship of victory to the leftist rebels in El Salvador, our efforts to further class-struggle militancy in the unions—all this has earned us the unkindly attentions of the capitalist state, its secret police and their pals in the bourgeois press. And from the increased enmity of the rulers and their union-bureaucratic lackeys, it is but a short step to the intensified hostility of the left, which expresses its frenzied hatred of us with gangsterism and cop-enforced exclusions, and with a barrage of wholesale slander of us (as "violent disrupters" and everything from FBI agents to KGB surrogates). Simply put, the SL has become more visible, more important, and is seen as standing in the way of the hoped-for bloc with the Democrats which the reformist left sees as the way to "fight Reagan."

Indeed our present critics are up to their ears in pro-Democratic Party pressure politics. The Workers League, with its ever-present calls for the AFL-CIO tops to build a "labor party," is among the most slavish tails of America's Cold Warrior union bureaucracy which stands in the right wing of the Democratic Party. The Avakianites demonstrated at the Democratic Convention as part of the Livermore Action Group of no-nuke pacifists. The Morenoites' main field of activity is the California Peace and Freedom Party, a classical rad-lib swamp.

For the ET as well, what rankles the most is the SL's "abstention" from the demonstrations outside the convention and our exposure of their guilty fiction—their claim that the demonstrators had nothing to do with lobbying the Democrats, or maybe even opposed the Democrats. Consider by way of contrast the radical demonstrations at the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago during the Vietnam War, where thousands of young radicals chanted, "Hey, hey, LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?" at the Democratic president. The man in charge of security for this year's convention, former Miami police chief Rocky Pomerance, observed: "I don't see the protests here having a hard-edged bitterness" of the late '60s and early '70s. "I see them as supportive" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 8 July). Indeed one of the demonstration organizers, Dan Siegel, explained in an interview on ABC News that the goal was "to work with the Democrats in order to defeat Reagan. And for that reason we're not interested in disrupting the convention or in any way making it more difficult for the Democrats."

For the ET of course the popular front is where it's at. What matters is that, in the ET's words, "the reformists predict that hundreds of thousands will march in the labor, gay, peace and sundry other demonstrations scheduled for outside the Convention." Therefore they demand that the SL should seek to be the best organizers for those hoped-for multitudes, with our revolutionary slogans, of course.

On July 13 the *San Francisco Chronicle* duly wrongly reported that the Spartacists had participated in the liberal anti-Falwell protest outside the convention and "clashed with the police." As we noted in our press release that same day "...for the powers that be, evidently centered on the FBI as chief instrument, our real absence from these scenes of police brutality means nothing. The press, very possibly in good faith and on the basis of information received, keeps putting us there anyway."

If the ETs want to participate in pro-Democratic Party events, by all means they should. But we keenly resent that they do so under the false appellation of a "tendency"—external or extraterrestrial—of the SL. When the ETs showed up at a public forum in New York City on July 20, SL spokesman Joseph Seymour blasted them:

> "We say that we intend to have nothing to do with the Democratic Party Convention. So what does the External Tendency do? Our 'loyal opposition,' they march in what is basically a liberal-left fringe of the Democratic Party Convention under the sign, 'External Tendency of the international Spartacist tendency'."

Thanks a lot.

Eighty years ago, comrade V.I. Lenin denounced the Mensheviks' efforts to pressure the liberal *Zemstvo* (local government bodies) into opposition to tsarism. He attacked this capitulation, quoting from the Mensheviks' plan:

> "Efforts are made 'to bring the masses into direct contact with the Zemstvo Assembly, to concentrate the demonstration before the actual premises where the Zemstvo assemblymen are in session. Some of the demonstrators penetrate into the session hall, and at a suitable moment, through the spokesman specially authorised for the purpose, they ask permission of the Assembly [? of the Marshal of the Nobility, who presides at the Assembly?] to read out a statement on behalf of the workers'."
>
> —"The Zemstvo Campaign and *Iskra*'s Plan," November 1904

Our contemporary American reformists do not even go that far. They were content to demonstrate around the proposition that Walter Mondale ought to speak on behalf of the workers and oppressed.

A Proposal to Defend the Democrats' Rights

While we planned to stay away from the Democratic Convention and did so,

continued on page 10

ET Letter

External Tendency of the iSt
Toronto, Ontario

External Tendency of the iSt
Oakland, CA

July 11, 1984

Workers Vanguard
New York, NY

Dear Comrades:

We read with considerable interest your bizarre offer to send a dozen security people to defend the Democratic National Convention against "Reagan reaction" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 358, 6 July). Much of our recent experience with your marshalls has been when they have been used to prevent us from discussing politics with your members at the conclusion of your public events. This would at least be a new assignment for them.

How do you imagine your people would be deployed? Perhaps Richard Bradley, dressed in his Union army outfit, would be assigned to push George Wallace around in his wheelchair while the rest of the SL/LBLSD marshalls stood by to ensure that he and the other Dixiecrats and war criminals in attendance weren't bothered by Confederate flag-waving hooligans.

If you are really serious about your defense proposal why not call on the Soviet consulate to supply some manpower? They'd surely oppose any seizure of power by the Reaganites, and if the Democrats asked them nicely they'd probably be able to come up with at least another dozen marshalls. Such a call would be no more absurd than your own offer and would do far more, if it were accepted, to cut against the anti-Soviet terror-mongering.

Your proposal is predicated on the claim that by "implementing Reagan's anti-'terrorism' campaign at the Convention" the Democrats are inviting "ultrarightist assault against...the Convention itself." Who do you think is moronic enough to believe that Reagan and Feinstein, "if not...the Democratic National Committee itself," are jointly engineering a situation in which one of the twin parties of U.S. imperialism is set up for an attack by ultrarightists? Have you forgotten that just as the anti-Soviet war drive is based on a bipartisan consensus so is its domestic reflection? Your conclusion that *because* the Democrats have gone along with Reagan on this it is somehow necessary for the SL to offer to spearhead labor defense guards to protect them against their own "anti-terrorists" is so ludicrous that it defies comment.

The mock-heroic announcement that "the SL stands ready to defend the democratic rights of the Democratic National Convention" against "the real instigators and perpetuators of political disruption and violence, against the Watergaters [i.e. Republicans] and Cold Warriors, against the witchhunters and their shock troops marching under the terror banners of the swastika and the Confederate slavery flag" echoes the CP's "unite against the right" crap. "The real instigators and perpetuators of political disruption and violence" are just as much a part of the Democratic party as the Republican. (Ever heard of Lester Maddox? What about Tom Metzger!) "Not a dime's worth of difference," remember?

The Klan and the Nazis are not just the shock troops of the "Watergaters"—they are the last resort of the entire American bourgeoisie to preserve its class rule. As for those who march under the "terror [banner] of...the Confederate slavery flag": need we remind you that a good chunk of the delegates in San Francisco will be Deep South racist Dixiecrats, including the governors of Georgia and Mississippi, states which both fly that banner as their flag?

Some of the liberals who presently endorse Reagan's witchhunt measures against the left may some day have their own toes stepped on. Some of them may even have their careers ruined in the event of a new wave of McCarthyism. But to assert as you do that "a fitting historical model for Reagan's exploitation of a 'terror scare' to smash political opposition can be found in the 1933 Reichstag...fire, which was...exploited by [the Nazis] to repress political dissidence and consolidate the Third Reich" is positively weird. Have you so lost touch with social reality that you believe that Reagan plans a totalitarian coup d'etat to "repress political dissidence" in the Democratic party and consolidate an American Reich?

We are inclined to suspect that the inspiration for this dramatic and "angular" proposal may have come from a little over-indulgence in some fine vintage one night at the CC library. Either that or just plain fear. Whatever the origin, the "angle" is off the wall. The fact that the new editor-in-chief could have let it get into print in *WV* stands as a shocking indictment of the political disintegration of the present leadership. What the SL *should* be doing, as we suggested in our letter of 26 June, is attempting to initiate a labor/black mobilization against the threatened fascist provocation. The reformists predict that hundreds of thousands will march in the labor, gay, peace and sundry other demonstrations scheduled for outside the Convention. Many of these people recognize the threat which the Klan poses to them and potentially could be mobilized in a broad ANCAN-type rally. Instead the SL leadership has chosen to spend its time making unrequited (and idiotic) approaches to "Fritz" Mondale's party of racism and imperialist war. It must be enough to make the serious political people in the SL wonder if their leadership is playing with a full deck.

Bolshevik Greetings,
External Tendency of the iSt

"Terror" Scare...

(continued from page 9)

as early as April we made a point of defending the democratic rights of the various liberal, labor and left organizations that did intend to demonstrate there. As the "terror" scare escalated and with it the danger of cop and rightist provocation, in early July we proposed a military defense of the convention:

> "Labor defense guards are necessitated by the embracing of the Reagan administration's anti-'terrorism' scare, if not by the Democratic National Committee itself, then at least by the city administration of Dianne Feinstein.... The beneficiary of this 'fears of violence' campaign, which claims the intention of protecting the Democratic Convention, is going to be the Reagan administration—not those who claim to oppose Reagan's policies and certainly not those who defend the democratic rights of the American people.... Against the real instigators and perpetuators of political disruption and violence, against the Watergaters and Cold Warriors, against the witchhunters and their shock troops marching under the terror banners of the swastika and the Confederate slavery flag, the SL stands ready to defend the democratic rights of the Democratic National Convention and calls on the labor movement to do so as well."

Our attitude toward the Democratic Convention was similar to our line on the Harold Washington mayoral campaign in Chicago last year. While the reformist left supported this black Democrat, we warned: Harold Washington will betray black Chicago. And he has. But when after his election he faced a dangerous racist mobilization orchestrated by his defeated white opponents and with more than a hint of cop bonapartism, we insisted that Washington had the right to take office with all the normal prerogatives of the mayor. Our opponents didn't bother to object, since for them defense equals political support and they were supporting Harold Washington. But we weren't, no more than we were supporting John DeLorean, maverick industrialist and born-again Christian, when we defended his democratic rights against a nasty government set-up.

Our opponents seem unable to conceive of the possibility of rightist intimidation and disruption targeting the Democrats—a bourgeois party. Thus they demonstrate incredible illusions in the rationality and stability of American bourgeois democracy. Unlike any sane person concerned for democratic rights (and his own skin), these people seem to find nothing much to worry about in a war-crazy president, who "jokes" about nuking Russia in five minutes, acquiring powers of state bonapartism. For example, the Avakian group considers the notion "that a Reagan police plot is afoot to sink the Democratic National Convention" to be a "bizarre scenario." For polemical purposes, all of these deeply popular-frontist cities find it convenient to espouse a version of the sectarian purism which Lenin castigated in his *"Left-Wing" Communism—An Infantile Disorder*. It is worth reviewing some of the salient lessons of history.

The Dreyfus case was genuinely an important learning process for the socialist movement. Many French socialists did not see that the frame-up and court martial of this Jewish officer of the general staff was being exploited by royalists, militarists and clerical reactionaries to attack the gains of the great French Revolution. Thus Guesde's Parti Ouvrier Français advised workers to take no side in this fight between Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards because "both are equally enemies of our class and of Socialism" (quoted in Aaron Noland, *The Founding of the French Socialist Party*, 1970). Very few of the socialists who opposed the defense of this rich, arrogant scion of the ruling class—an officer proud of his role in suppressing Arab rebels in colonial North Africa—were consciously anti-Semitic. But they failed to recognize that the Dreyfus case profoundly polarized French society, posing the imminent possibility of a royalist coup/counterrevolution against the republic, or of a proletarian revolution growing out of the mass mobilization against the Dreyfus frame-up. We've learned a few things since then. As Lenin put it, "...one of the many thousands of fraudulent machinations of the reactionary military caste (the Dreyfus case) was enough to bring the people to the brink of civil war!" (*"Left-Wing" Communism...*).

Comrade Lenin's insistence that communists must defend democratic rights including for bourgeois figures and parties was tragically borne out by the events of the 1920s, especially in fragile bourgeois democracies like Weimar Germany and imperial Japan. German fascists attacked not only Communists and Social Democrats but also bourgeois politicians who accepted the Versailles Treaty and supported the Weimar constitution. In 1922, for example, the brilliant Jewish foreign minister and millionaire industrialist Walter Rathenau was murdered by Freikorps thugs, who were later glorified by the Nazi regime. In Japan during this period, middle-of-the-road bourgeois politicians were assassinated by right-wing fanatics. Among the victims was prime minister Takashi Hara, the first commoner to hold this office. The terrorization of bourgeois electoralist parties paved the way for the consolidation of fascism in Germany and of militarism in Japan, helping to set the stage for the second imperialist world war.

In Bulgaria in 1923, the right-wing Tsankov coup overthrew the radical peasant leader Stamboliski. The Bulgarian Communists (formerly the "narrow" Socialists) were the party of the Bulgarian proletariat. At this critical point they missed a chance to make a proletarian revolution by mobilizing against the white terror, a mobilization which would have placed the proletarian vanguard at the head of the agrarian masses and led directly to the seizure of power. Instead they held themselves aloof. This policy of abstention turned out to be suicidal. In his outstanding history, *The Communist Party of Bulgaria: Origins and Development 1883-1936*, published in 1959, Joseph Rothschild writes:

> "...the Bulgarian Communists could dismiss the overthrow of the peasant government as well-deserved retribution and vilify the murdered Stamboliski more than the triumphant Tsankov, while declaring that the replacement of the agrarian regime by a military-bourgeois government was an affair in which the proletariat had no stake. Truly they deserved the appellation of 'Narrow-minded'."

After they refused to resist the Tsankov coup, the Bulgarian Communists indulged in a terrorist adventure by blowing up the Sofia cathedral in 1925, killing a large number of bourgeois leaders. The subsequent bloodbath against the workers movement did not end until the Soviet Red Army liberated Bulgaria toward the end of World War II.

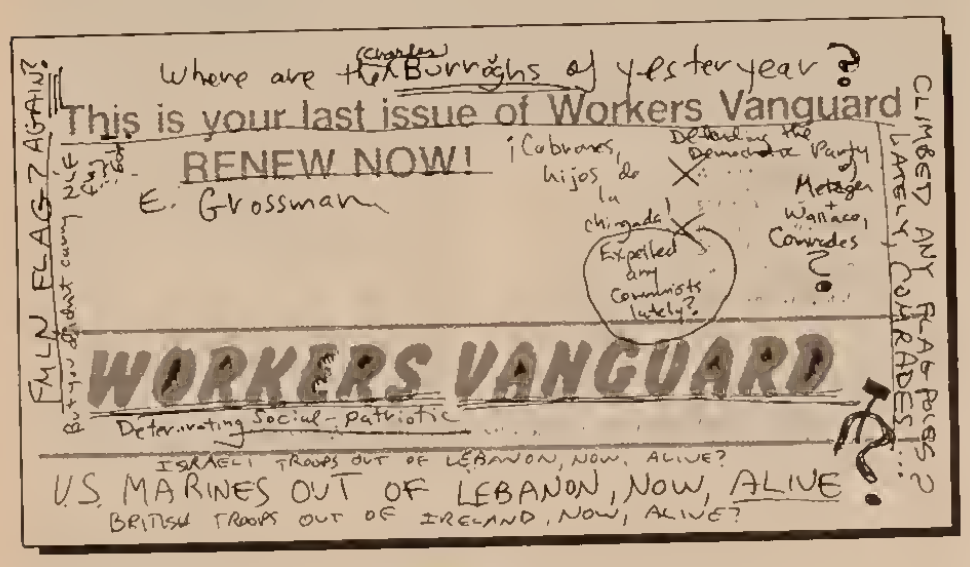
Closer to home, the McCarthy witchhunt after World War II targeted not only reds and labor militants but also prominent New Deal liberals such as Alger Hiss, Harvard Law School graduate and high-level government official under Roosevelt and Truman. Hiss's crime was not merely that he had rubbed elbows with the occasional CPer during those days when the exigencies of world war had put the U.S. in a military bloc with Russia, but that he didn't shift fast enough from the New Deal rhetoric to the Cold War. The destruction of Hiss in a faction fight among currents of the bourgeoisie was an opening shot in a witchhunt which was to destroy the reputations and livelihoods of thousands of Communists and others. Significantly, Reagan recently awarded the posthumous "Medal of Freedom" to the psychotic anti-Communist perjurer Whittaker Chambers, the key witness in the Hiss trials. And Nixon, who earned his spurs in the Hiss case, evidently failed to assimilate the idea that rival bourgeois parties do not use the apparatus of disruption and repression against one another—remember Watergate?

At the GOP's own national convention in Dallas (where the Republicans were surely grooving on having chosen for their convention site the city where Kennedy was assassinated), mainstream Democrats were attacked as soft on Communism—witness Jeane Kirkpatrick's tirade with its refrain that the Democrats "always blame America first." Crazy?—sure, but the capitalist system is crazy and finds in its extreme decay the appropriate political servants. Yes, Virginia, there are times when the trappings of bourgeois democracy are perceived as standing in the way of the needs of the system's defenders, in this case the need to regiment the whole population in the drive toward war.

The Avakianites are perhaps sincere in castigating us for defending the democratic rights of the Democrats. After all, they never had much of a knack for any kind of rights—witness their objective bloc with the rampaging racist mobs of South Boston against school busing. The rest of this crew, though, is transparently cynical. Consider the polemical "method" of the Workers League ("Bodyguards for the Democrats," *Bulletin*, 24 July). The WL quotes our statement that "The profound political and class difference between the Spartacist League and the Democratic Party in no way belies our position that the Democratic Party has the right to assemble and nominate its candidate." It then promptly asserts the opposite: "the Spartacists are in reality groveling before this imperialist political party and seeking to integrate themselves with its liberal wing." The WL relies on confusion—and none too subtly. It's like the story of the bourgeois politician who lost an election because his enemies said his wife was a thespian.

The ET meanwhile tries for shock value with the image that "Perhaps Richard Bradley, dressed in his Union army outfit, would be assigned to push George Wallace around in his wheelchair...." Regular readers of our press will be aware that this effort to evoke indignation on behalf of Bradley is the height of cynicism since the ET uniquely credits the removal of the Dixie flag to Democratic mayor Feinstein and considers Bradley's feat nothing but a cheap publicity stunt. However this raises an interesting point. When Wallace was running for office on a racist platform, he got shot by someone so far to the right that he didn't think the principle of

San Francisco, July 1981—SL demonstrates in defense of democratic rights, against California attorney general's "terrorism" scare.



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segregation should be subjected to the voting process. The failed assassination attempt on Reagan more recently was similarly the work of a sick Nazi-lover. A review of the political assassinations in this country (and one can go back to the Confederate actor Booth's murder of Abraham Lincoln) from John Kennedy to Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X will reveal a pattern of rightist, racist pathology comparable to that of the mercenaries featured in *Soldier of Fortune*. Unlike the sometimes vicariously bloodthirsty ETs, we Marxists understand that the techniques of indiscriminate terror and political assassination are the property of the imperialist rulers and their fascist dogs of war. The quintessential victims of assassination are Medgar Evers, Orlando Letelier, the Greensboro martyrs.

Democratic Rights and the Class Struggle

The defense of democratic rights is inextricably bound up with proletarian class struggle. It is therefore important to be precise as to the meaning of such rights in bourgeois society. James Burnham's classic pamphlet *The People's Front: The New Betrayal* (written in 1937 when he was a leading spokesman of the Trotskyist movement) distinguishes between three kinds of rights. There are bourgeois property rights whose defense is the primary purpose of the bourgeois state. Burnham explains, "Such rights as these it is the aim of the proletariat to *destroy*, in exactly the same way that the bourgeoisie itself destroyed the special feudal and slave-holding rights."

Secondly, there are democratic rights, including those usually termed civil liberties, like free speech, free assembly, secular public education, which have their origins in the bourgeoisie's struggle for power. The proletariat recognizes that such rights must be defended and can be used in defense of its own class interests. The historic aim of the proletariat is to deepen and extend these rights by changing their social content and class bias.

Finally, there exist within capitalist society distinctly *proletarian* rights as the right to strike, picket and organize. As Burnham indicated, "The historical origin of these rights is in all cases to be found in the *independent* struggle of the proletariat *against* the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state." Such rights as have been won by the working class in struggle are by their very nature constantly under attack to one degree or another in capitalist society and must be constantly defended.

The proletariat has a direct and vital stake in the struggle for democratic rights for they provide the scope for its own independent organization. At the same time, the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, especially the struggle to organize its own political party to conquer power, is the front line battleground for the defense and extension of democratic rights.

The ET's despicable polemic, a cynical effort to buttress its transparently fraudulent posture as purported leftist critics of the SL, has nonetheless provided us with an occasion to explore important political points which are crucial to the orientation of authentic revolutionists, which should be of real concern to all those interested in the defense of democratic rights. And we want to make one thing quite clear: ETs—if you should get yourselves in real trouble in a way that impinges on the defense of democratic rights, ours or for that matter those of Ronald Reagan, we will defend you. And you will have no trouble believing that our defense implies no degree of political support. Although of course you're not too likely to find yourselves targeted by the dangers you belittle, since your central defining quality is that you are not an organization, but a cowardly conglomeration of bitter quitters organized to attack the revolutionaries of the Spartacist League. ■

SF Elections...

(continued from page 4)

well. A woman striker at a Local 2 rally in early September told Ritchie she strongly agreed with the SL's call for some hard, old-time class struggle, and asked why the union doesn't "just come on, pull everyone out and win this strike." The restaurant owners have announced they intend to start hiring "permanent replacement" scabs starting October 25. These scabs must be stopped! We need militant picket lines that nobody crosses—backed by the rest of San Francisco labor!

In the 50th anniversary year of the San Francisco General Strike the bureaucrats are busy eulogizing the general strike while praying it will never happen again. So our call that "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win" at the September 11 meeting of the SF Central Labor Council drove Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local 2 president Charles Lamb into outright frenzy. When Richard Bradley spoke of the strikers' anger at the bureaucracy's crippling tactics, the "mod" Lamb, decked out in a motorcycle jacket, leaped up and began shouting incoherently. Bradley shot back, pointing to the '34 strike which shut down the docks and made San Francisco a union town:

> "...the union should do what it did 50 years ago! What's needed in this country is a general strike. That's the only way we're going to beat back the union-busting that's going on in this country today."

In her remarks at the meeting, Diana Coleman noted:

> "We say solidarity is *not* sending $500 and a valentine. It's respecting picket lines. It means 'hot-cargoing' struck goods. It means secondary boycotts, and if that's 'illegal,' that's too bad—because it's what wins that counts. People ought to stop eulogizing the San Francisco General Strike of 50 years ago, and let's start trying to do it again."

Diana told *WV* that during the 1980 Board of Supervisors campaign when she spoke at the Labor Council, the bureaucrats treated her as something quaint, reminiscing about Norman Thomas-style "socialists" they had known. When she ran in 1982 with Richard Bradley, she said, they asked about the Spartacists' opposition to Ronald Reagan and the CIA's favorite "union," Polish Solidarność. But this year with mounting pressure at the base of the unions and the labor hacks' frenzy to "get out the vote" for the Democrats, the bureaucrats see the class-struggle candidates as outright dangerous.

Thus, as Diana accompanied longshore militant Stan Gow to the first ILWU Local 10 meeting he has been able to attend since a terrible industrial accident four months ago, Local 10 officials threatened to call the cops and ordered Coleman's supporters out of the hall. In past years, Bradley and Coleman had traditionally brought their campaign to the longshore hall. But some sharp struggle has gone down in between. Brother Gow had gone to the October 18 union meeting to raise a call for labor action against apartheid repression (see story, page 5). Last year hundreds of angry ranks routed the ILWU tops when these piecards brought Gow up on charges for picketing ships bound for El Salvador with military cargo.

Also in CWA Local 9415 this year, the phone bureaucrats said they were "too busy" with internal problems (how to head off any fight against layoffs and sell Mondale to the members) to let our candidates speak. But if the bureaucrats are getting more hostile, everywhere we found the union ranks eager to talk. Throughout San Francisco, Bradley and Coleman have been greeted warmly by workers and blacks who are becoming familiar with the Spartacist League and our 20-year record of struggle on a range of issues—from the fight against KKK terror, to Central America and the Soviet Union.

San Francisco is a labor town—created in struggle through the 1934 General Strike which, along with the Toledo Auto-Lite strike and the Minneapolis Teamster battles of that year, was one of the three class battles that forged industrial unionism in this country. But the fat cats sitting on the Central Labor Council, working overtime for Mondale, fear class struggle like the plague. They want to keep the lid on in this city, where in 1981 Mondale was drowned out by angry shouts of "PATCO! PATCO!" and Feinstein was also booed off the stage at the "Solidarity Day" rally. PATCO and Greyhound were bitter strikes—mass picketing could have won them. Workers who want to fight are fed up with the bureaucrats who tell them their problems will be solved by flipping a lever on November 6 for the Democratic Party of racism, union-busting and war.

The theme hammered home by the Bradley/Coleman campaign has been, "You can't fight Reagan with Democrats. It will take hard class struggle to break the grip of Reagan reaction." We're getting some hard class struggle—from Morenci copper miners to Toledo auto workers to SF drivers, retail clerks, service workers, and more. The key is *leadership*. The fight for the *political independence* of the workers movement—for a workers party to fight for a workers government—is the key to unchaining the power of labor. Dump the labor traitors who shackle the working class to the bosses' parties!

Anti-Soviet War Drive = War on Labor, Minorities at Home

The anti-Soviet war drive has come home to chic San Francisco with a vengeance. Reviving a wartime tradition, Feinstein and Reagan packed the SF docks with 20 warships during this month's "Fleet Week," including the giant carrier USS *Constellation* and the sophisticated submarine USS *San Francisco*, all part of U.S. imperialism's Seventh Fleet. Feinstein, who is infamous for her photo posed as a SWAT team member while campaigning for gun control to disarm the city's workers and minorities, was featured in the local press in the cockpit of an A-4 Skyhawk, part of the Blue Angels! Presumably she dreamed of strafing Muni drivers in her very own fighter plane as she roared over San Francisco.

More ominously, one of the Navy planes was reported to have buzzed the Soviet consulate on Green Street. This consulate has been targeted for a red-scare campaign by City Hall and by the local newspapers and TV stations. Soviet diplomats have been tightly restricted in their movements. After the KAL 007 provocation, one TV spot for a series aimed against the consulate depicted Santa's sleigh being blown out of the sky by a Soviet missile! The frenzy being whipped up against the "Green Street Reds" is *hot* war talk. Consulates are closed down by *war*. This is Feinstein and the Democrats' "alternative" to Reagan. It's a *bipartisan* anti-Soviet war drive; it's not simply Reagan, it's capitalism which threatens to plunge the world into nuclear holocaust.

In remarks to her own union local, Letter Carriers Branch 214, Coleman stressed:

> "This whole union-busting offensive and the attacks on minorities in this country are directly linked to Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. So it's this government, with bipartisan support, that is taking food out of the mouths of poor schoolchildren to fund MX missiles. So internationally our position is to call for military victory for the leftists in El Salvador, for defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism."

At an October 16 campaign meeting that drew members of several unions, and some student youth, Bradley/Coleman supporters mapped out plans for the last weeks of the campaign. Volunteers signed up to bring the Spartacist program to black, Hispanic and working-class neighborhoods; to plant gates and union meetings and into their own workplaces. Our task is to take the revolutionary program to the working people, to build the revolutionary workers party—like the kind the Bolsheviks built to lead the October 1917 Revolution—that will fulfill the campaign's central slogan: "Finish the Civil War! For Workers Revolution!" as part of the world socialist revolution. ■

WV Photo

Bradley rips down Confederate flag of slavery in SF Civic Center.

Protest SWP Ballot Exclusion

The following telegram was sent October 18 by the Partisan Defense Committee.

Thomas W. Wallace
NY State Board of Elections
One Commerce Plaza
Albany, NY 12260

NY State Board of Elections' exclusion of Socialist Workers Party from November presidential ballot is attack on fundamental rights of minority and working-class parties to organize. Board's spurious excuse for this McCarthyite exclusion that SWP failed to list their electors underlines electoral college is institution for disenfranchising American people. Partisan Defense Committee, in anti-sectarian defense of labor's cause, demands SWP to be placed on the ballot.

Partisan Defense Committee

Protest SWP Ballot Exclusion

The following telegram was sent October 26, protesting the exclusion of the Communist Party ticket from the ballot in California.

Secretary of State March Fong Eu
1230 J St.
Sacramento, CA 95814

Your claim that the Communist Party does not qualify for ballot status after you voided 31% of the over 150,000 registered voter petitions submitted is an undemocratic ballot exclusion of a workers movement organization. While we have no intention of voting for Gus Hall or Angela Davis during this election, we fully support their democratic right to appear on the ballot and protest the two-party favoritism exposed in elections laws which are prejudiced against left organizations.

Reply is formally requested.

Sincerely,
Richard Bradley and
Diana Coleman

Spartacist Forum

Meet the Candidates!

Bradley and Coleman for S.F. Board of Supervisors

Friday, October 26, 7:30 p.m.
Ella Hill Hutch Community Center
1050 McAllister St.
For more information, (415) 863-6963

SAN FRANCISCO

Central America...

(continued from page 1)

party on record against sending U.S. troops to Central America. The Democratic platform like the Republican asserts that "the Soviet Union, Cuba and Nicaragua have all encouraged instability and supported revolution in the region." Where they have differed is over tactics: the Reaganites dream of another Grenada, the Democrats have nightmares of another Vietnam. But in the face of Reagan's determination to wipe out the Sandinistas, Mondale has now made it clear that he will go along and accept a "fait accompli." Providing, of course, that it *is* an accomplished fact. Which is another matter altogether.

From the time Sandino rose up against the Marines in 1927 until the Sandinistas drove "the last Marine," dictator "Tacho" Somoza, out of Managua, the heroic people of Nicaragua lost more than 100,000 of their sons and daughters. Somoza's murderous National Guard was routed by a popular insurrection. The radical nationalist FSLN sought a middle way: "mixed economy," political "pluralism," "nonalignment." But Ronald Reagan isn't interested—to him all revolutions are communist. And the Yankee invasion is already planned: first stop Managua.

The present regime in El Salvador is the product of 50 years of military rule, beginning with the 1932 massacre of 30,000 Communist-led peasants and workers. The killing has never stopped—only the form changes. Under CIA "democrat" Duarte executions are down, indiscriminate bombing is up. Yet the leftist guerrillas of the FMLN (Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front) and the liberal politicians of the FDR (Democratic Revolutionary Front) are seeking a "negotiated solution" with this death squad "democracy." This is a dangerous trap. If the rebels lay down their arms it will mean more massacres. The real choice for the Salvadoran masses is revolution or death.

Reagan's "two-track" policy consists of a tiny carrot and a very Big Stick. And the "alternative" pushed by various reformists and the "solidarity movement" is "Vote Mondale/Ferraro." Ultimately all the schemes for a "negotiated/political solution" in Central America come down to pressuring the Democrats, the imperialist party of Vietnam, Santo Domingo and the Bay of Pigs. We say: "Military victory to Salvadoran leftist insurgents! Defend Nicaragua—Complete, extend the revolution!" And while the rad-libs campaign for Walter "Quarantine Nicaragua" Mondale, we look to the American working class—for militant labor action against U.S. intervention in Central America! What's needed to bring Reagan down is another Vietnam Tet offensive of class struggle, from San Salvador to Detroit.

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Two War Parties

At the anti-climactic Great Foreign Policy debate October 20, Republican Reagan replied to Mondale on Central America, "I thought for a moment that instead of a debate I was going to find Mr. Mondale in complete agreement with what we're doing because the plan that he has outlined is the one we've been following for quite some time, including diplomatic processes throughout Central America." Earlier, the editor of the establishment journal *Foreign Policy* made the same point in a *New York Times* (24 August) Op-Ed article, "Mondale's G.O.P. Latin Policy." The "only significant difference between Republicans and Democrats over intervention in Central America," he worried, is "the speed and the amount of guilt with which they would approve it." And Walter Mondale does not seem beset with guilt.

Bosio/Gamma-Liaison

Nicaraguan soldiers vow to defend their revolution against U.S. imperialism.

Yet the reformist left and the so-called "anti-interventionist movement" have liquidated themselves almost totally into the Democratic Mondale/Ferraro campaign. CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) says: "*Vote for Peace in November.* Changing Presidents won't end the war in Central America by itself, but it is an important first step." Central American leftists share the same program of illusions. A publication of the Salvadoran FMLN's Radio Venceremos (*Señal de Libertad*, August-September 1984) wrote: "It is difficult to understand how the Democrats have fallen for the 'Duarte Difference' argument. Duarte, aside from being one of Reagan's puppets, also plays a key role in Reagan's campaign for re-election."

It's not so hard to understand about the Democrats and Duarte, and why Reagan and Mondale, Bush and Ferraro have non-debates over Central America. While they have tactical differences, sometimes important, they share a common political framework: the drive to refurbish the strength of American imperialism, to overcome the "Vietnam syndrome" in order to drive toward war against the Soviet Union. It was under Democrat Carter, after all, that the post-Vietnam anti-Soviet war drive began, first in the guise of the "human rights" crusade and then escalating over Afghanistan. In replying to Reagan's appeal to Congress over Central America last year, Democratic Senator Christopher Dodd emphasized:

> "So first of all, let me state clearly that on some very important things, all Americans stand in agreement.
> "We will oppose the establishment of Marxist states in Central America.
> "We will not accept to see the creation of Soviet military bases in Central America.
> "And, we will not tolerate the placement of Soviet offensive missiles in Central America—or anywhere in this hemisphere."
>
> —*New York Times*, 28 April 1983

The Democrats' quarrel with Reagan's policies, Dodd spelled out, was that they are "a proven prescription for picking a loser." And another losing war—a repeat of U.S. imperialism's Vietnam debacle—is what they are worried about.

The rad-libs tail behind the Democrats with their slogan "No more Vietnams in Central America." The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League say, "Defense of Cuba, USSR begins in El Salvador!" And recalling a once-famous slogan of Che Guevara, we add, "Vietnam was a victory—Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!" As Leninists, we understand that you cannot eliminate imperialist war by "reforming" capitalism into changing its policies. The whole system must be swept away through revolutionary class struggle internationally, *in particular* in the imperialist heartland. Through the misleadership of New Left and old left reformists, using the "peace movement" and "peace" candidates as the vehicle, radicalized youth of the '60s were led *back* into the Democratic Party they angrily protested over Vietnam. Today there are renewed attempts to build a popular-front "peace movement" and to push liberal "peace" candidates. In selling Walter "Quarantine" Mondale, they use the classic, despairing "lesser evil" arguments of old: the Democrats will give us more breathing space; if Reagan wins, he'll invade, if Mondale wins he'll only quarantine. But a blockade is the first step of the invasion.

What's needed is militant labor/black action to bring Reagan down. Revolutions, not elections, are key in deciding the questions of war and peace. And socialist revolution requires the leadership of a Trotskyist party, a class-struggle workers party built in struggle against all the pseudo-socialists who would tie the exploited and oppressed to their exploiters and oppressors. An international party that goes beyond empty "solidarity" by fighting for common struggle against the imperialist enemy, from San Salvador to Detroit. A party that tells the truth to the workers and fighters, that peace will come only by disarming the warmakers by smashing their class rule.

Nicaragua Needs MIGs, Now!

If today Salvadoran president Duarte is talking "dialogue," it's because the Yankees' invasion plans are focusing on Nicaragua. This is no news to the Nicaraguan government. At the United Nations on October 2, Sandinista junta coordinator Daniel Ortega warned that "new plans are being prepared in the Pentagon and the CIA, this time to prevent the November 4th elections in Nicaragua. Among other actions, they are contemplating renewed mining of our ports and aerial and naval attacks. The military offensive is ready to begin October 15th...."

The invasion plans have already been worked out in detail, with units assigned, trial runs completed, estimates of casualties and cost run through the Pentagon and CIA computers. One scenario prepared by three Pentagon experts calls for a Marine division, an Army air mobile division, Army light infantry brigade and Ranger battalion, backed up with Air Force and Navy air support and logistics (approximately 61,000 men total). Assuming 32 days of "high intensity warfare" and three months to complete occupation of the country, the authors come up with a total of "between 2,392 and 4,783 dead with 9,300 to 18,600 wounded," at a cost of $10.6 billion. "Casualties among the Nicaraguan population are likely to be very much higher," the study notes laconically, adding:

> "This assumes, perhaps unrealistically, that the opposition to the American occupation diminishes dramatically over time, and that the internal resistance is effectively prevented from receiving support from outside the country."
>
> —Theodore Moran, "The Cost of Alternative U.S. Policies Toward El Salvador, 1984-1989," in Robert Leiken, ed., *Central America: Anatomy of Conflict*, New York: Pergamon Press, 1984

Prior to last year's invasion of Grenada, many U.S. military officials felt that a takeover of Nicaragua could be accomplished before opposition in the U.S. had time to organize; optimists talked of dominating the country in ten days using just the Second Marine Division. The success of the Grenadian invasion may have made the military more eager to intervene in Central America, but the difficulties encountered also sobered them up. A blockade would require large numbers of U.S. warships (the Cuban blockade of 1962 took 284 ships, but the entire Atlantic Fleet today only has 250). The 1983 Caribbean exercises involving two carrier task forces and the battleship *New Jersey* led the editor of *Jane's Fighting Ships* to conclude, "the U.S. Navy simply does not have enough ships. NATO does not have enough ships."

As for an invasion, following Grenada the Sandinistas began distributing guns to the population so that today Nicaragua has well over a hundred thousand people under arms. The U.S. won't get anything like the 10-to-1 advantage that its counterinsurgency manuals say is necessary to success. Two Defense Department analysts concluded: "If reports of the extent of the Nicaraguan preparations are even partially true, U.S. forces could sustain daily casualties that approximate the Vietnam war figures" (Joseph Cirincione and Leslie Hunter, in Robert Leiken, *op. cit.*). Colonel Edward King, a former liaison between the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Inter-American Defense Board, estimates it would take 150,000 men on the ground—and even then it would be a "village-to-village, hill-to-hill" fight with the outcome in doubt. But Reagan's options are limited. As the Kissinger Report recognized, at present levels of aid the U.S.-backed forces can only hold on, barely. The Nicaraguan *contras* have failed to hold a single village in three years of war. And there are few additional steps the Pentagon can take short of introducing U.S. forces.

At the UN Ortega recounted how Nicaragua has made innumerable offers for negotiations, both bilaterally with the United States and through the regional "Contadora process." The Contadora group of "moderate" bourgeois regimes fears the spread of the revolutionary contagion in the region and seeks to head it off by mutual agreement. In early September they finally completed their draft "peace" treaty which would require Nicaragua to: grant amnesty to the *contras*, hold elections under international supervi-

sion, cut off any aid to Salvadoran rebels, send home Cuban and Soviet military advisers and let an "independent commission" decide how much military power it could have for defense! This would be a real setback for revolution in the isthmus. But on September 22 the Sandinistas announced they had accepted the Contadora treaty in its entirety, since once it was signed the U.S. would supposedly be obligated (morally?) to halt its aggression against Nicaragua. For months, the U.S. has been trying to hamstring the FSLN regime with Contadora negotiations, but as soon as Managua accepted the treaty, Washington rejected it. No matter how much they offer to sell out, Reagan just isn't interested.

At the UN, Daniel Ortega vowed courageously:

> "...we want the world to know that the Nicaraguan people—barefoot, ragged, and with empty stomachs—are going to fight to the end, until we achieve peace, by either defeating the invaders or immolating ourselves if imperialist aggressiveness leaves us no other choice.... We are certain that our sacrifice would not be in vain and that all three million Nicaraguans could be annihilated, but our example would triumph and multiply among the peoples of the world and among the people of the United States as well. This is our contribution to peace."

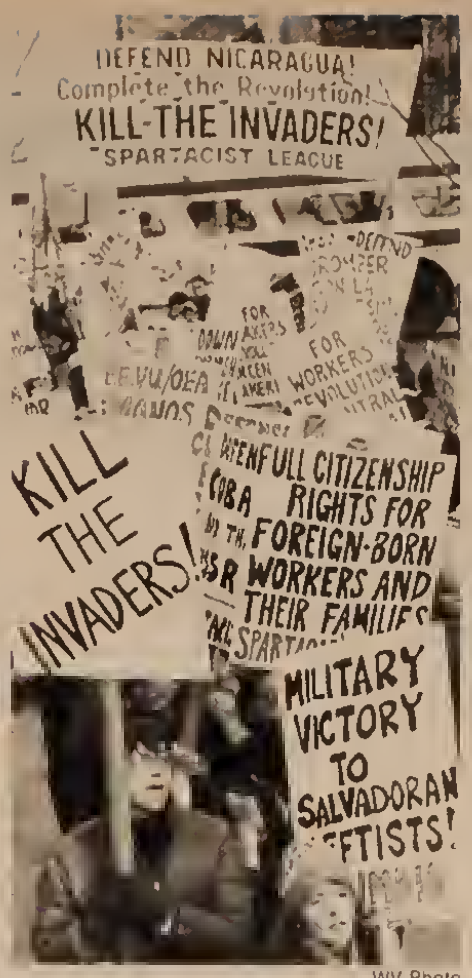
Forcing the Nicaraguan people to fight barefoot and without adequate weapons is what the whole "Contadora process" is supposed to achieve. The survival of a revolution must not be sacrificed through diplomatic wheeling-and-dealing with the junior partners of Yankee imperialism! Nicaragua urgently needs sophisticated weaponry, from SAM antiaircraft defenses to MIG aircraft. For several years, the Spartacist League has raised in demonstrations over Central America the demand, "Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs—Nicaragua needs MIGs!" This never fails to cause conniptions among various rad-libs who look to the Democratic Party and Contadora for "solidarity." We say, Nicaragua has the right to get whatever weapons it wants, wherever it wants—and the Soviet Union has the internationalist duty to supply them.

Meanwhile, the economic noose around Sandinista Nicaragua is tightening. Almost half a billion in loans has been cut off by the U.S.; hundreds of millions of dollars worth of damage has been caused by *contra* sabotage; vital imports were held up for months because of CIA mining of the harbors; and now Nicaragua is almost totally dependent upon the Soviet Union for oil supplies due to American pressure on Mexico and Venezuela. The country is facing economic devastation as shortages spread, yet more than half of industry, commerce and agriculture is still in the hands of private capitalists. The land reform is still limited to lands taken over from Somoza, and workers are suffering under a wage freeze in place since 1979. The FSLN's commitment to a "mixed economy," like its "nonaligned" foreign policy and political "pluralism" for the bourgeois parties, increasingly become weapons in the hands of the counterrevolution. To defend the revolution which ousted Nicaragua's bloodsucking Somoza dynasty, it is urgently necessary to complete it, by expropriating the bourgeoisie as a class. And that requires a Leninist-Trotskyist communist party, not the vacillating petty-bourgeois nationalist Sandinistas, whose program of conciliating the class enemy has repeatedly ended in failure.

The Perils of La Palma

The "peace" talks between the government and the leftist insurgents held last week in the Salvadoran town of La Palma are a trap of the rebels' own making. Duarte bombastically claimed it was his own idea, though everyone understood that he could never have made the offer without the toleration of the military, and they would never have gone along unless the orders came straight from Washington. Reagan needed to pose as a "peacemaker" in the last lap of the U.S. elections; he needed something to one-up Mondale over Central America and to upstage the Sandinistas' Contadora publicity. So he got his bought-and-paid-for puppet, José Napoleón Duarte, to stage a media event in the village of La Palma. They talked about nothing, set up a commission to talk again, and two days later the Salvadoran army used its new UH-1H Huey helicopters to launch an offensive to encircle guerrilla forces in Morazán.

What was achieved by the talks? Duarte continues to insist that there's nothing to negotiate beyond participation in phony army-supervised "elections." The FDR/FMLN wants a "provisional government of broad participation" to organize elections, in other words "power-sharing." Neither side, however, laid any demands on the table. Even so, the FDR/FMLN claimed the talks were a step forward because they had achieved what Fermán Cienfuegos, head of the National Resistance faction of the FMLN, called "the recognition by the Salvadoran Government of the guerrillas." In return, FDR spokesman Jorge Villacorta declared, "There is a legitimate government, and we are being realistic" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 17 October). So it's, "How do you do, Mr. Duarte? Very well, thank you, Mr. Ungo." But the only place the military will "recognize" the leftist insurgents is in the morgue—



WV Photo

Spartacists say: Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan revolution!

which is where they could end up unless they smash this murder machine which has assassinated more than 50,000 Salvadoran workers, peasants, leftists, women and youth in the last five years.

What, then, is to be negotiated? Are the guerrillas on the verge of victory, so that they're talking about the terms for a government surrender? Obviously not. Are the insurgents being defeated, as Washington claims, with their backs to the wall seeking to stave off collapse by suing for peace? Hardly. Government troops have not won a single notable victory in four years of civil war, and since the end of 1983 the FMLN has scored several heavy blows: destruction of an elite army brigade headquarters in El Paraiso, blowing up the Cuscatlán bridge, occupation of the Cerrón Grande dam. What has happened is that there was a lull in the fighting by the rebels through the March-May Salvadoran elections, because they didn't want to alienate U.S. public opinion. And this has been followed by a second "election truce" intended to make things easy for Mondale in the American voting. The fabled FMLN "fall offensive" was never anything more than a figment in a Reaganite official's imagination. Unfortunately.

In a recent interview, FDR spokesman Rubén Zamora observed that "...Duarte is the best man for a U.S. invasion of El Salvador because he is the one who will give more cover—political cover" (*Frontline*, 20 August). D'Aubuisson is a notorious fascistic assassin, and the American public already had their fill of the Marshal Kys in Vietnam. A Yankee invasion, as in Grenada, will be carried out in the name of "democracy"—for which they have their Christian Democratic front man. And Duarte's already proved he's worth his weight in dollars: within three months of his election, Reagan has secured almost half a billion dollars in military and "economic" aid from the Democratic Congress, more than double the amount for the previous year and a half.

So why does the FDR/FMLN bother negotiating with the CIA's stooge? Zamora goes on: "At the same time, if the need for dialogue and negotiation arises, Napoleón Duarte is also the best man," since D'Aubuisson will never negotiate. Mr. Invasion *and* Mr. Negotiation? Yes, because these are two sides of the same U.S. policy in El Salvador. And since the rebels' political program centers on achieving a so-called "political solution," *they need Duarte as much as Reagan and the Democrats do.*

Shortly after the La Palma "peace" talks, a reporter talked with market women in San Salvador to get their reaction. Asked whether they would support amnesty for the death squads, they said no. Speaking for all of them, one replied: "Here everyone wants peace, but no one wants reconciliation" (*Washington Post*, 18 October). The fight must be decided on the field of battle.

In Central America today, a civil war is raging against the brutal military/landowner regimes put in place half a century ago by the U.S. Marines and through bloody massacres of the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran people. The killing has never stopped, but today there is a real chance of revolutionary victory provided the struggle is not confined by the straitjacket of narrow nationalism, or sold out in treacherous negotiations aimed at appeasing the class enemy. As Lenin wrote at the onset of the Russian Civil War:

> "Either conquer the Kaledins and Ryabushinskys [White Guardists] or give up the revolution. Either victory over the exploiters in the civil war or the collapse of the revolution. Such has been the issue in *all* revolutions, in the English revolution in the seventeenth century, in the French in the eighteenth century and in the German in the nineteenth century. How could it be thought that the Russian revolution in the twentieth century would *not* face that issue? How can wolves become lambs?"
>
> —V.I. Lenin, "People from Another World," January 1918, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26 ■

CIA...

(continued from page 1)

"sort of a freewheeling, freelancing sort of thing"; "it was caught before anything serious happened." Not so, said Edgar Chamorro, head of the biggest *contra* outfit, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force, and one of Somoza's old *guardia* buddies. He told reporters that hundreds of copies were distributed, his people were trained to execute Nicaraguan officials, and it was written by a high-level CIA operative. But the document was so crude, Chamorro said, that the *contras* began tearing pages out of the book. What bothers these sadistic killers is not the blueprints for terror, but that it is so obviously a CIA job; the comic book characters had gringo faces and contained instructions on how to steal mail out of the mailboxes—yet there are no mailboxes in Nicaragua!

It was of course no accident the media dropped this bombshell on the eve of the second Reagan/Mondale debate, just weeks before the election. But being "responsible" leaders of U.S. imperialism, the Democratic candidates and Congressmen mainly ask "who knew about it?" and whether the how-to-kill primer violates U.S. laws against assassination! This parallels their response to the CIA mining of Nicaraguan harbors last April, when the Democrats were upset that the Reagan administration was flaunting their authority after Congress voted to cut off funds to the *contras*. Now they are once again "surprised" at proof of the U.S.' systematic attempts to terrorize the Nicaraguan people and topple the Sandinista government.

There have been more than 800 people assassinated by the CIA's mercenaries since the "secret" war began. Fifty medical centers, a hospital, four clinics and 45 local health centers have been destroyed; schools, grain silos, election officials and internationalist volunteers are among the favorite targets of these apostles of what's known in Nicaragua as "DemocraCIA." Columnist Jack Anderson, certainly no friend of the Sandinistas, reported recently (*Washington Post*, 30 September):

- the kidnapping of respected Nicaraguan black legislature candidate Ray Hooker by *contras* last month;
- notorious ex-Somozaist mercenary "Suicidio" went on a murderous rampage, killing several civilians and executing "dozens" of Sandinista prisoners before himself being "neutralized" by the *contras*;
- prisoners are routinely executed, after being tortured to gain information.

The head of one of the *contra* outfits told Anderson's associate: "I love killing. I have been killing for the last seven years. There's nothing I like better. If I could, I'd kill several people a day." As one Sandinista official said, "We didn't need a manual to indicate to us what dead bodies and destruction indicate already."

It's not that the liberals have had a sudden attack of moral principles, or even queasy stomachs. For years the Democrats voted millions for the overt/covert war on Nicaragua. In Vietnam they ran Operation Phoenix, responsible for murdering 30,000 so-called "Viet Cong sympathizers." The only reason they're trying to wash their hands of it now is that the sleazy *contra* operation is not only *not* winning, it's backfiring. Today some of the liberals are piously saying that the CIA manual adopts "communist" methodology (e.g., an October 19 *Boston Globe* editorial, "The Leninists of Langley"). No, this recipe for murder is a prime example of a cop's perverted idea of what revolution is about. These methods are the classic M.O. of imperialism, for the simple reason that they are designed to terrorize the population; Marxists have the opposite aim, to *mobilize* the working masses for revolutionary struggle.

The Democrats want CIA director William Casey, Reagan's political hit man in his 1980 campaign, to resign. These murdering criminals should be brought to justice for their heinous crimes against the peoples of the world. But there can be no real "reform" of imperialism's murderous secret police under capitalism—after Watergate, the CIA was ordered to stop assassinating, so they just fired a bunch of operatives and contracted them back as hired killers. It will take proletarian revolution to sweep away this terror apparatus along with the whole bloody imperialist system! ■

NYC Subway Inferno

The Brooklyn-bound Lexington Avenue Express had just emerged from the East River tunnel at 4:55 p.m. on October 11 when the undercarriage of subway car No. 9000 burst into flames. Thick acrid smoke filled first the car and then the whole downtown Brooklyn station, forcing 2,000 choking strap-hangers to stampede to subway exits. As 120 firefighters battled the blaze, a Manhattan-bound train pulled into the smoke-filled station. While another 2,000 passengers were being evacuated from this train the third rail which carries 600 volts short-circuited, sending a tremendous explosion through the station. The subway fire burned out of control for more than an hour, melting the floor of subway car 9000. Meanwhile, at least two more rush hour trains were trapped for 45 minutes in the East River tunnel where three trash fires turned the tunnel into a massive gas chamber, sending ten riders to the hospital.

A freak series of accidents on the NYC subway? Hardly. That day alone six subway fires sent 13,000 passengers fleeing from burning trains and smoldering stations and sent 22 to the hospital. The next day there were 17 fires, and in the last three weeks there have been an unprecedented 174 fires. In recent years the subways have averaged *10,000* fires annually; so far this year there have been 587 fires serious enough to require firefighting assistance. The largest subway system in the U.S. is a deathtrap for its 3.4 million daily riders and the 36,000 members of the Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 who risk their lives trying to keep the buses and trains running.

It is no secret who has turned the NYC subway system into a smoldering inferno: the banks, the capitalist government from the White House to the State House and the mayor's Gracie Mansion, and the transit bosses.

In the 1970s NYC went bankrupt and solved its "fiscal crisis" by devastating essential social services, from schools and sanitation to hospitals and mass transit, and destroying the jobs, wages and working conditions of the workers who provided these services. The powerful and integrated TWU, which after its militant 1966 strike had been a pacesetter for municipal workers, became a prime target of "fiscal austerity." Under "deferred maintenance," meaning no maintenance, the workforce was slashed through a hiring freeze. A system whose tunnels, track bed and elevated structures were mainly built before World War I, and whose rolling stock is decades old, was turned into a deathtrap. But the capitalist class created another crisis for themselves: by destroying mass transit they were threatening the very survival of their financial and commercial capital.

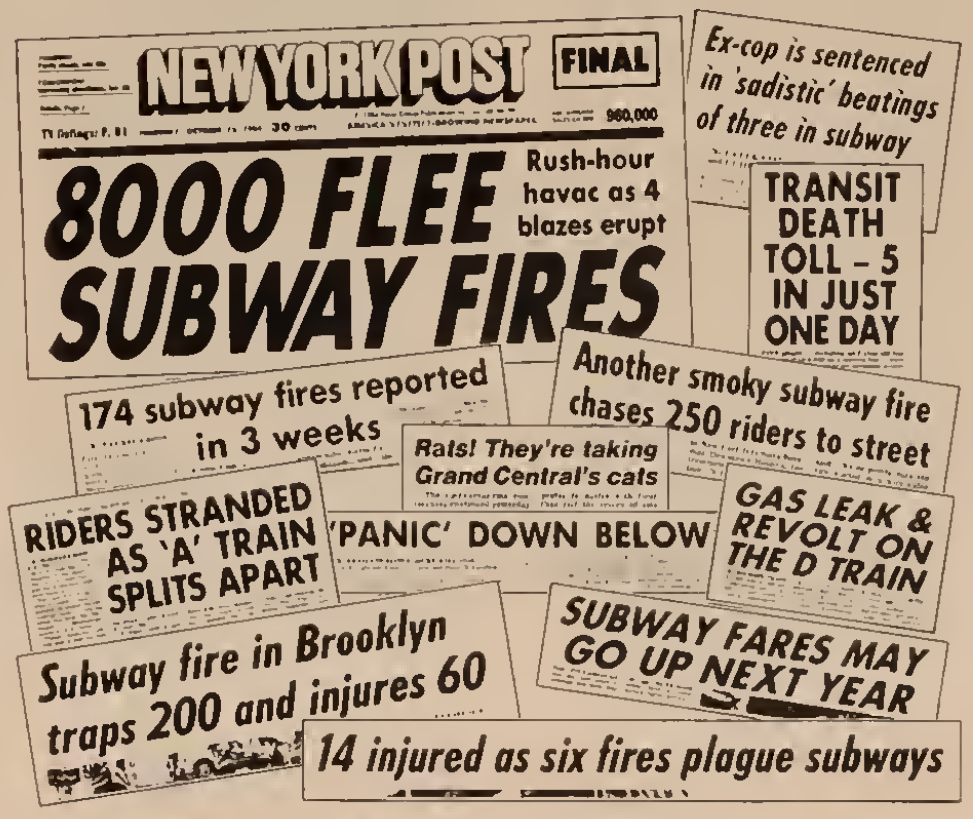
The bankers and their henchmen, from the anti-Soviet maniac Reagan to so-called "friend of labor" Cuomo and racist pig Koch, have no intention of investing the billions necessary to rebuild and run a safe and efficient subway system in NYC. So Cuomo appointed a team of union-busting transit bosses: Vietnam-era CIA bigshot Robert Kiley as head of the region-wide Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA), and former Philadelphia transit head David Gunn as president of the Transit Authority (TA) which "runs" the subways. Unlike previous regimes, these "Boys From Brazil" don't even promise to improve subway service. In fact they admit subway service will get *worse* while they attempt to turn the transit system into a 19th century sweatshop or pre-Civil War plantation, typified by the tyranny Ronald "Jefferson" Davis runs at the 207th Street repair shop (the system's largest) where he sports a bullwhip wrapped around an American flag.

On October 3 Kiley met TWU Local 100 president John Lawe in the so-called "Great Debate" sponsored by Rupert Murdoch's labor-hating *New York Post*. Kiley made his union-busting program clear, beginning with his plans to strip the more than 5,000 lower- and middle-level foremen of collective bargaining and representation by the Subway-Surface Supervisors Association. But the real target is the TWU. Kiley hammered away at the contractual rights of the TA's 600 car cleaners to pick their jobs by seniority, which was even upheld in arbitration. Car cleaners are at the bottom of the pay scale in repair shops and inspection barns. They do hard, dirty work with toxic chemicals, and seniority rights for older workers are crucial for their survival.

Lawe tossed off a few references to Kiley's "stormtroopers," and "union-busting" but his spineless message was his willingness to "bend over backwards." He boasted that during the 1975 NYC fiscal crisis despite criticism from TWU members over "those dangerous cars out there," he kept them "running." "I know very well," said this labor traitor as he groveled before his audience of labor-haters, "that if I told my people not to operate them, that it wasn't safe, this town would shut down. But we didn't do that." That's right, instead he puts the lives of millions of riders and his union's 36,000 members in dire jeopardy every day.

In payment for these services rendered (to the subway bosses), Lawe is angling for a seat on the MTA Board of Directors. To show how "constructive" he could be Lawe offered to *give back* to Kiley/Gunn the car cleaner seniority rights just won in arbitration if only they would agree to "abide by the contract." Of course, if the TWU doesn't "abide by the contract" it gets hit with the draconian anti-labor Taylor Law. But the TA bosses rejected Lawe's offer. They are "gunning" for car cleaner seniority rights as a demonstration that they can trample on the contract at will, in order to bust the TWU.

One of the few legitimate points that Lawe made in the "Great Debate" was that productivity was poor at the subway repair shops because workers do not have parts. Kiley was forced to concede a 20 percent parts shortage. Gunn's response was to send one of his hundred-thousand-dollar "Boys From Brazil," executive vice president for operations David Feeley (nicknamed "Zombie" by Philadelphia transit workers), down to the Coney Island repair shop to make a late night raid, where the TA's ayatollahs allegedly found three bottles of booze and six cans of beer (among a workforce of nearly 900). The following day Gunn wrapped up the booze and sent it to Lawe with a note stating: "I am forwarding to you a box containing liquor confiscated by David Feeley at the Coney Island shop on Wednesday, the same day you indicated that the only problem at Coney Island was parts." However, while the TA chiefs were fiddling, the subway system was burning up again, this time right underneath TA headquarters in Brooklyn, a fire in which three passengers were treated at the scene and another 58 hospitalized.



New York City subways: 90¢ buys you the scare of your life.

The TA's response to the fact that they literally sit atop a smoldering inferno is of course to scapegoat transit workers. Just as they claimed last year's rash of derailments was due to "cowboy motormen," today they claim subway fires are due to "incompetent" car inspectors. This anti-union scapegoating is nothing new for the TA bosses. In July 1981, motorman Jesse Cole was killed in a wreck caused by inoperative signals that were installed in 1918. As Cole lay trapped and bleeding in his crumpled cab, then-TA chief John Simpson was already on the scene blaming the victim for his own death. But the blood of Jesse Cole is on the hands of Simpson and his ilk and the class they serve. TWU members: Remember Jesse Cole!

Behind this obscene scapegoating there is another bitter indictment of the MTA: in its union-busting efforts to turn the subways into a sweatshop, the skilled labor force necessary to running a modern mass transit system is being destroyed. Kiley and Gunn express nostalgia for the "old Irish" workforce, thus pushing the racist lie that black and other minority workers just can't be skilled workers like the Irish subway workers were. In fact the present workforce has not been given the same possibility of a long and careful apprenticeship with experienced workers. Indeed the TA barons hate the old workforce too, militant workers who built the TWU and won decent pay and working conditions, including a 20-year half-pay pension. But as older workers began to retire in the late 1960s the TA downgraded their job titles and replaced them with less experienced workers at lower pay, thereby opening up what had been a predominantly white job trust to black workers. However, in the 1970s the TA imposed a hiring freeze and between 1973 and 1979, while its total labor force shrunk by 12 percent, in the car maintenance department it fell by 33 percent and training hours for transit workers fell *77 percent!* Skills are transmitted by experienced workers and the TA consciously wiped out a generation of skilled and experienced workers, while reducing wages so that they are two-thirds to one-half the wages for comparable jobs in private industry.

Kiley and Gunn didn't come from nowhere; they were appointed by that so-called "friend of labor" Democrat Governor Cuomo. As *Workers Vanguard* (No. 340, 21 October 1983) wrote: "Lawe backs Cuomo for governor and the transit workers get a $150,000-a-year war criminal for their boss." And Lawe and the rest of the AFL-CIO bureaucrats are still at it with their Labor Day march to "Elect Mondale and Ferraro." To be sure, working people have plenty of reason to hate war-crazy Reagan—PATCO is seared into every unionist's memory. But you have not heard one peep from Cuomo's Democratic buddies Mondale and Ferraro about PATCO, because the machinery Reagan used to bust PATCO was put into place by Carter and Mondale.

And a lot of workers have not forgotten Carter/Mondale's 18 percent inflation, the gas lines and invoking of Taft-Hartley against the 1978 coal miners strike. In that tradition Cuomo called on PATCO-buster Reagan to invoke the National Railway Act against the MTA's Long Island Rail Road workers who have been without a contract for months. What did the Democrats ever do for the South Bronx besides make cynical, empty promises? No wonder most TWU members along with their fellow unionists stayed home on Labor Day.

Lawe was not exaggerating in the debate when he said "this town would shut down" if the TWU hit the bricks. With 250,000 city workers without a contract since June 30 and LIRR workers without a contract for almost a year, a militant TWU strike against Kiley/Gunn's union-busting could galvanize city workers in a general labor offensive that would have ramifications far beyond the city, striking a powerful blow against the union-busters from Washington to Wall Street. But this is going to take a new leadership based on a program of intransigent class struggle such as the Committee For A Fighting TWU is seeking to build. As Committee spokesman David Brewer said:

> "We need a leadership that fights for union safety committees with the power to stop unsafe cars from going out on the road and to shut down unsafe routes, including shutting down the whole system, like the UMW won in the coal mines. We need a leadership that fights for union control of hiring, training and upgrading. Abolish the dues check-off which gives the bosses the power to blackmail our union through their control of our treasury. For elected shop stewards to collect dues and prepare this union for strike action. This city needs a clean, safe, efficient free mass transit system. To get that we need to get rid of Kiley/Gunn and Company, the people who appointed them and the class they serve. We need a leadership dedicated to breaking labor from the Democrats and building a workers party that fights for a workers government." ■

Class Line in Mitterrand's France

Renault Strike: The Battle for Picket Lines

As Reagan's recruiting sergeant in Europe, NATO Socialist François Mitterrand is committed to building up France's nuclear strike force (*force de frappe*) with money stolen from the French working class. Thus the Mitterrand regime has undertaken a series of austerity programs more savage than its bourgeois predecessors ever dared. Unemployment is now at the highest level in decades. Over 40 percent of all jobless have not worked in more than a year!

Last year this "socialist" austerity provoked militant resistance by the steel workers of Lorraine and the predominantly North African immigrant workers in the auto plants of the notoriously anti-union Talbot and Citroën. But these potentially explosive struggles were isolated by the reformist union bureaucracy loyal to Mitterrand's increasingly unpopular front. Especially treacherous was the role of the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT), affiliated with the pro-Moscow Communist Party and the strongest union federation in the country.

Last June Mitterrand repaid the Communists by throwing them out of the government as he moved even further to the right. Many French workers, who hate Mitterrand, saw in this the signal to finally express their anger and militancy. Now let's have class struggle, they demanded. So the CP/CGT tops are willing to allow the workers to let off some steam. This forms the political background for the present strikes at Renault, the big nationalized auto producer and historically a bastion of the CGT and of French working-class organization generally. While launching a new model, the Super-5, to refurbish its lagging sales, Renault is "rationalizing" production by laying off 10,000-15,000 workers. Beginning in mid-September this provoked strikes at Le Mans, Sandouville, Cléon, Douai and other plants.

The Renault strikes have seen a tactic all too rare in the French workers movement, namely, *mass picket lines*. The heart of any strike is to *shut down production*. The British miners strike, which is bringing Iron Lady Thatcher to her knees, has vividly reinforced the key lesson: a picket line means "Don't Cross!" This is qualitatively more effective than the one-shot "rodeo" actions or blocking traffic on highways favored by the French union misleaders. Mass picket lines can rally the hesitant, organize strikers for action and above all protect the workers against scabs and cops and extend the strike to other factories.

In France today "normal" union actions, factory by factory, sector by sector, are wholly insufficient to defeat the ruthless attacks by the bourgeoisie and its state. The lessons of the immigrant workers strikes in auto last year are still fresh. When French workers did not join in common struggle, the overwhelmingly North African production workers at Talbot saw their factory occupation shrink to a single department in a plant crawling with scabs and company goons. What is needed as a guide to these strikes against the "socialist" austerity of Mitterrand is a clear political perspective: the fight for a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie.

The Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), French section of the international Spartacist tendency, has advanced this perspective of revolutionary struggle which unites all sectors of the French working class. As an LTF leaflet, distributed to workers at the Renault plant in Cléon, near Rouen, said:

> "What is needed now is an all-out strike against Renault! Not a single Super-5, not a single car comes off the line! The CGT and CFDT [union federation associated with Mitterrand's Socialist Party] have the power and should organize such a strike! Organize mass pickets! Mobilize the strikers in front of the factory gates to stop scabs from coming in.
>
> "We must avoid another Talbot, where hundreds of scabs were massed in front of the gate to attack strikers. Picket lines will shut down Renault. And we say: No layoffs! No deportations! Work must be divided among all the workers with no wage reductions and with a sliding scale of wages and hours.
>
> "An all-out strike at Renault can be the spearhead for a general strike, the only answer to the government's attacks. Only a workers government can rationalize and readjust industry without damaging the working class." ■

Delahaye/Moba

Strikers at Renault-Billancourt, a historic bastion of the French workers movement, fight "socialist" austerity.

Reagan's Rape of Grenada...

(continued from page 16)

with Bishop. Their first and only political statement upon assuming power declared, "...there is need to encourage much more positively the role of private investment, including both local and foreign investors."

So why the invasion? If Coard & Co. were the pretext, the reformists absurdly claim that the motivation was Wall Street's insatiable drive to suck every last dollar from Grenada's nutmeg crop. Reagan, on the other hand, in his "Star Wars" speech, claimed it was because of an airport with a 10,000-foot runway and Grenada's strategic location near a "very important passageway for our international commerce and military lines of communication." Bishop stated the obvious when he replied that Grenada "constitutes no threat to the United States nor indeed to any other country." Now that the U.S. is running the show, a Reagan administration spokesman, asked if Washington was still worried that the airport could be used for military purposes, replied: "No, not if we are the ones using it" (*New York Times*, 18 October).

Defend Cuba and the Soviet Union!

In invading Grenada, Reagan wanted to "break the ice" on using U.S. military force in Latin America again and send a "warning" to the Sandinistas about what happens to countries which attempt an even slightly independent line. Especially after Beirut, Washington wanted an easy "win" in its drive to roll back revolution from Managua to Havana to Ho Chi Minh City to Moscow. And the majority of the U.S. left, which systematically capitulates to anti-Sovietism, *cannot* defend social revolutions, or even, in the case of Grenada, independence from colonial rule. From the beginning, Caribbean/Central American "solidarity" demonstrations were geared to building an "anti-Reagan" popular front with the liberal Democrats. And then they act betrayed when Mondale comes out for a "quarantine" of Nicaragua and for the Grenada invasion. Twenty years ago the Stalinists supported LBJ, who brought the 1965 invasion of Santo Domingo, and in the 1930s they backed FDR who in the name of "good neighborliness" supported "our SOBs" like Trujillo and Somoza.

One group which has denounced the left's support for the liberal imperialists, and criticized both the Bishop and Coard wings of the Grenadian New Jewel Movement for seeking to conciliate imperialism and the local bourgeoisie, is the Marxist-Leninist Party USA (formerly COUSML). However, these ex-Maoists, turned hard "Albanians" and now (since February of this year) Stalinists without a country, claim that what was going on in Grenada was rivalry between the U.S. and "their other imperialist rival—the Soviet Union" (*West Indian Voice*, November 1983)! Cuba, they incredibly claim, is a "neo-colony" of "Soviet social imperialism." The proof? Cuba has "hallooning trade deficits" with the USSR. That amounts to a huge *subsidy*, and in fact even prominent bourgeois politicians, such as the president of the Dominican Republic's senate, have bitterly complained that Cuba sells sugar to the Soviets at 40 cents a pound while they get 6 cents a pound on the capitalist world market. Some "neo-colony"!

By refusing to recognize the historic social conquests in Cuba and the Soviet Union, they cannot explain why Cuban workers acquitted themselves so heroically and the Grenadian army ran away. In fact, they don't even mention the role of the Cuban construction workers (were they there to keep Grenada in bondage?) or try to pretend they resisted against Castro's orders. And by *refusing to defend* the deformed workers states against imperialism they inevitably get sucked into the anti-Soviet war drive. The MLP's Nicaraguan comrades of MAP-Frente Obrero, for instance, join Ronald Reagan and local reactionaries in criticizing the Soviets and Cubans for "foreign interference"—like their military advisers, doctors and teachers? The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League, in contrast, say there is *not enough* Soviet aid. We demand: "Stop Reagan's Bay of Pigs, Nicaragua needs MIGs!"

Especially for the tiny nation fragments dotting the Caribbean—which are, like it or not, very much in the backyard of Yankee imperialism—nationalism and "self-reliance" are no road to liberation. But, as we wrote last fall:

> "It will take more than a 'Grenada high' to restore the 'American century' which ended in the swamps of Indochina as the most powerful imperialist war machine in history was defeated by the heroic Vietnamese peasants and workers. In raping Grenada Reagan sought to retaliate for the American humiliation—not only in Beirut but in Cuba, Nicaragua, and above all Vietnam. A revolutionary war throughout Central America would threaten Yankee imperialism with a new Vietnam-type defeat, this time in its own backyard."
>
> —*WV* No. 342, 18 November 1983

Reagan's racist assault on Grenada can be avenged, by linking the proletarian struggles of Central America and the Caribbean to those of both American continents. ■

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(Signed)
Jan Norden,
(Editor)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Smash the Racist Anti-Soviet War Drive!

Reagan's Rape of Grenada

Ronald Reagan and other frustrated Yankee imperialists saw the U.S. invasion of the black Caribbean island of Grenada last October 27 as a chance to "get back" after their humiliating defeat in Vietnam. At the Republican convention and along the campaign trail, the roughrider from Hollywood points to the rape of that tiny island as the USA standing tall again. That it took almost 7,000 American troops, backed up by twice that many on a fleet of 20 ships, to defeat a few stragglers from Grenada's ragtag army and 700 heroic Cuban construction workers, most of them over 40, is supposed to be an example of good old American derring-do, ranking right up there with the halls of Montezuma and the shores of Tripoli. The Pentagon actually gave out more medals for this operation than there were U.S. soldiers on the island! And now Democratic challenger Mondale, who is supported by most of the left, says that he too would be a gladiator invader of Grenada.

Actually it was a convenient diversion from U.S. imperialism's ignominious disaster in Beirut where 241 Marines were blown to smithereens in Reagan's biggest foreign policy fiasco yet. The racists grooved on TV shots of white boys shoving their M-16s in the faces of a defenseless black population. Today Reagan's trying to exploit the "Grenada factor" in his re-election bid. They're even touring the "rescued" medical students to campaign for four more years, presumably kissing the ground from Peoria to Palo Alto. And the Pentagon's threatening to do it again—last week they announced guidelines for "surprise military operations." But Central America won't be another Grenada, and the superficial "new patriotism" will quickly evaporate when the body bags start coming home.

Grenada was above all a victim of the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. The Soviet embassy on the island was seized. Its personnel were hauled to the airport, hands behind their heads, and for eight hours searched, photographed and their belongings ransacked by armed U.S. paratroopers before being expelled at gunpoint. To invade a country and do this to a Soviet embassy is an act of war. If Russian soldiers had done anything like it to American diplomats anywhere, Reagan could have blown up the world.

Alert!

While U.S. soldiers landed in over tiny black West Indian island of Grenada.

Over Lebanon, where there was a mass outcry over the pointless "sacrifice of American lives," and no one in the myriad feuding communalist sects was fighting imperialism, the Spartacist League said, "Marines Out of Lebanon, Now, Alive!" In Grenada, where the proletariat had a side, the SL proclaimed, "U.S. Out of Grenada, Dead or Alive!" We hailed the spirited resistance by the Cuban workers. And now it is revealed that they foiled an attempt to seize the Port Salines airport, pinning down a special operations group and taking out at least ten more American dead than Washington ever admitted (*Boston Globe*, 21 October). This caused a panicked switch of plans in mid-invasion, and it will surely make the Pentagon think again about invading Cuba.

A Grenadian Revolution?

In 1979 charismatic black Grenadian leader Maurice Bishop and his left-wing populist New Jewel Movement (NJM) overthrew the brutal and corrupt right-wing dictatorship of U.S.-supported Sir Eric Gairy. Forced by imperialist hostility to adopt a radical-nationalist posture, the petty-bourgeois NJM was hardly "communist." One of a string of tiny impoverished islands divided by seven different colonial powers, Grenada could hardly develop a viable capitalist economy, let alone a socialist one.

Last October the popular Bishop was overthrown and murdered in a palace coup by his factional rivals in the NJM, Bernard Coard and Hudson Austin. The turmoil created by this coup gave Reagan a useful pretext for the invasion, for which plans had long been prepared. Why did the Grenadian "People's Revolutionary Army" dissolve, throwing away their uniforms, while the Cuban construction workers tenaciously fought the Yankee invaders? Certainly, the anti-Bishop coup—itself symptomatic of an unstable petty-bourgeois nationalist regime—demoralized the New Jewel Movement's supporters. But there is a deeper reason. We wrote:

> "The difference between the regimes in Cuba and Grenada was a fundamental *class* difference. The Cubans had something to fight for: a social revolution which had sent the Cuban bourgeoisie swimming to Miami. Even though that revolution was bureaucratically deformed from the outset, with political power solely in the hands of the all-powerful Comandante Castro, Cuban workers have resolutely defended it arms in hand, from the CIA's 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion to the present day. In contrast, Grenada has experienced only a series of palace coups, not revolutions. . ."
>
> —"Yankee Big Stick Hits Grenada," WV No. 341, 4 November 1983

In fact, after the Yankees installed the neocolonial regime under their puppet Sir Paul Scoon, not one major social "conquest of the revolution" was undone—because there were none to begin with. And one former NJM cabinet member, Lyden Ramdhanny, a prominent businessman, after the fact supported the American invasion as a "rescue" mission!

Since the U.S. invasion of Grenada, conditions on the island have visibly worsened. Unemployment has risen as high as 50 to 60 percent and the islanders have shown only cynicism and indifference toward the U.S.-imposed neocolonial regime. Now former tyrant Gairy is back, no longer a "wanted man," claiming he was unjustly maligned for calling on the UN to pay more attention to flying saucers, and that he isn't a devil-worshipper, only a Rosicrucian. Meanwhile, Bishop supporters have sought to revive his memory with a campaign to name the soon-to-be-completed airport after him. They have also formed a new political party called the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement for the upcoming colonial elections in December. But as far as actual resistance struggle is concerned—nothing.

With incredible hypocrisy Reagan even lamented the death of Maurice Bishop, a man he had repeatedly threatened as a "dangerous Soviet surrogate." The current government is also attempting to take advantage of Bishop's popularity by trying his factional rivals and assassins, Bernard Coard and "General" Hudson Austin, former military commander and leader of the coup, along with 17 others. Coard and Austin are despicable criminals, but the agents of the Yankee imperialists responsible for the murder of more than two million Vietnamese have no right to judge them. Perhaps you could get a semblance of justice if Coard and Austin were shipped to Cuba to stand trial for their crimes before a tribunal of the construction workers who so heroically fulfilled their internationalist duty!

The reformists have taken up Washington's claim that it was the "hardline Marxist" Coard clique that triggered the invasion. The lesson these fake-leftists seek to draw is that any "ultraleftist" opposition to "class alliances" with sectors of the bourgeoisie plays into the hands of the imperialists. However, far from being Marxists, or even hardliners, Coard & Co. were just an out-faction with no substantial political differences

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Downing/Newsweek

Castro honored heroic Cuban construction workers who resisted Yankee invasion of Grenada.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 366 X-523 9 November 1984

For Class Struggle—Down with Both Capitalist Parties!

That Twit Reagan Again

"You ain't seen nothin' yet," Reagan threatened in his victory speech. These are chilling words for workers, blacks and poor people, from Detroit to San Salvador to Soweto. And now it's *that shit Reagan again* (rhymes with "twit"—got it, Barbara Bush?) Ronald Reagan thinks he has a mandate to escalate his war on the working class and ghetto masses at home and his war drive against the Soviet Union abroad. But the fate of the Reagan government will be decided hy class struggle. not electoral victories.

In the White House locker room they figure they got a win in Grenada, so maybe they can do it again in Central America: more medals than soldiers. and none of "our blood" (namely. white middle-class Americans) getting spilled. (The Pentagon isn't so sure—they remember the Cuban construction workers.) And if they waltz into Managua, then it's on to the Big One—Moscow, capital of the "Evil Empire." That's why defense of the Soviet Union, homeland of the October Revolution, begins in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

The Reagan gang see themselves riding the crest of a "new patriotism" in the land. This superficial mood has not yet been tested in blood. The American people did not vote for foreign military adventures like Vietnam, or for nuclear brinkmanship. If Reagan believes he has popular backing to invade Central America, *he* ain't seen nothin' yet.

The Reagan "prosperity" is just as superficial as the "new patriotism." The number of unemployed in this country is higher than when Reagan took office in 1981. Real wages in America's factories are below what they were *a decade ago*. The hellish condition of the black ghetto poor has become indescribable as the Reaganites have taken an ax to the most minimal social welfare programs. Fully half of all black children under six now live in families below the official poverty line.

Taylor/Sygma UPI

it's no joke. Reagan is spending a trillion dollars on arms to bomb Russia.

There is vast fear and hatred in this country of what Ronald Reagan represents. There exists in Reagan's America the explosive raw material of impoverishment, deprivation and injustice plentiful enough to topple this most imperial president, who claims to rule by the grace of god. A revolutionary workers party could mohilize unionists who remember how Reagan smashed the air controllers union (PATCO). black and Hispanic poor who have seen their children starved to pay for MX missiles, women infuriated by the rise of Moral Majority bigotry. Reagan can be brought down!

Reagan and the Democrats: They're on the Same Side

How then did a president who wantonly attacked organized labor, blacks and women, who has presided over the worst depression since the 1930s and "jokes" about bombing Russia in five minutes, win re-election by a large majority of the voting population? Because the Democrats do not bring out the exploited and oppressed against Reagan reaction. Mondale says he's a "people's Democrat," but he and his party, no less than the openly pro-big business Republicans, are guardians of

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Live by the Sword, Die by the Sword

Indira Gandhi Gets Hers

Gandhi Thugs Unleash Terror Against Sikhs

LONDON, November 4—When Sikh members of her personal bodyguard pumped 22 bullets into her, Indian prime minister Indira Gandhi became yet another victim of the communalist whirlwind she herself had whipped up. From the guerrillaists of the Mukti Bahini targetted by Gandhi in 1971 to the survivors and relatives of the Sikhs slaughtered in the Golden Temple massacre last June, the oppressed masses of India have no reason to mourn the departed tyrant. The Sikhs are not a people to he messed with. When Indira Gandhi ordered the Golden Temple massacre where more than 2,000 Sikhs were killed in Amritsar last June, she virtually committed suicide. But it is not just the self-styled "Mother of India" whose body was consumed by the flames of a funeral pyre. As the death toll mounted to the thousands in the days after her assassination, a large part of India erupted in the billowing flames of communalist terror, directed first and foremost against the besieged Sikh minority themselves. What we wrote in the wake of the Golden Temple massacre is being tragically confirmed today:

> "But the vicious crackdown by the Hindu-chauvinist Gandhi regime was an attack on the entire Sikh community and a bloody lesson to all opponents of the regime. And the repercussions are likely to be immense, and

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Camera Press

"Mother of India" butchered Sikhs, other minorities.

South African Revolution: Black Unions the Key...6

Reagan's Revelations

The Armageddon Debate

"KABOOM! It's World War III." The people who put out the *Post New York Post* (November 1984, "Absolutely Final Edition") have caught something about the mind of Ronald Reagan. It's not only the "joke" about bombing Russia in five minutes. That's for openers. Then comes the end of the world.

"And when he had opened the seventh seal, there was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour." Whereupon all hell breaks loose, followed by god's angels burning the wicked to a crisp, as well as mountains, trees, oceans, grass and the third part of the sun, the moon and the stars. This is the biblical prophecy of Armageddon (usually known as the end of the world) and Ronald Reagan literally believes in it. If he didn't have his finger on the nuclear button, we'd be more sanguine about using that old line "you could die laughing."

Here is the president of the most powerful, scientifically advanced imperialist nation on earth, oppressor of untold millions across the planet, burbling cheerfully in the nationally televised "Great Debate" about the interesting "portents" of that "final reckoning" of the Bible's Book of Revelation, a far-out revenge fantasy by some downtrodden, underpaid hysterical Christian writer with a good imagination describing what he'd like to do to the Roman Empire. It's full of bloody red beasts with seven horns, eyes before and behind, magic numbers, fires, plagues and all sorts of detailed and no doubt satisfying tortures to be inflicted on the bad guys. It'd make a terrific X-rated sci-fi S&M video.

Ronald Reagan, however unfortunately, is real and not only a video, and wields very real annihilating weapons which make the biblical Armageddon pale by comparison—if those bombs go off, *nobody's* going to escape, let alone inhabit some "New Jerusalem." The liberal media and many religious figures were naturally upset about Reagan's deeply sincere remarks. It gives you an eerie feeling, almost as though suddenly transported back into the Middle Ages, to read the front-page headline "Armageddon View Prompts a Debate" in the *New York Times* (24 October). Reagan had replied, in his second TV debate with Mondale, to a question about statements he's made at least eleven times suggesting that Armageddon was indeed near, with the casually horrifying statement that, yes, he had had "some philosophical discussions with people who are interested in the same things. And that is the prophecies down through the years, the biblical prophecies of what would portend the coming of Armageddon and so forth. And the fact that a number of theologians for the last decade or more have believed that this was true.... But no one knows whether... Armageddon is a thousand years away or day after tomorrow."

The *Times* noted, "The expressed belief of a number of television evangelists and other religious leaders who are supporting Mr. Reagan is that the present age is under the control of Satan and is rapidly approaching the time when Soviet, European, Iranian, Arab, African and Chinese armies will invade Israel; that their armies will be destroyed, possibly by a nuclear war, and that millions of Israelites will die but that a remnant will be saved to accept Jesus as Christ." The *Times* in its ponderous solemn way quoted numerous Christian and Jewish leaders who condemned "the ideology of nuclear Armageddon"—some said "blasphemy," some said an inappropriate subject for a presidential debate—treating it all like some theological exercise.

There's a saying that the devil can quote scripture for his own purposes—and so can Reagan, and so can anyone. Because at bottom religion—including its various, more or less obscure ancient texts—is only worship of human fait accompli, or would-be accomplished facts, such as Reagan and the U.S. ruling class's desperate ambition to overthrow the Soviet Union, homeland of the first victorious workers revolution in history. But Reagan is sounding more and more like the Tsar and Tsarina, whose court soothsayer and mystic was the mad monk Rasputin. And Reagan's got his own Rasputin, Jerry Falwell, who believes that the Soviet "Anti-Christ" will be destroyed in a nuclear holocaust, and is all for it.

Who knows, maybe tomorrow Reagan will explain how little green men in UFOs told him to bomb Russia (maybe his soulmate the once and possibly future dictator of Grenada, Gairy, will introduce them) while he was driving down the California coast daydreaming about what message to put in a time capsule.

We Marxists are fighting for the future of humanity in *this* world. And we are determined that, just as the decadent, crazed and corrupt court of the tsars was swept away by the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, so this increasingly bizarre and desperate ruling class must be swept away by workers revolution. Isn't it a "portent" that this capitalist ruling class has long outlived its usefulness that it has chosen as its leader a certifiable nut? To cite not scripture, but Euripides: those whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad. ■

Jimmy the Greek on Nuclear Winter

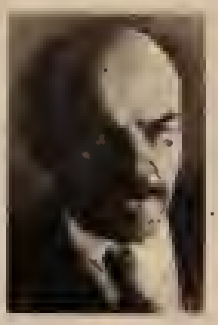
If we were in Jimmy the Greek's business, as the best known oddsmaker on events, we might give the following odds on a "nuclear winter" produced by a U.S.-Soviet confrontation over the next four years:

- If Reagan gets in—12 percent.
- If Mondale gets in—11 percent.
- If us reds get in—1 percent (with us, it would go toward zero percent as we clean out various local exploiters, parasites and bureaucrats).

We are now living through the third major U.S.-Soviet crisis. In the 1948 Berlin blockade airlift U.S. imperialism was entirely unprepared for a major war in Europe, as were the Russians. So it ended in a standoff. In the 1962 Cuban missile crisis the U.S. felt a perceived threat to its 10-15 years of strategic nuclear superiority, the big missile gap in its favor. The Kennedy boys were running wild as they enjoyed playing nuclear brinkmanship. Given the American nuclear predominance, the Russians backed off. But it made them determined to close the missile gap, which they have done in the past 20 years.

America is no longer Number 1. The Reagan gang, which represents a particular wing of the American ruling class, is so blindly anti-Communist they do not want to see that the Soviet Union has achieved a rough nuclear parity. They want to believe that the Russians can be treated like troublesome Detroit blacks, to be overpowered by a massive use of force or maybe even just the threat of it. But it ain't so. The Soviet nuclear arsenal is pretty formidable and won't be taken out by an American first strike. There *will be* a Soviet second strike. So the sober rationalities of the situation go against nuclear confrontation. But is a president who believes in the biblical prophecies of Armageddon rational?

TROTSKY



LENIN

Defend the Gains of the Bolshevik Revolution!

November 7 marks the anniversary of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, the greatest victory in history for the workers of the world. With anti-Communist fanatic Reagan aiming straight for nuclear war with the USSR, defense of the gains of the Russian Revolution against imperialism is posed pointblank. Trotsky's call on the world proletariat at the start of WWII has perhaps even greater urgency today.

The class conscious worker knows that a successful struggle for complete emancipation is unthinkable without the defense of conquests already gained, however modest these may be. All the more obligatory therefore is the defense of so colossal a conquest as planned economy against the restoration of capitalist relations. Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones.

The Fourth International can defend the USSR only by the methods of revolutionary class struggle. To teach the workers correctly to understand the class character of the state—imperialist, colonial, workers'—and the reciprocal relations between them, as well as the inner contradictions in each of them, enables the workers to draw correct practical conclusions in every given situation. While waging a tireless struggle against the Moscow oligarchy, the Fourth International decisively rejects any policy that would aid imperialism against the USSR.

The defense of the USSR coincides in principle with the preparation of the world proletarian revolution. We flatly reject the theory of socialism in one country, that brain child of ignorant and reactionary Stalinism. Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy.

—Leon Trotsky, "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the World Proletarian Revolution" (May 1940)

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WV Sub Drive a Success

Against the Stream in Reagan's America

Congratulations to all Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League locals on a successful *WV* subscription drive. The six-week drive reaehed 3,874 points, 131 percent of the quota nationally. This includes 861 subs to *Young Spartacus* and 541 to *Women and Revolution*. The 53 subs sold to Spanish *Spartacist* is a modest beginning to efforts to build a regular readership among Spanish speakers. All of the SL/SYL locals ended up meeting their quotas, but the chart below doesn't show that for most locals this year it was tough going.

A slow start meant that most locals had to run to eatch up with their quotas this year. Last year, a large union-built black/liberal mareh for Martin Luther King, as well as Labor Day events, got our 1983 drive off to a flying start. But this year was presidential cleetion time. Thc labor movement was being pretty passive as the bureaucrats sought to force the ranks to place their hopes on Mondale and the Democrats. The auto strike, for example, was short and tightly bureaucratically controlled; Labor Day marehes were small. The reformist "left" (which normally contributes a few deeent-sized fall events where we meet potential subscribers) was similarly keeping its head down to avoid irritating the Dems. After Week One this year, we had 301 points, as compared with 1,181 at the same time last year.

Ultimately, though, it was probably the virtual invisibility of the rad-lib milieu on most campuses that facilitated high sub sales among college students. Certainly most students aren't left-leaning at the moment. Comrades report that many students were surprised that communists were openly selling papers; some said they werc intrigued but afraid to subscribe. But while "Youth for Reagan" and the so-called "new patriotism" do predominate, a significant layer of students hate Reagan, can't stomach Mondale and are open to socialist ideas. This layer feels the pressure of Reagan reaction and is hungry for alternatives.

Individual comrades' observations from the sub drive work give a flavor of the polarized campus elimate. Comrade Karen W. reported after the Bay Area locals' extremely successful tour of eampuses in Oregon and Washington state: "Generally the political elimate is lousy: Reagan, Christianity, environmentalism (one eomrade characterized this as 'The me-generation with a social overlay, *my* environment'), young women who are 'not interested' in women's liberation, young men who want to fight for 'our eountry,' creeps who rat on you to the RA. You just have to keep moving, looking for those who are different and interested. They *are* there and they're very glad to see you."

With Spartacist candidate Richard Bradley at San Francisco State. Workers Vanguard, voice of labor/black struggle.

A New York local comrade eommented on a trip (89-1/2 points) to the University of Connecticut in Storrs: "Most comrades agreed that we sold well on the basis of our opposition to both capitalist parties—we're 'real reds' who don't lie that a vote to Fritz will make everything okay. I found it useful to sell on a hard line—both on the elections and on Russia. In particular, people listened to our views on KAL 007: we told the truth at the time, and a year later you can pick up some liberal magazine like the *Nation* and read a watered-down version. (So, if you get a Marxist newspaper you ean be a year ahead of everyone else.)"

An Oakland eomrade noted: "The regional campus trips were the best successes. At first, this came as a surprise. At Davis we noted that a large proportion of subs were sold to black and foreign students. The campus was polarized and the liberal activists were feeling the pressure of five or six different Christian groups setting up every day. Students were glad to see us. Comrades reported that many of the subs sold to black people were on the anti-Confederate flag vietory, South Africa, a workers party. Also there was a lot of interest in KAL 007, Vanessa Williams and the controversy around church and state." Our 50 new subscribers at Howard University (68 points) came out of the SYL's activism in anti-apartheid protests. At Yale, where the SYL has been supporting a campus workers strike, we sold 115-1/2 points.

The Pacific Northwest regional trip by four eomrades netted an impressive 285 points and made comrade San from Oakland the individual sub drive winner with 177 points. A comrade's report on this trip said: "Students here did not have the extreme reaction we got at Davis, which is so conservative and crawling with fundamentalist Christians that the people who bought subs were frightened by the people around them. But the campuses we went to, except Reed, were conservative: Reagan/Bush signs predominated by far, the Mondale supporters were on the defensive. There is also a lot of politieal disinterest—if you ask someone if they're interested in polities they say no, and when you probe further you find this is true. There are others who are interested in the world around them but see no option, and we sold to them."

She added: "I hope eomrades do not just give up on people who say they're Mondale supporters. Most of the people we met who said they were, were so in the most halfhearted way, because they hated and were afraid of Reagan and had not been exposed to any program outside of bourgeois politics. A reply that Mondale is no good either will not get you far—most of them know that already—you have to get right down to elass questions and why they should be interested in socialism."

Welcome to our new readers and resubscribers. ■

Final Totals

Local	Quota (In points)	Final Totals	%
Atlanta	120	134	112
Boston	350	377½	108
Chicago	280	353½	126
Cleveland	170	194	114
Detroit	160	200½	125
Los Angeles	110	192½	175
New York	900	1,061	118
Oakland	500	632	126
San Francisco	250	399½	160
Washington, D.C.	120	146	122
At Large		183½	-
National totals	**2,960**	**3,874**	**131**

Chicago Police Told: Hands Off WV!

City of Chicago
Harold Washington, Mayor

Department of Law
James D. Montgomery
Corporation Counsel

City Hall Room 511
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October 3, 1984

Mr. David C. Thomas, Esq.
Legal Services Center
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Chicago, IL 60606

Dear Mr. Thomas:

This letter responds to your correspondence regarding alleged police harassment of Spartacist League Members, dated August 3, 1984. You may be assured that we share your concern that the Spartacist League experienced difficulty in the exercise of fundamental First Amendment freedoms.

It is the considered opinion of this office that Spartacist League members distributing the Workers Vanguard and collecting donations to defray publication costs engage in activity protected by the First Amendment as long as no other law is being violated. Accordingly, I have advised Superintendent Fred Rice of the Chicago Police Department to permit the Spartacist League to distribute and to collect donations for the Workers Vanguard in an unfettered manner.

Very truly yours,

Robert W. Fioretti
Senior Attorney Supervisor

NICHOLAS P. TROVATO
Chief Assistant Corporation Counsel
General Litigation Division

APPROVED:

JAMES D. MONTGOMERY
Corporation Counsel

BY: EDWIN A. GAUSSELIN
First Deputy Corporation Counsel

RWF:tw

On 7 January 1984 Spartacist League supporters were detained and searched by Chicago police while selling *Workers Vanguard* and the Spanish-language edition of *Spartacist* in the predominantly Mexican Pilsen area. The police harangued about "communist literature" being distributed in their district, warned that "outsiders" weren't welcome and threatened to give names to the "intelligence unit" and the FBI. They demanded we acquire "permits" to distribute *WV*, though no such permits are required. Our vigorous protest of this harassment and attempted intimidation has forced City of Chicago officials to issue the above letter recognizing our democratic right to distribute our Marxist press.

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SWAT Cops Blow Away Bronx Grandmother

"Her Life for Her Rent"

NY Daily News

Mrs. Eleanor Bumpurs

She was black, elderly, living in a housing projeet and behind on her rent. So they blew her away. "About a dozen" armed eops vs. one old lady. They eame prepared, a special "emergeney services" SWAT team equipped with mace, U-shaped steel "restraining bars," riot shields, bulletproof vests. And they were wearing gas masks. But that wasn't enough for them. They proceeded to take the door off the hinges, and as 67-year-old Bronx grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs was standing there naked, screaming "Get out of here! Leave me alone!" a eop with a 12-gauge shotgun leveled it at her ehest. An eyewitness deseribed it, "He pumped it and shot. Pow! He pumped it again and he shot. Pow!" They carried her bleeding, bullet-riddled body to Lincoln Hospital where she died. Aeeording to police deputy inspector Thomas Coyne, "It appears that the shooting was within department guidelines." That's what Koch's killer cops are all about.

The elderly blaek woman had been confined to her apartment. Obese, suffering from arthritis and diabetes, she had even had to stop babysitting for her neighbors across the hall, the Garcias, because she could barely get around on her painfully swollen feet. Her building super, Angel Hernández, told *El Diario/La Prensa* (30 October), "She lived off Social Security and they raise the rent here every year, so maybe she couldn't pay." So they came to evict her that bloody Monday morning, October 29.

Eleanor Bumpurs' daughter Mary told reporters that the shotgun murder of her mother was "an assassination, plain and simple." And, as usual, the victim is being blamed. The cops "smelled something," they said, and thought she was "cooking lye" to throw at them (too bad she wasn't). They said she came at them with a knife, which can't be found. They said she was crazy, violent, but the neighbors tell it differently. Victor Garcia, a loading dock supervisor at Bloomingdale's, said, "This woman wouldn't harm a fly."

At a community meeting in the Sedgwick Houses project the next night, hundreds of furious tenants jeered a Police Department spokesman when he stomped out saying he "wasn't there to hold a press conference," refusing to discuss the shooting. The crowd erupted with shouts of "Legalized gangsters—cold-blooded liars!" and began chanting "Murder! Murder! Murder!" On Friday night, scores of weeping neighbors and relatives held prayer meetings and scraped together contributions to help cover the funeral costs. Actress Ruby Dee, who attended the November 3 funeral service with her husband, Ossie Davis, recalled the evictions in Harlem when she was growing up. "The story has not changed that much," Dee said. Eleanor Bumpurs was buried in the Frederick Douglass Memorial Cemetery on Staten Island.

Hoping to head off an explosion, NYC mayor Koch ordered a "sweeping review" of the events. But as the cops have it, they were only following "standard operating procedure." In an instant, those shotgun blasts which blew away Eleanor Bumpurs illuminated the whole bloody terror which is routinely meted out to blacks and other oppressed minorities in Reagan's America and Koch's New York. Angry black residents drove racist pig Ed Koch from police brutality hearings in Harlem last year as anguished mothers yelled, "They killed my son!" And now the brutal murder of young black artist Michael Stewart by a transit cop lynch mob, who have gotten off, enrages not only the black community but all decent New Yorkers. There will be no justice for the oppressed at the hands of another grand jury, the courts or a mayor's or governor's investigation. What's needed is a massive mobilization of labor and blacks to stop mad-dog Koch's cossacks and bring down the whole racist capitalist system! ■

In Bed with "Quarantine" Mondale

Fake-Lefts' Fake Solidarity With Central American Struggle

With the arsenal of Yankee imperialism bearing down on the masses of Central America, the reformist and centrist left recently held a national "emergency" conference in Cleveland to plan for a nationwide demonstration... "after Election Day." Ronald Reagan sets the stage for a counterrevolutionary invasion of Nicaragua; Mondale tries to show he isn't soft on the Sandinistas by demanding that if they refuse to sell out, the U.S. must "quarantine" Nicaragua. And what does the Central American "solidarity" milieu do? They liquidate mass actions into an electoral campaign to "Dump Reagan"—i.e., vote Democratic.

For these phony leftists, "solidarity" means pressuring the liberal wing of their own bourgeoisie for a "sane" imperialist foreign policy. A major Central America protest before the election might embarrass the Democrats, you see. From the first El Salvador demonstration at the Pentagon in May 1981 we have insisted that the real purpose of these protests was to build an anti-Reagan popular front. As we marched with red flags and the Salvadoran FMLN banner, calling for military victory to leftist insurgents, the rad-libs set up "daisy chains" to "quarantine" the Spartacists. Soon they were resorting to thug violence and even calling on the capitalist cops to keep the "reds" out of their "anti-intervention" parades. Front men for the Democrats?—not us, they screamed. Yet today the CISPES cesspool is immersed in a campaign to "Vote for Peace in November"—i.e., for Walter "Quarantine" Mondale.

Consciously designed to mimic the Vietnam-era popular front "peace" movement, the "Emergency National Conference" held in Cleveland, September 14-16, was largely the creation of Jerry Gordon, former honcho of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC). And the 350 or so participants were the same NPAC crowd, 15 years older and deeper in the Democratic Party. Missing were the several thousand radical youth who might have turned out for such a conference 15 years ago—missing thanks to the reformist "leftists" who led potentially anti-imperialist kids back to capitalist politics by peddling the *bourgeois-defeatist* program of the Democratic "doves." The Spartacist League fought for a *revolutionary* program, demanding "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" and "Labor Strikes Against the War!"

The "Emergency Conference" call, while condemning Reagan, didn't even mention the Democrats, who have repeatedly voted millions in aid to Reagan's butchers. This omission was hardly accidental, for in true NPAC tradition the endorsers list included a ritual liberal imperialist politician, in this case Cleveland black Democratic Congressman Louis Stokes. The organizers kept groups with "socialist" or "communist" in their names off the endorsers list and even tried to outlaw socialist literature at the conference as "partisan." And while Reagan has declared Central America the front line of his drive to "roll back" revolution all the way to Moscow and beyond, *none* of the conference participants condemned the *bipartisan* anti-Soviet war drive (much less call for defense of Cuba and the USSR against imperialism).

The Cleveland conference was a sandbox for various opportunists, led by the mainstream reformists of Socialist Action and joined by the ex- and now openly anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, the Fourth Internationalist Tendency (like the SA composed of recently expelled SWPers), Michael Harrington's social-democratic DSA and various CISPES activists. The Internationalist Workers Party, followers of Argentine would-be *caudillo* Nahuel Moreno, criticizes in its press the "leadership of the solidarity movement" for "seek[ing] the support of U.S. politicians, especially members of the Democratic Party" (*Working Class Opposition*, August 1984). Yet they went "All Out" with a full-page ad to "Build the Conference" endorsed by Democrat Stokes! In Cleveland, the Morenoites at first vaguely called on the conference to support "victory of the workers and oppressed of Central America," but then withdrew the main portion of their propaganda in order to present it as an *amendment* to the main conference resolution (which failed). IWP honcho León Pérez said on the floor: "We agree with the conference proposal; we feel it should be added [to]...." Some "opposition"!

The SA/SWP/DSA/CISPES bloc ganged up to defeat leftist-sounding resolutions at the conference. They even voted down a second mealy-mouthed call for "victory to the just struggles" of the Central American people! A motion to go on record as opposing the CIA-sponsored American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD)—the U.S. labor bureaucracy's arm of counterrevolution south of the border—was beaten back in order not to "alienate labor."

Real solidarity with the Salvadoran and Nicaraguan masses means taking the side of our class brothers and sisters fighting around the globe. Anti-imperialism abroad is empty without sharp class struggle at home. Thus the SL and class-struggle unionists in the U.S. have fought for *concrete*, militant labor action against imperialist intervention: "hot-cargo" military goods to Central America, and political strike action against an American invasion.

For these professional tail-enders, "labor" means the bureauerats, and it's quite a collection they came up with. Steel dissident Ron Wiesen who waves the flag for protectionism along with U.S. Steel and the Steelworkers tops; Stalinist Carl Edelman, who squelched the motion to denounce the CIA's AIFLD "labor" front; and International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 president Al Lannon. During the conference, Lannon bragged that at the 1983 ILWU convention an El Salvador resolution "pushed by an active political faction in the union" was defeated because it "went further" than abstract "solidarity."

This resolution called for a 24-hour shutdown of West Coast ports to protest U.S. intervention in El Salvador. It was endorsed by San Francisco longshore Local 10 and presented to the convention by ILWU Militant Caucus spokesman Stan Gow. Lannon knows well how this call to militant labor action was defeated, because he chaired the resolutions committee which sank it. Shortly afterward, the ILWU leadership tried to purge Gow by alleging "conduct unbecoming a union member" for picketing a ship carrying death cargo to El Salvador. But hundreds of Local 10 members defeated this vile purge attempt.

As we wrote last year: "In international 'solidarity' as in everything else the labor fakers draw the line at *what's acceptable to the liberal Democrats*, who have presided over every major imperialist slaughter from World War II to Vietnam, from the Bay of Pigs to El Salvador's 'human rights' junta" (*WV* No. 331, 3 June 1983). As the aftermath of Vietnam has shown, it is necessary to defeat the imperialists on the home front as well, by organizing workers revolution in the belly of the beast. ■

Reagan...

(continued from page 1)

the capitalist order. These two capitalist parties just work different sides of the street.

The Democrats won't attack Reagan as a union-buster because the last thing they want is to incite class struggle. They won't condemn him as a deadly enemy of black people for they fear black militancy can get out of control. They won't warn that the U.S. is heading straight for war with the Soviet Union since they have their own plans to roll back Communism. And they won't denounce Reagan's preparations to invade Central America for they are just as committed to undoing the Nicaraguan revolution and preventing a leftist victory in the Salvadoran civil war. In short, the Democrats dare not encourage a fight against Reagan because his aims are substantially their own.

So Mondale looked like a blurred carbon copy of Reagan, a dull-as-dishwater Cold Warrior. While Reagan is spending a trillion dollars on weaponry so that he can start bombing Russia in five minutes, Mondale comes off like a penny-pinching accountant concerned with trimming a few billion from the Pentagon budget. He's worried about the burden of the federal debt on future generations. But the way the U.S. is going, there may not be any future generations.

What fundamentally unites Republicans and Democrats, liberals and rightists, "doves" and "hawks," despite differences in policy, is the shared conviction that the interests of American capitalism demand the crushing of social revolutions from Central America to the Soviet Union itself. The workers and oppressed peoples of the world must defend the gains of the Russian October Revolution, despite its degeneration under the conservative nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, against the bloody rulers of Wall Street and Washington.

Reagan and the Anti-Labor Offensive

Fed up with runaway inflation and severe recession under Carter/Mondale, in November 1980 about half of the white unionized workers voted for the right-wing Republican as a "lesser evil." They were soon disabused. Only seven months in office, Reagan fired an entire union, the air traffic controllers, for going on strike. Nothing like this had happened to organized labor since the rise of the CIO in the mid/late 1930s. The sight of PATCO leaders being taken away in chains, like pre-Civil War black slaves, enraged American workers, including conservative, white craft unionists, many of whom had voted for Reagan. The half million workers who marched in Washington on Solidarity Day I, September 1981—the largest labor demonstration in the nation's history—wanted to bring the White House crashing down around Reagan's head. "Bring Down Reagan Through Labor Action!" declared a Spartacist League banner in Washington.

UPI

Labor's gotta play hardball to win! The will is there but not the leadership.

Impossible? Hardly. The Machinists, Teamsters or pilots could have shut down every major airport in this country in 24 hours. That would have set off a rip-roaring class battle. It could have been the beginning of the end for the union-buster in the White House. Remember how the Viet Cong's Tet offensive brought Lyndon Johnson to his knees. But the cowardly, legalistic labor bureaucracy fears militant class struggle like the plague. They *only* know how to sell out, and couldn't lead a winning strike if they had to. So when Reagan put the labor fakers up against the wall, they just let PATCO go down the tubes.

Reagan's smashing of PATCO became the opening shot in a major anti-labor offensive. Giveback contracts were negotiated in auto, steel, trucking and other major unionized industries. Greyhound broke a bitterly fought drivers strike through the massive use of scabs. The killing of strikers by scabs on the picket lines has become more common. Even so a wave of strike struggles was brewing earlier this year. Postal, auto and coal contracts were up for negotiation. There could have been a really hot autumn of class struggle. But the union misleaders called it off. They didn't want to embarrass Walter Mondale.

What has "friend of labor" Mondale to say about all this? Nothing. It's not just that he's beholden to the AFL-CIO bureaucrats who let PATCO be destroyed, allowed Greyhound to break the drivers strike and negotiated the giveback contracts. Democrat Mondale is an *enemy* of labor struggle. Remember that he and Carter tried to break the great 1977-78 miners strike with Taft-Hartley injunctions. But the militant miners just tore them up. The only thing Mondale has to offer American workers is more trade protectionism, which fuels the cost of living and incites flag-waving jingoism and murderous racism.

The recent economic recovery, producing big profits, has spurred workers who want to take back the givebacks while the getting is good. Even those unionists who support Reagan, largely out of chauvinist, racist and religious prejudice, weren't voting for giveback contracts, strikebreaking, layoffs and cuts in Social Security/Medicare. All the Reaganites' demagogy about "pride, patriotism and prosperity" cannot cover over the harsh realities of class struggle between labor and capital. To win this struggle labor must play hardball against the bosses and their state—mass picketing to stop scabs, plant occupations, secondary labor boycotts ("hot-cargoing") and other militant actions defying the cops and courts. Labor militants must fight to oust the die-on-your-knees union bureaucrats.

In white racist America the future of organized labor and the oppressed black masses is closely bound together. There will be no effective defense against union-busting until the labor movement becomes a powerful champion of black rights. Reagan's shock troops for his war on unions, blacks and other minorities are the fascist Klan and Nazis. The Spartacist League strategy of mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the fascists—powerfully displayed in action when the Klan was stopped in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982 by 5,000 black and other working people under our leadership—heralds the kind of fighting labor movement and revolutionary workers party this country needs.

Down with the Anti-Soviet War Drive!

The Reaganites are celebrating their new-found popularity among student youth. The blather about "new patriotism" and "America standing tall" sells best on the campuses. Yet no more than five percent of the student population has a real material interest in the policies of the Reagan administration. How does one account for this massive false consciousness?

Today's student youth have never experienced war, even at second hand. They do not understand that Reagan's flagrant anti-Soviet provocations—the KAL 007 spy flight, the seizure of the Soviet embassy in Grenada—are playing with fire and they could get burned. It is not only we Marxists who recognize that the United States is on a straightforward course for war with the Soviet Union. A sober-minded bourgeois thinker like George Kennan, former ambassador to Moscow and an original architect of Cold War "containment" of Communism, warns of the

> "almost exclusive militarization of thinking and discourse about Soviet-American relations that now commands the Washington atmosphere and a good deal of our press—a militarization which, it sometimes seems to me, could not be different if we knew for a fact that we were unquestionably to be at war with the Soviet Union within a matter of months...."
>
> —*The Nuclear Delusion* (1982)

And we might add for the benefit of innocent Reaganite youth: your hero's Star Wars space weaponry will not protect you from the Russians' second strike.

It was the long, dirty, *losing* war in Vietnam which broke from anti-Communist militarism that generation who grew up in the Cold War climate of the 1950s. But Vietnam is *history* for today's youth, not part of their life experience. The same students who are now chanting "U.S.A.! U.S.A.! U.S.A.!" will be singing a very different tune if they're drafted to fight in the jungles of Central America or in the Near East quagmire. As *Young Spartacus* (November 1984), newspaper of the Spartacus Youth League, put it: "So instead of kissing the ground, like the 'rescued' medical students in Grenada, some American youth may be kissing their asses good-bye."

There is not much sentiment in this country for foreign military adventures. Lebanon showed that. After one man drove a truck bomb into the center of the Marine headquarters at Beirut airport, killing 241 U.S. troops, the popular reaction in the U.S. was to "get the hell out before more soldiers get killed for nothing." So Reagan ignominiously withdrew the Marines early this year. He knew that if U.S. troops were still in the Lebanese deathtrap as the elections approached, after November 6 he might have been another one-term president.

But Reagan's re-election need not mean four more years of rightist reaction. Look at the fate of Reagan's ideological twin sister, Britain's Margaret Thatcher. A year and a half ago the Iron Lady won a landslide re-election due to the "Falklands factor," the jingoist mood produced by Britain's quick and easy victory over the justly despised Argentine junta in the Falklands/Malvinas war. However, the "Falklands factor" had about as much staying power as did the Argentine junta. Today the Iron Lady is in big trouble. The heroic, seven-month coal miners strike is bringing the hated Tory regime to its knees. As a sign of the changed political climate, much of the British populace was jubilant when last month an IRA bomb almost blew Thatcher and her minions to kingdom come.

Like Thatcher's "Falklands factor," Reagan's "new patriotism" can be exploded through class struggle. We cannot foretell exactly where the next battle line will be drawn, but Central America might well be it. Building toward an invasion of Nicaragua militarily and diplomatically, the Reagan gang is also trying to prepare public opinion. They may see re-election as the green light to send in U.S. combat troops. If the United States invades Central America, there must be a mass mobilization of organized labor, blacks and Hispanics, students and other sections of American society to deal the imperialist war machine a defeat *at home*.

The American working class and oppressed minorities have a direct and immediate stake in the victory of the revolutionary upheavals sweeping Central America. The number one enemy of revolution in Central America and throughout the world is the same man who destroyed PATCO, who is starving the ghetto poor, who is driving for nuclear Armageddon against the Soviet Union. Fight Reagan reaction through class struggle! For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

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South African Revolution: Black Unions the Key

Once again the flames of black revolt sweep across South Africa. Black township dwellers have risen up against the hated agents of their white masters. Thousands of gold miners—the main value producers for apartheid capitalism—have battled police on the Rand. Student strikes have shut down schools and universities throughout the country. Neither massive state terror nor "reforms" can stabilize white racist rule over 22 million black colonial slaves. The crisis of apartheid capitalism is there for all to see.

Unlike during the Defiance Campaigns of the 1950s and the 1976 Soweto uprising, there is today in South Africa a potentially powerful black workers movement. Since black unions were "legalized" in 1979, their membership has soared from 70,000 to over 300,000. The scope and solidarity of this movement was dramatically demonstrated in February 1982 after the police murder of Neil Aggett, a white organizer for the Food and Canning Workers' Union. Within 48 hours of Aggett's death 100,000 largely black workers, from every major industry and region of the country, downed tools in a political protest strike. Nothing like this had been seen in the South African police state for decades.

Capitalism is its own gravedigger, wrote Karl Marx, and even in Botha's police state the requirements of modern industry are undermining strict apartheid. South Africa is the industrial powerhouse of the continent, laced with modern railroads, containerized ports, jet aircraft and large-scale factories. It takes black muscle to run this modern machine (over 80 percent of the workforce is "non-white"), and that is what makes Pretoria tremble. Last year an ABC documentary, titled *Adapt or Die*, vividly portrayed this new black power in South Africa. The commentator begins:

> "After a siege of black labor unrest, the government in 1979 legalized black trade unions. It has exploded into a movement reaching now to the foundations of South Africa's economy. Gold: a black union has signed up over 18,000 miners. The ports: a strike here by black workers could cripple South Africa. The automobile industry: it has become a front of black union battles for economic and political rights."

The camera focuses on a sea of black workers joined in traditional song, but the refrain is new: "This is the workers union." And at the end, the chant is "Power!"

A black proletariat of more than five million is the Achilles' heel of white supremacist South Africa. Within the last couple of years, mining companies have begun training blacks in skilled jobs previously reserved strictly for whites (such as electricians and plumbers) as they ran out of white labor. Seeing the handwriting on the wall, the so-called "verligte" ("enlightened") wing of P.W. Botha's National Party government moved toward legalizing some black unions under tight restrictions. More far-sighted capitalists like gold and diamond magnate Harry Oppenheimer supported this policy, hoping to create a black labor aristocracy with "privileges" such as the right to reside in urban South Africa. An article in the *New York Times Magazine* (8 May 1983) summed up Oppenheimer's policy: "His hope seems to be that whites will have time to push through 'reforms' and narrow inequalities so that blacks develop a stake in the capitalist system." But in the pressure cooker of apartheid South Africa, any concessions threaten to release a revolutionary explosion.

Peters/New York Times

Black gold miners—main value producers for apartheid capitalism—at union rally, 1983.

The rise of an independent black labor movement has radically changed the political map of South Africa. The unions have become far and away the strongest organizations of black resistance. As the *New York Times* (1 August 1982) observed a few years ago: "There is no other secular sphere in the heavily regulated lives of black South Africans in which they are permitted to build national organizations." For all its ruthlessness, the Afrikaner nationalist regime has had to tolerate illegal (i.e., unregistered) unions and illegal strikes by registered unions.

The black African nationalist opposition has in its own way recognized that the black union movement is a force in the land. The recently formed United Democratic Front (UDF), behind which stand the nationalist-populist African National Congress (ANC) and the pro-Moscow Stalinist Communist Party, has ardently wooed the black unions, and its spokesmen pay lip service to "the leadership of the working class in the democratic struggle." The Black Consciousness movement, initially and for many years almost exclusively student-based, today speaks of "workers power."

While the potential power of the black workers movement is clear to all, its political character—how this power will be used—is far from clear. What are the main issues dividing the various unions and union groupings? Which unions are on the left wing of this movement, which on the right? What is the relation of the various unions to the principal nationalist organizations, such as the ANC, or to the Communist Party? These are difficult questions to answer, especially from afar.

We are dealing with a movement which is elemental, spontaneous, fluid, fragmented and highly empirical in its political and organizational responses. The organizational configurations are ever-shifting. Splits are frequent; so are mergers and blocs. Unions which had a substantial, militant base a few years ago have since stagnated; others have grown in importance. Police-state repression has severely affected the continuity of leadership. Many, if not most, of the leaders of yesterday's major strikes are today in prison, detention or exile. Repression and censorship have impeded political debate among the leaders and militants of the black unions, and even more so our knowledge of such debates. Documents in publications such as the *South African Labour Bulletin* and *Work in Progress* may give only a partial picture of the situation and issues involved, and even this partial picture may soon become dated.

Amid all the uncertainties, however, one thing is clear: in the absence of a Leninist vanguard party the black union movement cannot play a genuinely revolutionary role. Many of the debates within the movement (e.g., community versus shop-floor organizing, affiliate or not with popular frontist UDF) have posed *false alternatives* of nationalism versus economism precisely because of the absence of a revolutionary workers party. There is naturally pressure within the black unions to go beyond just defending their members' economic interests against the employer, to take on the entire apartheid system. At the same time, there is also a healthy resistance to liquidating or merging the unions, as workers organizations at the point of production, into transient and amorphous anti-apartheid formations. It is the Leninist vanguard party which can be the basic *link* between the economic organization of black workers at the point of production and all the many-sided struggles against apartheid rule ultimately leading the struggle for a black-centered workers and peasants government.

A Political Generation Gap

One key to understanding the black union movement of the 1980s is the fundamental *discontinuity* of black resistance in white-ruled South Africa. Following the 1960 Sharpeville massacre all organized opposition to apartheid was effectively destroyed. All the leaders and most cadres of the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and Communist Party were killed, imprisoned or driven into exile. Not since the early years of this century have South Africa's blacks been as atomized, demoralized and defenseless as in the mid/late 1960s.

The first stirrings of a new wave of black resistance and of a new political generation occurred in the student milieu. Around 1970 the Black Consciousness movement was born out of the predominantly white, liberal National Union of South African Students. (For an analysis of this movement, see "Behind South Africa's Black Consciousness Movement," *Young Spartacus* No. 74, Summer 1979.) A few years later the black working class shattered the police-state calm of South Africa as the city of Durban was paralyzed by a mass strike in early 1973.

The new generation of black student militants and the rising level of workers struggle converged in the 1976 Soweto uprising. The role of student youth.

AP

February 1982: Funeral of Neil Aggett, white union organizer killed by police. 100,000 workers, largely blacks, downed tools in nationwide protest.

hundreds of them massacred by the police, is well known. Less known outside South Africa are the mass stay-away strikes in solidarity with the rebellious youth. At their height, in August-September 1976, these work stay-aways embraced 70-80 percent of the labor force resident in Soweto, whose two million inhabitants make it the largest black city in South Africa.

Unlike the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, the far greater bloodletting in Soweto did not usher in a period of effective repression. On the contrary, the past decade has seen a rising line of black resistance on almost all fronts, most importantly the emergence of a black trade-union movement. However, black struggle in South Africa during the past period has been marked by a real generation gap. This situation is compounded by the relative isolation of South Africa from the rest of the world. Here the regime's censorship is especially effective. Many black union organizers, student and other anti-apartheid militants have only a limited knowledge of the history of black resistance in South Africa and even less knowledge of the main political divisions within the workers movement and left internationally. We are thus dealing with a movement which is to a large degree politically uninformed and unformed.

The Debate Over Registration

By the late 1970s it was clear the development of a black labor movement could no longer simply be suppressed outright. The official Wiehahn Commission warned that black unions "can unite with other unions through affiliation (as is happening now) without government approval and thus embrace strategic industries which can be paralysed at any given moment" (*Wiehahn Commission Report*, 1 May 1979). The regime's answer: to impose a corporatist straitjacket on the emerging black workers movement. All black unions now had to register with the government. They were then subject to compulsory arbitration and other state controls, and banned from participating in political activity. Noting that it was unclear whether black unions were strong enough to defy the government on this question, we wrote at the time:

> "For class-struggle militants, registration is strictly a tactical security question. Some unions may be forced into it as a legal cover to avoid victimization. But it must be just that—a legal cover, nothing more. Any black union leader who actually adheres to apartheid legality, who accepts umpteen stages of government arbitration without taking industrial action, who refuses to support anti-apartheid struggles, is betraying not only his own membership but the entire black people."
>
> —"The Struggle for Independent Black Unions in South Africa," *WV* No. 248, 25 January 1980

For a time whether to register or not became the sharpest point of division within the black union movement. A number of unity conferences in 1980-81 foundered on just this question. Some militant black unions took an ultraleftist position that registration amounted to collaboration with the white oppressor. The debate was soon resolved by life itself. The regime proved unable to suppress unregistered unions or force registered ones into a corporatist straitjacket. For example, the unregistered General Workers' Union (GWU) has organized black and "coloured" (mixed-race) dock workers in the major ports of Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London and Durban, and won recognition from the South African Stevedoring Employers' Association. This alone makes the GWU one of the most potent unions in South Africa.

Various unregistered unions, such as the militantly nationalist South African Allied Workers' Union, have been the target of especially savage and effective repression. At the same time, major strikes have been organized by registered unions, for example, the path-breaking 1980 strike at Volkswagen in Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape. This illegal action was carried out by the auto unions affiliated with FOSATU (Federation of South African Trade Unions). It involved not only the 6,000 black and coloured workers at the big Volkswagen plant but became a local mass strike as neighboring factories went out in solidarity and for their own demands. In short, some unregistered unions function effectively while some registered ones are no less militant, and thus the registration debate has died out, and formal legal status does not define the political character of a given union.

While the question of registration proved to be a transient line of division within the emerging black union movement, a more fundamental difference is between those unions which espouse a nationalist ("community") orientation and those which are more narrowly trade unionist, tending toward economism. The U.S. imperialists, concerned that their anti-Soviet ally could be undermined by a black labor explosion, have tried to spawn a privileged anti-communist union bureaucracy. Thus in 1982, long-time CIA "labor" operative Irving Brown paid a visit to South Africa and met not only with the arch-racist Confederation of Labor and TUCSA, which sponsors "parallel" black unions under white control, but also with independent black labor federations like CUSA (Council of Unions of South Africa) and FOSATU. The latter have also received funds from the CIA-backed International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. But in the volatile conditions of South Africa, opening the door to unionization has often backfired against the imperialists. Recently the National Union of Mineworkers withdrew from CUSA protesting its ties to the ICFTU.

Economism vs. Nationalism: A False Debate

After a major strike shut down the big auto plants in Port Elizabeth in the summer of 1982, *New York Times* South Africa correspondent Joseph Lelyveld observed:

> "...the so-called emerging unions—which still represent less than 10 percent of the black industrial work force—appear to be gravitating into two camps. One places its primary emphasis on building durable workers organizations; the other feels obligated to resist laws and regulations its members had no hand in shaping."
>
> —*New York Times*, 1 August 1982

This analysis is too schematic, since many black unions cannot be placed in either camp. But it does indicate the ideological poles within the black union movement.

When Lelyveld writes of those unions placing "primary emphasis on building durable workers organizations," he is referring in particular to FOSATU. With over 100,000 members in nine affiliated unions and a base in the big auto plants of the Eastern Cape, FOSATU is probably the strongest grouping within the new black workers movement. However, a Communist Party spokesman recently wrote, "FOSATU is frequently criticised because it is apolitical, keeps aloof from the 'community,' limits its activities to factory workers, adopts a timid approach to government and politics and allows white academics too much power" (R.E. Matajo, "Obstacles on the Road to Trade Union Unity," *African Communist*, Third Quarter 1984).

In answering such charges FOSATU's leadership speaks of the need for independent working-class organization. Addressing the federation's convention in 1982 its coloured general secretary, Joe Foster, described the ANC as "a great populist liberation movement," but then went on:

> "All the great and successful popular movements have had as their aim the overthrow of the oppressive—most often colonial—regimes. But these movements cannot and have not in themselves been able to deal with the particular and fundamental problem of workers. Their task is to remove regimes that are regarded as illegitimate and unacceptable by the majority.
> "It is, therefore, essential that workers must strive to build their own powerful and effective organisation even whilst they are part of the wider popular struggle. This organisation is necessary to protect and further worker interests and to ensure that the popular movement is not hijacked by elements who will [in the] end have no option but to turn against their worker supporters."
>
> —*South African Labour Bulletin*, July 1982

Foster's assertion of the need for independent working-class organization and his warning about the potentially treacherous character of petty-bourgeois nationalism—in themselves entirely valid statements—are used here to justify trade-union economism. Foster defines the task of trade unions as defending the sectoral interests of workers within the framework of apartheid capitalism. He assigns to the nationalist-populist ANC the hereulean task of liberating enslaved black people from white colonial rule with perhaps incidental aid from the black union movement. But this is a task that petty-bourgeois nationalism *cannot* fulfill. The only way to ensure that national liberation movements do not turn against their worker supporters is for the workers movement to place *itself* at the head of the oppressed black people, to combat every manifestation of white racist rule—the disenfranchisement of the black majority, the bantustans, the pass laws, the enforced separation of urban black workers from their wives and children, the massive use of convict labor, etc.

At the opposite end of the ideological spectrum from FOSATU within the black union movement is the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) with its nationalist-populist orientation. SAAWU's base has been in East London and the neighboring "independent" bantustan, the Ciskei, in the Eastern Cape, historically a stronghold of both the ANC and the Black Consciousness movement. The conditions driving the workers to political struggle in South Africa generally are even more marked in the Ciskei. It is poor even by South African standards. Half of its one million people are concentrated in the dormitory township of Mdantsane, which serves East London. Ciskei "President for Life" Lennox Sebe wields power through patronage distributed by the corrupt appointed chiefs and civil service and through vigilante terror with the backing of his white masters.

SAAWU has faced a more intense onslaught of raids, evictions and arrests than any other union. Its courageous president, Thozamile Gqweta, for example, has been detained at least nine times and tortured with electric shock and near strangulation. Yet SAAWU has survived. It has won 20 recognition agreements and its leadership claims 75,000 members (though many observers consider this an exaggeration). SAAWU originated in a break with the Black Consciousness-inspired leadership of Drake Koka and stands for multiracial unionism against the Black Consciousness principle of allowing *only* blacks as union leaders or members.

continued on page 8

Peter Magubane

Pretoria, 1961: Women demonstrate outside trial of Nelson Mandela. Courageous ANC leader has been in prison almost a quarter century.

Laurie Bloomfield

Smash apartheid terror! Brutal police attack breaks up women's meeting, Cato Manor township, 1959.

Black Unions...

(continued from page 7)

But it still reflects the program of petty-bourgeois nationalist populism, hence its community orientation. SAAWU's basic premise was stated by its national vice president, Sisa Njikelana:

> "Non-unionised workers and the unemployed constitute a vast portion of the working class. The community, women's, student, youth and other organisations based within working class communities, are also in a position to express the views of the working class and are also legitimate organisations of the working class."
>
> —*South African Labour Bulletin*, June 1984

This "community" orientation obliterates the difference between organizing workers *as a class* and as part of the oppressed plebeian masses.

SAAWU has recruited many of its members through mass meetings in the townships as well as through industrial organizing. It is frequently criticized as lacking adequate shop-floor and industrial structures. Certainly, many of SAAWU's activities are commendable and indeed essential for effective trade-union struggle. It has sought to organize the unemployed to combat scabbing, and rejected stop orders (dues checkoff) in order to keep leadership accountable to the rank and file. All too often, however, SAAWU's activity on community issues has tended simply to add the union's voice of protest to that of civic, student and political groupings, not to mobilize for *labor action* in defense of political demands. The unions are uniquely important because the *power* of the working class lies at the point of production.

Under conditions of racial and national oppression rooted in colonial conquest, and given the historic capitulation to petty-bourgeois nationalism by the Stalinist Communist Party, decades of black struggle in South Africa have generated mass nationalist movements but no mass workers party. One result has been for black unions—in the past as well as the present—to take on the characteristics of populist movements or to join with them in popular-frontist formations. Thus SAAWU has, logically enough, affiliated with the United Democratic Front.

UDF: Popular Frontism, South African Style

Formed last year, the UDF has become the largest anti-apartheid political grouping in South Africa in decades. Its immediate aim was to oppose the new Botha constitution which gave token representation to coloureds and Indians while reinforcing the disenfranchisement of the black African majority, 75 percent of South Africa's population. More generally, the UDF is an attempt to revive in a new situation the Congress Alliance of the 1950s, which was likewise a bloc between the nationalist-populist ANC and the reformist Communist Party.

Thus to understand the political character of the UDF, it is useful to look back at the Congress Alliance. The Alliance organized a series of courageous campaigns against the consolidation of the apartheid system under the Afrikaner nationalist regime. These mass and often militant struggles, however, took place within a strategy of pressuring a non-existent liberal bourgeoisie. The CP advocated voting for the United Party opposition of English-speaking big business interests. The nature of this "liberal" opposition was captured in a contemporary saying: If the Afrikaner nationalists proposed a bill making it legal for whites to stab blacks in the back, the United Party would offer an amendment limiting the knife to six inches.

In order to appeal to white liberals the Congress Alliance stopped well short of the fundamental bourgeois-democratic principle of one man, one vote. Instead it proposed a so-called federal solution in which each race would have a share of governmental power. The 1955 Freedom Charter, which remains the basic document of the ANC, states: "There shall be equal status in the bodies of the state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races." This implies that in a "democratic" South Africa the privileged white minority might have veto power over important legislation and policy.

Like the Congress Alliance, the UDF is based on uniting all "progressive forces" against apartheid. It brings together everything from trade unions to religious councils, traders associations to sports clubs. A student group affiliated with the UDF hailed it not as a means of class struggle, but for building the "unity of people of different classes" (SASPU *National*, September 1983).

ANC

Johannesburg, 1976—Black workers marched through city in solidarity with Soweto uprising.

To affiliate or not with the UDF has become a sharp point of division and debate within the black union movement, a debate which raises many of the fundamental questions of the South African revolution. One affiliated union, the Municipal and General Workers' Union of South Africa (MGWUSA), presents a classic Stalinist line of popular frontism and two-stage revolution. On the one hand, the MGWUSA leadership implies that unions which do not join the UDF are *ipso facto* guilty of economism. At the same time, they *oppose* the trade unions forming a workers party in order to lead this broader struggle for freedom:

> "The other alternative would be for the unions to support/encourage the setting up of a 'Worker's Party' that will lead the workers in the struggle against the [constitutional] 'new deal'. This type of political grouping—it is argued—would ensure that the political goals of the working class are promoted. We disagree with this position...."
>
> —*South African Labour Bulletin*, November 1983

They then set up the straw man of a workers party "going it alone." A revolutionary workers party is here defined as isolated from the broad anti-apartheid struggle when in fact only such a party can mobilize all of South Africa's oppressed masses (for example, overcoming ethnic and tribalist divisions and enmities) in struggle against white racist rule.

A somewhat more left apology for joining the UDF is made by SAAWU's Sisa Njikelana, who argues:

> "The only way the working class can lead the broad democratic front as learnt in the experiences of other struggles, is through active participation within the organisations and structures of the broad democratic front."
>
> —*South African Labour Bulletin*, June 1984

But the working class is *not* just another constituency within a "national democratic front." It is the *only* class in South Africa with the interest and *power* to abolish capitalist exploitation, which underlies the entire apartheid system. All the harsh laws of apartheid basically exist to create a migratory, cheap labor force for superexploitation in South Africa's mines and factories. Only a proletarian revolution can, to take but one example, distribute the country's rich white-owned farmland to the hideously impoverished black toilers now confined to the bantustan hellholes. And in general, *all* of the revolutionary democratic tasks can be realized only under a regime of workers power.

Black Workers and the Struggle Against Apartheid

In arguing for a "broad democratic front" (the UDF), SAAWU's Njikelana was polemicizing against David Lewis, the white general secretary of the General Workers' Union. The GWU's refusal to affiliate with the UDF is important because it is both industrially strong and on the left wing of the black union movement. Lewis advances a number of left criticisms of the UDF. For one thing, he condemns its undemocratic structure which gives the same representation to small groups of anti-apartheid activists as to mass trade unions. But this is hardly a fundamental criticism, since the UDF organizers could well adjust its structure to induce the participation of more unions.

Lewis' criticism of the UDF cuts deeper. This is the core of it:

> "...workers must have a special status in multi-class organisations. Workers must have the opportunity to lead the pace and style and tone and language—in fact the whole discourse—of the organisation. The reason why it's important, and the reason why I think that it's important to examine the questions raised with respect to the UDF, is that democracy in this country is inconceivable without the fullest participation of workers in the national democratic struggle. This is not merely because the working class is the largest and most muscular group in society. Simply put, they are the only social grouping with a class interest in democracy. Other social classes or social groupings might have an interest in relative or partial democratisation of society...."
>
> —*South African Labour Bulletin*, November 1983

In a confused and highly abstract way Lewis poses the basic question of the South African revolution: the relation of the working class to the national democratic struggle. He poses the question but he does not answer it. In South Africa, as Lenin said of tsarist Russia, the working class is the *only* consistently democratic class. Lewis' call that the workers "have a special status in multi-class organisations" is—whether he intends it as such or not—a formula for a more laborite version of the popular front. In any such formation the program and actions of the working class are necessarily *limited* by other social classes which, as Lewis rightly says, have only a relative and partial interest in the democratic struggle. What is called for is a workers party based on the program of permanent revolution—that the democratic and national tasks can only be solved by establishing proletarian power, a black-centered workers and peasants government. Only such a party can serve as, in the words of Plekhanov and Lenin, "a tribune of the people," whether these are township dwellers protesting rent hikes, bantustan women demanding the right to live with their husbands, or coloured students opposing the new apartheid constitution.

Lewis speaks of the national democratic struggle but does not indicate the *goal* of that struggle. What is to *replace* the white-ruled police state? As a *transitional* democratic demand in South Africa, Trotskyists call for a revolutionary constituent assembly based on universal suffrage—one man, one vote. But such a body, given the inevitable weight of the workers movement in any revolutionary upheaval, could only have a highly unstable and short-lived character. It would soon give way either to proletarian organs of power or to nationalist bonapartism aiming to suppress the workers movement. Thus the struggle against apartheid in South Africa must have as its aim a regime of workers councils (soviets) around which are drawn all other oppressed sections of society, from coloured workers in the Cape to women on the bantustans, from black students and youth to Indian traders. Forward to a black-centered workers and peasants government!

South Africa and World Revolution

The political direction of South Africa's black union movement is particularly important because South Africa is important. It is not just that the country is the world's largest producer of gold, key to the international financial system. Nor is it simply that South Africa is the dominant economic power in the region. Because South Africa combines many elements of an advanced capitalist economy with a colonial social and political structure, it is in a sense the *weak link* in the chain of imperialist alliances worldwide. Western, especially American, imperialism has an enormous stake, and not simply economic, in the preservation of white police-state rule in South Africa.

During the past decade southern Africa has become a major theater of the Cold War. In 1975-76 South Africa, actively encouraged and backed by Washington, invaded Angola aiming to crush the left-nationalist regime which had taken power after the Portuguese colonialists were driven out. The South African onslaught was turned back through the introduction of Cuban troops, armed and supported by the Soviet Union. Ever since, southern Africa has been a point of direct, almost constant military confrontation between imperialism and the Soviet bloc. The smashing of the apartheid state from within by the insurgent black masses would be a powerful blow against world imperialism.

Not only will the South African revolution alter the international balance of power, it will have a profound effect *within* the main bastion of world capitalism, the United States of America. One cannot imagine any event outside the borders of the U.S. which would more inspire and electrify America's 24 million blacks than the victorious rising of South Africa's black masses. For American blacks, the land of apartheid represents the most naked, brutal and totalitarian form of white racist oppression, which they, too, endure. The self-liberation of South Africa's blacks, led by the working class, will be the most powerful possible example for millions of black auto workers in Detroit, steel workers in Chicago, longshoremen from New York to New Orleans to the Bay Area. The South African revolution will truly shake the world. ■

Gandhi...

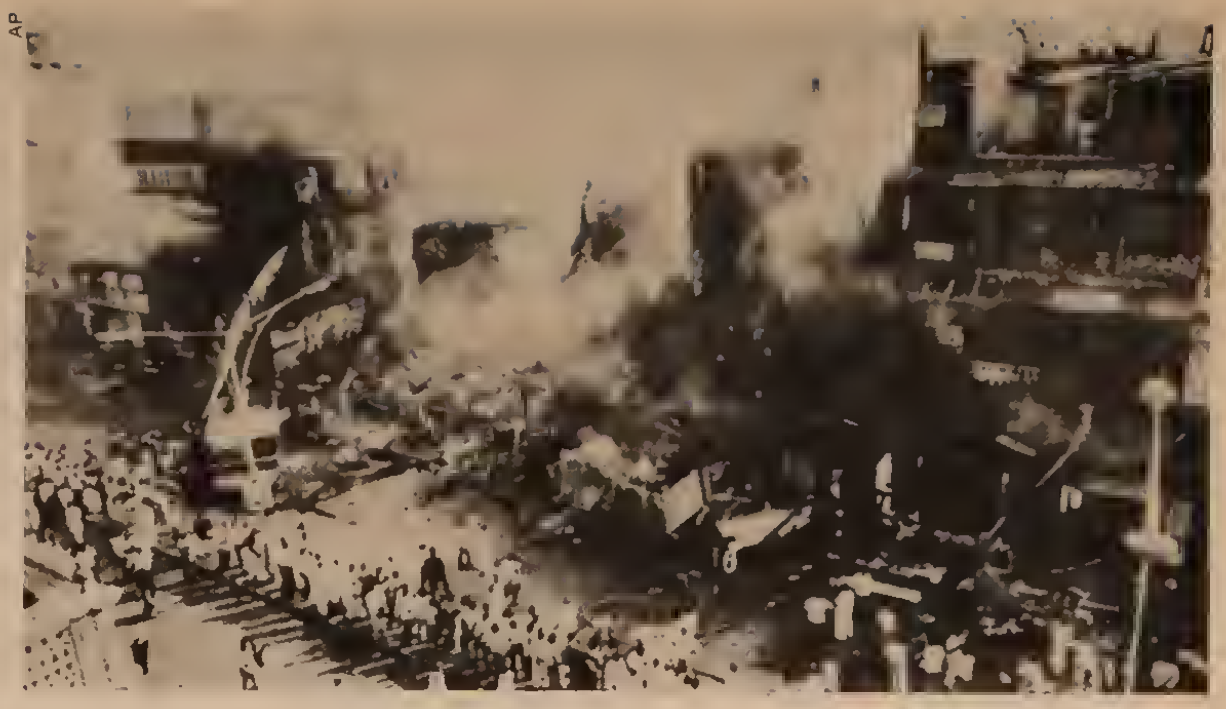
(continued from page 1)

> even bloodier, as the reactionary legacy of British imperialist rule continues to wreak havoc upon the Indian masses.... "The storming of the Golden Temple has fuelled religious fervour and dramatically increased the base of support for the undisguisedly Zionist-style call for Khalistan [a theocratic Sikh state].... Such is the reactionary logic of nationalism. The demands for Khalistan and 'blood for blood' are an invitation for the 1947 Partition over again."
>
> —*Spartacist Britain* No. 60, August 1984

As jubilant Sikhs in London's Southall area sang, danced and set off fireworks to celebrate the death of their hated enemy, the words "blood for blood" were everywhere to be found scrawled on walls. But "blood for blood" was also the cry of the pogromist mobs, frequently led by thugs called "goondas" of Gandhi's Congress (I) Party and other even more right-wing Hindu chauvinist parties, who took to the streets of northern India in search of Sikhs to butcher. Even before the newly installed heir of the dwindling Hindu Gandhi dynasty could issue his feeble appeal for calm, enormous mobs of Hindu chauvinists—armed with clubs, chains, iron bars and swords—had already embarked on their bloodcurdling reign of terror.

Sikhs were grabbed from the streets or dragged off buses and trains, their turbans and clothes torn off, their beards set on fire. They were beaten up, chased, chained, hacked to pieces, burnt alive. The police, who often overlap with the Hindu chauvinist goondas, aided the anti-Sikh pogromists or at best stood by and watched; sometimes they fired indiscriminately into the crowds, killing and injuring scores. Hundreds of Sikh homes and shops were looted and torched. Sikh temples were besieged by mobs of thousands. Black smoke billowed across the sky. The corpse-laden trains of death rolling into New Delhi evoked the memory of the 1947 Partition slaughter.

But the Sikhs are not about to take it lying down. In one suburb of New Delhi, a retired Sikh army captain opened fire with a submachine gun against the invading Hindu mob, killing 20. Meanwhile Sikh fundamentalists talk of getting their own back in the Punjab, where Sikhs are a slight majority. Today many Sikhs identify with and continue to adulate Sant (Saint) Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, the extreme fundamentalist who once threatened to kill 5,000 Hindus, and who was among those killed in the Golden Temple massacre. In the country as a whole Sikhs form only 2 per cent of the total population of over 700 million; they will pay a high price for the vengeance taken against the butcher Gandhi. Still, the Sikhs have a substantial measure of social power, considerable military expertise and a border with India's arch-enemy Pakistan, with its already established CIA network for supplying the reactionary Islamic insurgents in Afghanistan.



AP

New Delhi in flames as Hindu mobs, often led by Congress (I) Party thugs, rampage against Sikhs.

Gandhi's funeral attracted an imposing assemblage of world leaders. Under her, India became acknowledged leader of the so-called "nonaligned movement" of neocolonial countries and is a major sub-imperialist power in the region and now a diplomatic ally of the Soviet Union. (Of course, as Sadat's Egypt demonstrated, capitalist allies of the Soviet Union are never reliable.) It is one of the few capitalist countries not to fall into step with the vicious embargo against the Indochinese workers states. It recognised the Heng Samrin government in Cambodia and, in September, was visited by Vietnamese leader Le Duan on his first visit to a capitalist country. Pakistan's General Zia and Sri Lanka's bonapartist anti-Tamil butcher J.R. Jayewardene immediately declared official mourning periods, despite their enmity for Gandhi and India. But J.R. in particular doubtless hopes that in the short term India's instability will free his hand in savagely dealing with the largely Hindu oppressed Tamil minority struggling for self-determination.

Arch-terrorists Reagan and Thatcher predictably responded to the assassination with a denunciation of terrorism. But the crowd that gathered outside Gandhi's hospital chanted, "Down with the CIA!" And the Soviet leadership issued a strongly worded statement implicating the CIA in the assassination. One need not accept the Stalinist/nationalist CIA-mongering at face value to recognise that the Sikh fundamentalists' anti-communist agitation leaves them open to being pawns of the CIA and imperialists in their designs to break India from its diplomatic and military relations with the Soviet Union. The oppressed Sikh masses have nothing to gain from being pawns of the imperialists' anti-Soviet designs. But the Soviet bureaucracy's political support to the "progressive" despot Gandhi is a treacherous obstacle to the revolutionary mobilisation of the Indian proletariat which can truly act in defence of the deformed/degenerated workers states.

Gandhi has ruled India singlehandedly and with an iron fist for nearly half of its post-independence years. Though she liked to posture as the embodiment of secularist, national integrity, this "Mother of India" was a conscious and calculating Hindu chauvinist. We noted in August: "The thin veneer of Indian nationalism (which in fact reflects the overwhelming preponderance, 80 per cent, of the Hindu majority), despite its occasional secular pretensions, could easily shatter into a myriad of competing national, ethnic and language groups."

The Sikhs are not just a religious grouping but form a distinct community inhabiting a particular territory with a common language (Punjabi) and customs. And while the Sikhs may not yet be a nation, the present dynamic points to their further national consolidation. Nations are not born fully fledged but are consolidated in struggle (generally by expelling or destroying other peoples). Undoubtedly, and more emphatically since the bloodbath at Amritsar, many Sikhs see themselves as a nation. But within a capitalist framework, the Sikh fundamentalist dream of Khalistan ("state of the pure") or some other form of self-determination would entail a reactionary reversal of the terms of oppression for the Punjab's large and interpenetrated Hindu minority. Only within a socialist federation of the Indian subcontinent can the oppressed peoples and nations find their emancipation.

In the epoch of imperialist decay capitalism brings to the neocolonial world only the chains of imperialist exploitation, the stench of communalist slaughter and the jackboot of dictatorship. This murderous "divide and rule" of the British Raj, whose victims numbered in the millions, is today well practised by the Indian ruling class. Gandhi's vacuous son Rajiv, who succeeded her instantaneously in the manner of a traditional monarch, is best known for the recent failed, autocratic manoeuvre to overthrow the elected government of Andhra Pradesh. He was well trained in his mother's school to cynically use national and religious divisions to further political goals and baldly suppress all political opposition.

Raghu Rai

Sikh youth flee Gandhi's security forces in Amritsar last April. In June 2,000 were killed in Golden Temple massacre.

And in the wings waits the million-strong Indian army, which prides itself on maintaining all the trappings imposed by its former colonial masters. Ominously, for the first time since independence the army has been brought into the capital to "restore order." Troops have been deployed in most major cities with orders to "shoot to kill." A significant section of the army, particularly of the officer caste, remains Sikh. No doubt the army is feeling the temptation to slam a preventive lid on the situation, not least to preserve its own unity. Down with the martial law measures!

Notwithstanding the myth of this "most populous democracy," for the multimillioned masses "democracy" and "independence" have meant the continuation of mass starvation, forced sterilization, grinding exploitation and pervasive state terror, particularly against the small but strategic Indian proletariat. The only progressive answer lies in this class, which has historically demonstrated militancy and organisation. In the face of bitter state repression, the solid 300,000-strong port workers strike last March/April united workers across national, ethnic, religious and caste lines. Only the proletariat in power can carry out the belated tasks of the bourgeois revolution, as part of a programme of *socialist* revolution. As we wrote last August:

> "Under the rule of the Indian bourgeoisie the acute problems of land, poverty, caste and national oppression are incessantly recreated. And every new outburst of communalist violence retards the only class on the Indian subcontinent which can lead the oppressed masses on a consistently progressive course. Communalism not only destroys working-class unity in general, but in India it is often particularly the working class that is the main target of communal terror, since it is frequently drawn from local and migrant minorities....
>
> "If India is not to be wracked by another convulsion of communalist slaughter in the interests of imperialism, what is needed is a mass proletarian party rallying behind the banner of Permanent Revolution the myriad minorities, the agrarian masses and the multitudinous victims of caste and sex oppression....
>
> "The problems of South Asia are interrelated and will not be solved separately. Only the working class can guarantee the right of self-determination to the oppressed nations from the Baluchis in Pakistan to the Tamils in Lanka, the liberation of women from bondage and backwardness, and land to the tiller."

Not communalist terror but class struggle! For workers revolution to overthrow the Indian bourgeoisie! For a socialist federation of the Indian subcontinent! ■

CORRECTIONS

A picture caption accompanying the article, "Margaret Thatcher: Enemy of the People," (*WV* No. 365, 26 October) incorrectly dated the bomb blast which ripped the Grand Hotel in Brighton as October 3. The correct date is October 12. Also in that issue, the article, "Reagan, Mondale Mean War on Central America!" refers to the Reagan/Mondale foreign policy debate of October 20. That debate occurred on October 21.

A picture caption in the article "Victory for Black Freedom!" (*WV* No. 359, 20 July) refers to "Longshoreman Peter Woolston and Richard Bradley celebrat[ing] the destruction of Confederate flag of slavery and racist terror." Brother Woolston is a warehouseman and executive board member of Local 6, of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU).

Spartacist Forum

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NEW YORK CITY

Former FBI Agent Admits Panther Was Framed–New Hearing Ordered

Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt!

For 14 years Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, a former leader of the Black Panther Party in Los Angeles, has been behind bars for a crime he did not commit. First they tried to kill him. When that didn't work, they railroaded him to prison on a phony murder rap. They tried everything they could to break this staunch fighter for black liberation, even keeping him in solitary confinement for *six years* in hellholes like Folsom and San Quentin. For many years, Pratt and his lawyers have been

UPI

Black Panther Geronimo Pratt led to jail in chains, 1969.

fighting to get the case reopened, on the proven grounds that it was a government frame-up. Now retired FBI special agent Wesley Swearingen, formerly of the Los Angeles office, has come forward to say, straight out, "Pratt was set up." And on October 18, federal magistrate John R. Kronenberg ordered a new evidentiary hearing into the charges.

Geronimo Pratt was a prime target of the FBI's notorious murder and frame-up COINTELPRO operation ordered by J. Edgar Hoover to "disrupt, misdirect, discredit and otherwise neutralize the activities" of the Black Panther Party. On 8 December 1969, hundreds of LAPD Metro Squad and SWAT team commandos armed with M-60 machine guns, tear gas launchers and dynamite surrounded the L.A. Panther headquarters where Pratt was living, and as helicopters circled overhead they subjected the house to a five-hour barrage. The pre-dawn attack came only four days after the FBI/cop raid in Chicago which murdered Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. It was all part of the massive attempt to physically destroy the Panthers in America. Pratt's bed—its location pinpointed by an informer's blueprint—was riddled with bullets. Only because the Panther leader, a decorated Vietnam War veteran, slept on the floor due to war wounds did he survive.

That same year Pratt's wife Saundra, eight months pregnant and also a Panther member, was mysteriously shot in the head and her body dumped on an L.A. freeway. No arrest was ever made. In 1971, while in jail on a weapons charge stemming from the cops' commando raid, Pratt was framed for the brutal and senseless murder of a schoolteacher in Santa Monica in 1968. This despite the fact that the murdered woman's husband had earlier made a positive identification of another man. FBI documents later released through the Freedom of Information Act revealed that key prosecution witness Black Panther Julio Butler was an FBI informant, which he lied about at the trial. Now seven current or former FBI agents have been ordered to testify at the upcoming hearing, six of them members of the Los Angeles FBI "Black Extremist Squad 2" assigned to disrupt the Black Panthers in Southern California.

Pratt was in Oakland attending party meetings at the time of the Santa Monica murder, a fact that has not only been sworn to by Panther leaders such as Kathleen Cleaver and David Hilliard, but could be demonstrated from wiretaps by the FBI on Panther headquarters in both L.A. and Oakland. But the wiretap logs from that two-week period in December 1968 are "mysteriously missing"—the *only* ones missing from the huge volumes in the FBI's Los Angeles office. Significantly, a legal aide working with Pratt's defense counsel, Stuart Hanlon, has discovered the existence of a secret CIA report on Geronimo Pratt, sent by then-CIA director Richard Helms to the Nixon White House in August 1970. While the defense was only able to obtain a part of the cover letter (the report itself was censored to the point it consisted mainly of blank pages), this is further proof of the orchestration at the very highest levels of the conspiracy against Pratt and the Panthers.

The FBI didn't just want Pratt in jail. They wanted him broken...or dead, like imprisoned Panther George Jackson—"shot while trying to escape." COINTELPRO even followed Pratt to jail—an FBI agent phoned Folsom prison after the trial, concocting a story that Panther supporters were planning to spring him by kidnapping schoolchildren and then demanding his release. So Pratt was immediately placed in isolation. After being transferred to the maximum security block at San Quentin, he was again put into the hole: "There was no toilet, no sink, nothing ...there was just a hole in the floor. It backed up a lot. It was a cell within a cell, and the only light was on the outside" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 31 October).

They only allowed him a dictionary in the cell. "They handed me three pieces of paper a day. I kept asking for more, and sometimes the guard would give me five. I wrote word after word from that dictionary. I got very familiar with etymology. Those were the dog days—for years." Six years later, a suit against prison authorities finally won Pratt placement on the main line, as part of the general prison population. He has steadfastly refused to seek parole or pardon, both of which require that he admit guilt. As Pratt says, "My mother didn't raise a murderer.... I'm going to survive, and I'm going to expose the truth. I'm going to be completely exonerated."

"We're finally going to get to the truth of what Cointelpro was and what it did," Pratt's lawyer Stuart Hanlon told the *Chronicle*. There were more than 295 FBI "operations" mounted against black groups during COINTELPRO, 233 of them against the Black Panther Party alone. In 1968 and 1969, 14 Black Panther leaders were killed, countless others spent years in prison on frame-up charges, while many were forced into exile. Exposure of the capitalist state's murderous campaign against the Panthers is crucial today as the FBI's 1983 "Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines" aim to set up all opponents of the government as outlaws to be shot down in the dead of night. The Spartacist League has been fighting this new "anti-terrorism" witchhunt, which we have labeled "McCarthyism with a drawn gun," and we are presently pursuing a court suit against the new FBI guidelines.

In a statement to *WV*, Richard Bradley, Spartacist candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors, denounced the hideous racist frame-up of Pratt:

> "Blacks in this country were watching King and the civil rights movement in the South, seeing them getting their heads busted in. And when the Black Panther Party came around, they supported it basically around the right to be armed, to defend themselves. Like Robert Williams in the Carolinas, where I grew up. The Panthers were seen as an organization that finally was going to liberate blacks.
>
> "They tried to murder Geronimo Pratt every way they knew how. There *must be* labor/black action against this racist persecution. Geronimo Pratt is pursuing every legal avenue open to him. We must mobilize blacks and labor, nationally and internationally, to fight for his freedom, to expose the police terror and the capitalist state behind it, and organize for workers revolution to put an end to it once and for all."

Geronimo Pratt's "crime" was to be a leader of the Black Panther Party, which though it never transcended black nationalism was the best and most militant expression of the "black power" movement, which the government sought to "neutralize"—that is, to wipe out. The fake-leftists who for years uncritically cheered on the Panthers' every word and deed have now criminally turned their backs on Pratt, while their former black nationalist heroes like Newton and Seale have made their peace with the racist establishment and crawled into the Democratic Party. But Geronimo Pratt, who refuses to renounce his radical nationalist past, is still behind bars. We have fought to publicize and help to keep alive the case of Geronimo Pratt. Today we urge the most concerted campaign to win his freedom. ■

Black Marine: "I Refused to Go"

Protest Reagan's Rape of Grenada!

First they invaded the tiny Caribbean black island of Grenada, the first new American colony since 1917. Then on the anniversary of their crime, Reagan & Co. staged an arrogant outrage, arresting former Grenadian ambassador to the Organization of American States Dessima Williams. The charge: she has been declared an "illegal alien"...because 7,000 American troops took over her country! Williams was arrested at Howard University after giving a public speech denouncing Reagan's pirate invasion. Demonstrators picketed the next day on the black campus in Washington, D.C. to protest this racist atrocity, and the Partisan Defense Committee fired off a telegram to U.S. attorney general William French Smith declaring:

> **"Seizing last legal ambassador of Grenada is juridical and human outrage. Unhand Dessima Williams. You stand condemned before the entire world. The American people have the right to hear her indict your rape of Grenada."**

From Republican Reagan to Democrat Mondale, the Yankee imperialists want to use the impoverished ghetto masses as cannon fodder for their anti-Soviet war drive. But the Pentagon's strategic planners worry that their heavily black army may not fight against revolutions from Cuba to Nicaragua and El Salvador. Indeed, when a single black Marine, Corporal Alfred Griffin, a two-year member of the Presidential Honor Guard, stood up and refused to fight for his slave masters in Lebanon and Grenada last October, the USMC threw the book at him—four months at hard labor and a bad conduct discharge. The Spartacist League hailed this courageous soldier who said, "I won't go!" (*WV* No. 355, 25 May).

Upon emerging from the stockade, Griffin gave a defiant speech at an October 27 New York protest against

WV Photo

Ex-corporal Alfred Griffin

the Grenada invasion:

> "I have spent four months in federal prison for my refusal to serve in Lebanon and Grenada. I was in prison because I said no. No, I will not go to Lebanon and fight against my Muslim brothers and sisters. No, I will not go to Grenada and fight against my brothers and sisters. I entered into the service looking for technical training and educational advances. I did well in the service and was labeled a model Marine. I never expected that one day I would be called upon for political reasons to go take the lives of my people. I came to realize that I and my comrades were and are only tools used to play a deadly game. I came to realize that our lives are of no value to my superiors. Today I stand before you a different type of soldier. I am a soldier for the people's struggle. I remain your brother in solidarity. Peace be with you."

Griffin expresses the outrage of millions of blacks at Reagan's racist rape of Grenada. It is the social power of black workers, united with their white *class* brothers and led by an authentic Bolshevik-Leninist party, which can bring down the slave masters, colonial bosses and anti-Communist Cold Warriors. Then the death knell of Yankee imperialism will be at hand.

Spartacist Campaign...

(continued from page 12)

evil" (he calls for example for a "quarantine" of Nicaragua and endorses Reagan's rape of black Grenada)—has driven the popular frontist "lefts" into an anti-communist, race-baiting frenzy.

For the reformist left, it's not a big step from supporting Jesse Jackson's hustle of black votes for Mondale (including his glad-handing of arch-segregationist George Wallace, his pronouncement from the floor of the Alabama statehouse that "the South will rise again!" and his racist protectionism) to openly apologizing for and adapting to the racism of the Democrats. Local black Democrat Julianne Malveaux, an ardent Jackson supporter running for Board of Supervisors and endorsed by the reformist Communist Party (CP), neatly captured this when she stated: "We must fight to make sure ...that Walter Mondale is elected to make sure we can at least struggle against the limited racism of the Democratic Party," at an October 9 rally at SF State University. From "lesser evilism" to "limited racism" is the logic of the pro-Democratic Party popular front, although there has never been any "limit" to the racism of the party of Jim Crow, Hiroshima and the genocidal war against the Vietnamese people.

As Richard Bradley explained at an SF State class taught by Reginald Majors, author of *A Panther Is a Black Cat*: "To the students today I would say: if you think there's an American dream awaiting you, forget about it. Look at the 'Rainbow Coalition'—there's supposed to be a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow? Well, there ain't shit there waiting for the working class and students of this country." For those with the unenviable task of prettifying the Democrats' crock of shit, the Spartacists' insistence on the political independence of the working class and oppressed from both capitalist parties is anathema. And in the San Francisco Bay Area, Bradley's heroic action in removing the Confederate flag has earned for us the simultaneous admiration of much of the population and the frenzied hostility of Feinstein's fake-left camp followers.

Thus, Malveaux sneered that it only showed Bradley had "strong thighs." President of TWU Local 250-A (Muni workers) baited Bradley to "find another flagpole to climb" while the Spartacists were campaigning among transit union members. But the Muni workers had quite different responses than their misleaders: this overwhelmingly black union has been on "Dixie Dianne's" hit list for ten years and her current nasty little witchhunt against the Muni drivers is part and parcel of the city's overall union-busting assault, from the local Greyhound bosses who enlisted city cops for head-busting during the Greyhound strike to the arrogant owners of posh restaurants and hotels (including Feinstein herself). Greeting Bradley warmly, one black driver spoke for many fellow workers when he said, "You're the guy that pulled the flag down! It was on the news. I'll give you a vote." Over 950 copies of *Workers Vanguard* have been sold in the last week of campaigning alone, 50 of them to Muni workers. A number of drivers also took stacks of campaign brochures to distribute to their passengers.

In league with the Democrats and labor skates is the small, eccentric black nationalist sect, the African People's Socialist Party (APSP). The APSP likes to posture "left," denouncing the Democrats and African neocolonial regimes; its practical work is devoted to developing such "dual and contending power institutions" as Black Star Vitamins ("Starch free, no preservatives or additives, the vitamin of the African Revolutionary") and petition campaigns against the Oakland cops. In language more appropriate to a white racist rag, their newspaper *Burning Spear* (July 1984) captioned a photo of Bradley tearing down the flag: "Flag pole climbing proves once again what great athletes Negroes are." In fact, *Burning Spear* proves how removed from and hostile to the reality of black struggle in this country it is. In race-baiting, patronizing fashion, it claims that Bradley's "integrationist leaders have forced him to dress up in a Union Army uniform, the military clothing of the military force of U.S. capitalism." (Abe Lincoln and Walter Mondale, equated in *Burning Spear*, are separated by the fact that Lincoln served the American bourgeoisie in its last progressive act—i.e., the Civil War which ended chattel slavery—while Mondales serves the retrograde imperialists in their death agony.)

Revolutionary opposition to imperialism: rally for Richard Bradley (seated) and Diana Coleman.

Similar to other black nationalists who take no side in the Second American Revolution, the Civil War, the APSP attacked the Spartacists for hoisting the Fort Sumter garrison flag rather than the nationalist red, black and green, charging that the Union flag is "the flag of the Democrats or bourgeoisie white people." At an October 23 meeting of the SF City College Black Student Union, comrade Bradley replied: "There's something you'd better learn about history: the Fort Sumter garrison flag was the flag that was hoisted up when the North defeated the Confederacy who wanted to continue slavery." Bradley concluded, "It's going to be the red flag that's going to represent workers internationally. Not the red, black and green flag."

Another black Spartacist supporter noted that the APSP's rejection of support to the North in the Civil War is a contemptuous dismissal of the hundreds of thousands of black Union troops who were decisive in the Northern victory. Frederick Douglass wrote in his impassioned appeal to blacks to join the Union ranks (April 1863):

> "One black Brigade will...be worth more than two white ones. Enlist, therefore, enlist without delay, enlist now, and forever put an end to the human barter and butchery which have stained the whole South with the warm blood of your people, and loaded its air with their groans."
>
> —*The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, Vol. 3

Marxists say that it will take a third American revolution—workers revolution—to complete the task of black emancipation left unfinished by the betrayal of radical Reconstruction after the Civil War. Black workers are strategic to that revolution and it is our deep-felt conviction that, as Bradley stated on October 26 at the Spartacist campaign forum: "The working class in this country needs black leadership to fight for that socialist revolution." The APSP, claiming the heritage of Marcus Garvey—the despicable advocate of abandoning the fight for black freedom in the U.S. and instead going "back to Africa," who had no trouble openly allying with the likes of the Ku Klux Klan on such a platform—accepts the racist status quo as irrevocable. To the black masses, they offer only a piece of the racist, segregated pie.

Racist reaction is the domestic reflection of Reagan and the Democrats' anti-Soviet war drive; if you toe the Democrats' line you are bound to betray both the fight for black liberation and the defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against U.S. imperialism. The pro-Moscow Communist Party's avowed strategy can be summed up by CP non-candidate candidate for vice president, Angela Davis, who stated: "Reagan can only be defeated by (Walter) Mondale and (Geraldine) Ferraro so that we have to build mass movements to pressure them" (*People's World*, 13 October). But, no less than Reagan/Bush, Mondale/Ferraro mean backing anti-Communist reaction from Central America to Poland. Indeed, Gus Hall—the CP's non-candidate candidate for president—took his party's shameless dives on Afghanistan, Poland and the KAL 007 U.S. Cold War provocation several steps further in a recent article in the *New York Times* (2 November):

> "[Hall] said he welcomed the Solidarity movement in Poland as a 'positive step,' and added, 'The other socialist countries should learn a lesson from it: they need more independent unions that reflect people's feelings'."

Perhaps the CPUSA is, in its adulation of Cold Warrior Mondale, suffering from more that a twinge of "Eurocommunism"? Counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność reflected the "feelings" of the CIA, Vatican, Western bankers and anti-Communist Polish reactionaries and was able to draw in significant sections of the Polish workers thanks to the corrupt mismanagement of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Its aim was the restoration of capitalism, i.e., the reinstitution of wage slavery and bloody counterrevolution as well as the establishment of a new NATO Eastern front. Too, as Spartacist candidate Diana Coleman pointed out at San Francisco State, in remarks directed to Sylvia Weinstein, Socialist Action's candidate for Supervisor:

> "I think it is revealing that Solidarność activists who have tired of trying to restore capitalism in Poland are now emigrating en masse to South Africa, the bastion of the 'free world.' So let me suggest to Sylvia Weinstein that she ask the anti-apartheid militants of South Africa who are fighting the repressive regime there what they think of Polish anti-Communists who go to South Africa to live off the superexploitation of blacks."

"Anti-totalitarian" (that is, pro-imperialist) social democrat Weinstein had no trouble defending the Polish émigrés, snapping back "don't give me any crap about what you think of the Polish members of Solidarność who are going to South Africa, or would probably go to any other country, to escape the prisons and the oppression of the Soviets and the Stalinist bureaucracy of Poland." As we noted previously, for Weinstein, credentials in "anti-Stalinism" apparently cancel out anything. And for Gus Hall?

As for the black revolt against apartheid, the reformists are lined up behind ballot Proposition J in San Francisco—an appeal to U.S. imperialism to "clean up" its South African junior partner through divestment. While the Spartacist campaign advocates mobilizing concrete labor action—including an international labor boycott against shipments to and from South Africa—the rad-libs find themselves in strange company around "Prop J." Under the protectionist slogan "Invest in the U.S.A. Not in Apartheid," the proposition (sponsored initially by Julianne Malveaux) has garnered the support of the district attorney who prosecuted Richard Bradley (unsuccessfully) for tearing down the Confederate flag, the Democrats and local Republicans who candidly proclaim in the voter information brochure that they support it as a means to "protect American interests and to halt the spread of Communist influence into South Africa."

This repulsive melange of apologists for the Democrats let it all "hang out" at a November 1 debate sponsored by the SF State University Women's Center. The event pitted Spartacist Diana Coleman, Julianne Malveaux and Sylvia Weinstein in a supposedly public political confrontation. However, the Women's Center feminists grew increasingly hysterical at the prospect of providing a forum for revolutionary communist views. First, they issued leaflets announcing that "The Women's Center Does Not Support the Spartacus Youth League" (and, we can assure them, the desire to be clear on this is mutual); at the onset of the debate, the established "rules" were quickly subverted as the microphone provided for floor discussion was unplugged and the audience informed that only "written questions" could be submitted. Campus security was called in to censor the literature available at the Spartacist and Socialist Action tables, leaving unmolested the literature of the rightist nut group of Lyndon LaRouche. Protesting these McCarthyite tactics from the debate podium, Diana Coleman additionally denounced the male exclusionist policy that refused a platform to Richard Bradley: "My conclusion from this is that the Dianne Feinsteins, Jeane Kirkpatricks and Margaret Thatchers of the world...are invited. But a man who fights for a revolutionary program, in particular the liberation of blacks and women, is not welcome."

Feminists, black nationalists, phony socialists and phony Communists: they're all crawling under the Mondale rock. That means race-baiting, anti-communism, anti-internationalism and accommodation to the deeply racist nature of this sick system. And it means anti-Spartacism; as Ritchie Bradley put it at an October 26 Spartacist campaign forum at the Ella Hill Hutch Community Center in the predominantly black Western Addition of San Francisco: "At bottom what they hate is that we defend the Soviet Union. Because you can't lead the working class to any victories if you don't defend what we've already won. And the Russian Revolution of October 1917 is the greatest victory the working class has won so far." ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area
Fri.: 5:00-8:00 p.m., Sat.: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone: (415) 835-1535

Chicago
Tues.: 5:00-9:00 p.m., Sat.:11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
161 W. Harrison St., 10th Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 663-0715

New York City
Tues.: 6:00-9:00 p.m., Sat.:12:00-4:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below
Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone: (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto
Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
299 Queen St. W., Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario Phone: (416) 593-4138

WORKERS VANGUARD

For International Labor Action Against Apartheid Terror!

Black General Strike in South Africa

NOVEMBER 5—Defying Pretoria's massive police-state terror, the black revolt against white rule in South Africa continues to spread. As columns of smoke rose above the townships around Johannesburg, black youths clashed with police today while hundreds of thousands of workers went on strike in the Transvaal. The Transvaal Regional Stay-Away Committee, a coalition of black trade unions, political organizations and student groups, called the two-day strike to press demands for a withdrawal of troops and police from the black townships, the release of all political prisoners and detainees, and the reinstatement of fired workers. At the same time, education officials reported that more than 250,000 high school students boycotted classes.

UPI

Black revolt flares in township of Sebokeng near Johannesburg.

Even among the unsavory right-wing despotisms of the "free world," white-ruled South Africa—that vast prison camp for 22 million blacks—is especially hated. Decent people throughout the world solidarize with the black struggle against apartheid. When the black revolt began a few months ago, we raised the demand: For International Labor Action Against Racist Terror!

There is widespread support for such action within the international labor movement. The *Daily Commercial News* (10 October) of Sydney, Australia reported: "Seamen in Western Europe and several countries outside it have begun a campaign to cut oil and arms shipments to South Africa, a spokesman for Britain's National Union of Seamen said." This decision, he said, was taken in support of the African National Congress, the main opposition to white rule. The Johannesburg *Sunday Express* worries that the seamen's campaign "threatens major disruptions to South Africa's vital oil trade."

In the U.S., Stan Gow, a local executive board member in the Bay Area International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, is calling for a boycott of *all* South African shipping. The union bureaucrats sabotaged this demand, approving instead a one-shot *token* action, but Gow and his supporters continue to fight for actions with real teeth.

Real solidarity with the heroic black struggle against apartheid terror lies in timely, powerful labor actions, not in liberal moralistic divestment schemes, consumer boycotts or campaigns for a permanent economic quarantine of South Africa. In particular, trade unions in North America and West Europe must use their muscle to force multinational outfits like GM, Ford and Volkswagen to recognize black unions and to abolish the color bar and all forms of apartheid in their South African operations. ■

Spartacist Campaign in S.F.— Fight for Workers Revolution!

SAN FRANCISCO, November 5—There is a choice—build a workers party! Spartacist candidates for SF Board of Supervisors Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman have campaigned among the workers, youth, black and Hispanic populations of the city offering a class-struggle program against both capitalist parties of war and racism. For those repelled by the "choice" of anti-Soviet nut Reagan and Cold War hawk Mondale, the Bradley/Coleman campaign has told the truth: you can't fight Reagan with Democrats and you can't bring down this racist capitalist system through the ballot box. What's needed is revolutionary class struggle and a multiracial workers party to lead it; a party that will stop at nothing short of workers state power, a party that staunchly defends the Soviet Union against the U.S.' war drive, that fights uncompromisingly for black liberation, *takes a side* for the victory of the Central American working-class and peasant masses against Yankee imperialism and its puppets, and can lead the labor movement in a "hardball" offensive against the bosses from San Francisco to Alabama.

Under the central slogan "Finish the Civil War! For Workers Revolution!" the Spartacist campaign has thrown a searchlight on the anti-Soviet, pro-Democratic Party politics of the whole "rainbow" of the fake-left, including their repetitive and vile capitulations to the racism so integral to bourgeois electoralism. Spartacist candidate Richard Bradley was applauded by every decent opponent of racist terror in the Bay Area when twice last April he scaled the 50-foot flagpole in San Francisco Civic Center and tore down the Confederate flag of slavery and the KKK. Bradley's courageous action against Democratic mayor Dianne Feinstein's official display of racism touched a chord of anger and pride in black and working-class neighborhoods while humiliating the Democratic city administration. That exposure of "Dixie Dianne"—and of Mondale as no "lesser

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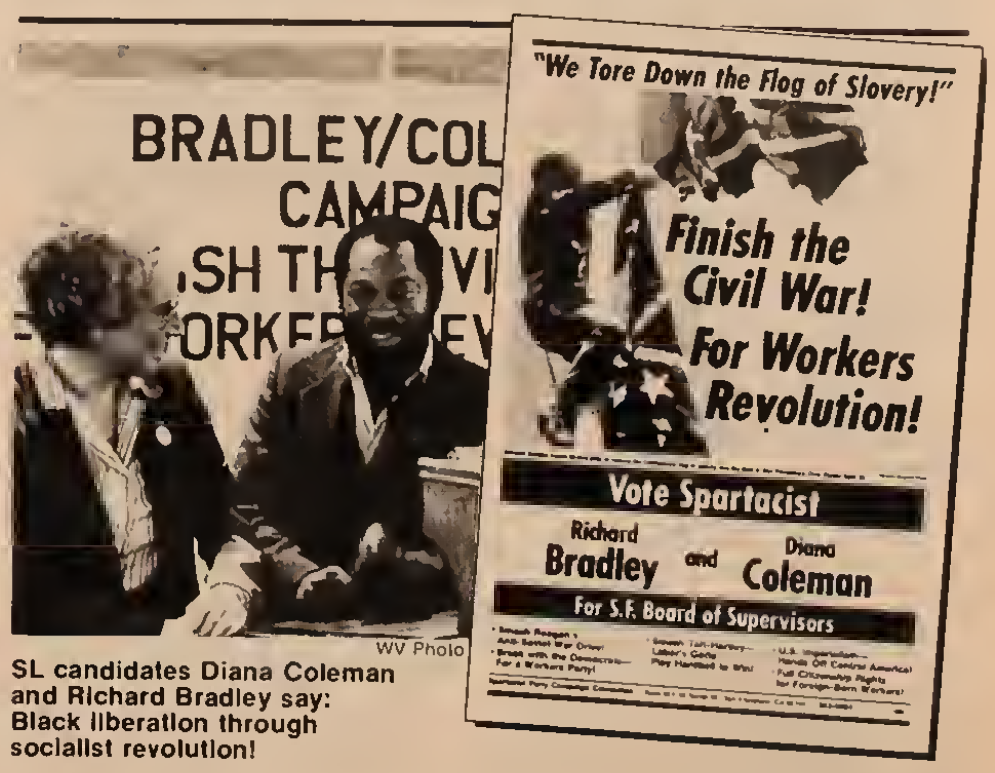

SL candidates Diana Coleman and Richard Bradley say: Black liberation through socialist revolution!

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 367

23 November 1984

Defend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

Nachtwey/Black Star

Yankee Guns Over Nicaragua

NOVEMBER 20—The riskiest time is going to be just after the U.S. elections, Fidel Castro reportedly wrote in a document circulated to top Cuban officials last July. That's when Reagan might be tempted into launching a full-scale invasion of Nicaragua, or even Cuba itself.

On the evening of November 6, just an hour after the TV networks declared Ronald Reagan re-elected, high White House officials were telling NBC's Marvin Kalb that the administration planned to follow a more "muscled" policy toward the Sandinistas. Also on election night U.S. intelligence officials "leaked" reports to the press of Soviet MIG-21 jet fighter aircraft supposedly on their way to Nicaragua. "If those planes are on the ship," CBS reported, "one U.S. option being considered is a surprise attack."

There followed a week of ominous U.S. threats, manufactured "revelations" and crass hypocrisy. Five times in four days the U.S. sent an SR-71 "Blackbird" swooping low over Managua at supersonic speeds in order to panic the Nicaraguan population. The Reagan administration did its best to sound like Teddy Roosevelt and the

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Black Freedom Demands Revolutionary Workers Party

Jesse Delivers, Blacks Shafted

Racial Polarization in '84 Elections

"Massive Black vote fails to stop Reagan—Leaders blame blitz on white backlash." This was the front-page headline of the *Amsterdam News* (10 November), and a lot of black people in this racist country have to feel shafted by the experience of the '84 elections. Mainly responding to Jesse Jackson's voter registration crusade, four million new black voters signed up, but all they got out of it for candidates were Walter Mondale, who endorsed Reagan's invasion of black Grenada, and Gerry Ferraro, who opposed busing for school integration. Despite all this, blacks came out to vote in record numbers—and 90 percent of black votes cast went to the Democrats. In fact, the only electoral votes Mondale took outside of his native Minnesota were from the 70 percent black city of Washington, D.C. (They're in trouble—forget about statehood now, maybe black Washington ought to consider annexation by the Soviet Union.)

continued on page 6

Downing/Newsweek

Jackson was a shill in Mondale's losing game.

"Go Underground with Xandra the Red Avenger!" Pages 7-10

Lanka Textile Strikers Fight On

Colombo, Sri Lanka
2nd November, 1984

The Editor,
"Workers Vanguard,"
New York, N.Y., U.S.A.

Dear Sir,

We were very pleased to read the news item appearing in the October issue with regard to the Magnum Garments' Workers' strike under the heading "Victory to Women Textile Strikers in Sri Lanka."

We are quite pleased for the publicity given to the strike and our Union members attached to the Factory have requested us to convey their warmest greetings and thanks to your paper. The Magnum Garment workers' struggle still continues with their stubborn employer to win the just demand of a salary increase.

In the meantime, the Minister of Labour of the Sri Lanka Government has referred the matter in dispute to be settled by compulsory arbitration under the Industrial Law of the country. As you have correctly stated, our Union's struggle is with the capitalist employers in the country with a view to improve the conditions of the workers of this country economically. We have been able to win a salary demand at two Garment Manufacturing Industries, which are export oriented firms, namely Maxim Ltd. and Helenluc Garments Ltd. The struggle continues in other Factories, too, for a wage increase, as the cost of living in the country is responsible for many hardships to the working class. As a result of the Ethnic problems in July, 1983, Factories such as Hidaramani Garments Ltd., TATA Garments and Berec Batteries (Ceylon) Ltd. were destroyed. Some of these Factories have come back to normal operations after a long lay-off, causing hardship to thousands of workers, while Berec Batteries (Ceylon) Ltd. was closed down for ever, throwing 150 employees out of employment. Our Union is still struggling with Berec Batteries (Ceylon) Ltd. which is an associate Company of the Maharajah Group of Companies, which is a multi-national Company.

We are, indeed, grateful to your paper for your appeal to the leaders of the Workers Organisations to send in their contributions re. the Magnum Garments struggle.... We hope you will give us more assistance to fight for the rights of the workers in this country against their Employers.

The Bank Employees in Ceylon have given an ultimatum and have threatened Trade Union action if the demands made by them are not met by the Bank Employers and the J.R. Jayewardene Government has now declared the Bank Services of the country as 'Essential Services.'

We hope to send you more details regarding the struggles of the working class with private sector employers.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,

S. Siriwardene, General Secretary
All Ceylon Commercial
& Industrial Workers' Union

WV urges our readers to send messages of support and contributions to the union at: 457, Union Place, Colombu 2, Sri Lanka. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Engels on Insurrection

Elucidating the lessons of the German Revolution of 1848-1849 regarding the "art of insurrection," lessons that are indispensable for the strategy of proletarian revolution, Frederick Engels wrote:

Now, insurrection is an art quite as much as war or any other, and subject to certain rules of proceeding, which, when neglected, will produce the ruin of the party neglecting them.... Firstly, never play with insurrection unless you are fully prepared to face the consequences of your play. Insurrection is a calculus with very indefinite magnitudes, the value of which may change every day; the forces opposed to you have all the advantage of organization, discipline and habitual authority; unless you bring strong odds against them, you are defeated and ruined. Secondly, the insurrectionary career once entered upon, act with the greatest determination, and on the offensive. The defensive is the death of every armed rising; it is lost before it measures itself with its enemies. Surprise your antagonists while their forces are scattering, prepare new successes, however small but daily; keep up the moral ascendant which the first successful rising has given to you; rally thus those vacillating elements to your side which always follow the strongest impulse, and which always look out for the safer side; force your enemies to a retreat before they can collect their strength against you; in the words of Danton, the greatest master of revolutionary policy yet known: *de l'audace, de l'audace, encore de l'audace!*

—Frederick Engels, "Insurrection," *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* (1852)

WORKERS VANGUARD
Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Honor to Miyagi Yotoku

15 November 1984

To the Editor,

In *Workers Vanguard* No. 362 (14 September) a letter from one Paul Rierson repeated the vile slander that the Trotskyists during World War II had gone along with the racist herding of Japanese Americans into Roosevelt's concentration camps. As *WV* replied, Rierson's smear was an attempt to cover up the tracks of the Stalinist Communist Party, which not only supported this savage act of "democratic" imperialism, but even expelled from their organization each and every member of Japanese ancestry—and their wives! *WV*'s response documented the Trotskyists' proud record of defending the Japanese Americans from persecution and described the ordeals Japanese American workers underwent in the class struggle of the '20s and '30s. Readers will be interested in the fate of one of these cadres: Miyagi Yotoku. Miyagi didn't wind up in the Arizona desert camps—his lot was harder. His brief life gives another measure of the comrades the Stalinists betrayed.

Miyagi Yotoku became politicized in his early teens, subject to oppressive Honshu Japanese imperial rule of his native Okinawa. It was after he came to California in 1919 and experienced the postwar peak of anti-immigrant racist terror that he became a Marxist. He later pointed to "the inconsistency of American capitalism, the tyranny of the governing classes, and above all the inhuman discrimination against the Asiatic races. I came to the conclusion that communism was the cure for all these ills" (Charles Willoughby, *Shanghai Conspiracy—The Sorge Spy Ring*). Active in Marxist study circles after 1926, Miyagi joined some CP front groups in 1929 and finally joined the party in the fall of '31.

His membership, however, was registered secretly and under an alias and he was kept out of public work. This was not merely because he wasn't a U.S. citizen (many other Japanese immigrant workers participated militantly under threat of deportation). Miyagi was approached for a special assignment: Tokyo. There he was to meet a newly placed agent of the Soviet Red Army's Fourth Department: Richard Sorge. From the time Miyagi arrived in Tokyo (October 1933) he became a central figure in what was to become one of the most successful spy operations in history. *WV* No. 166 (15 July 1977) tells how Sorge positioned himself in the German embassy in Tokyo. As an irreplaceable source of information on Japanese affairs, Sorge came to counsel German Ambassador to Japan, Ott, on his every move. In the process, he would gather the highest quality information from the Third Reich.

"Because of the difference in race," Sorge wrote, "it is extremely difficult for a foreign agent to operate in Japan, and well-qualified Japanese assistants are absolutely necessary. I must admit that I owe my immense success to Ozaki [Hotzumi] and Miyagi. Enlistment of qualified Japanese assistants is not an easy matter, but the Soviet Union enjoys an advantage because, through communism, it can recruit on an ideological basis, while other world powers must attract agents with promises of monetary reward, political advancement, etc." Ozaki Hotzumi provided first-hand connections to the Konoye cabinets (even the prince himself!) while Miyagi took care of military and plebeian sources.

With this apparatus, Sorge was able to provide precise political/military information. Above all the Sorge network supplied supremely detailed and accurate information about Hitler's impending invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941. But, as Miyagi testified, "The Soviet Union ignored our report and did not prepare anything." At tremendous cost to the Soviet peoples Stalin criminally preferred to trust his pact with Hitler—right up *through* the attack! As the Wehrmacht tore into Russia, Sorge's vindicated warnings were studied anew. Sorge's network

Ozaki Hotsuki

Miyagi Yotoku

provided crucial intelligence that Japan would not attack Siberia (contrary to its assurances to Germany), at least until the spring of 1942. This made possible the stepped-up transfer by the Kremlin of vital Far Eastern Army divisions to the battle of Moscow in the fall/winter of '41. Those were dire hours—in mid-October sections of the government were evacuated from the capital. Alexander Werth reports in *Russia at War* (1964) that "[General] Rokossovsky stop[ped] the rout by throwing in the last reserves, including scarcely-trained *opolchentsy* [workers battalions], and troops from Siberia as soon as they disembarked from the trains." The battle of Moscow halted Hitler's blitzkrieg advance. Soviet power was saved, for the moment.

By autumn 1941, the die had been cast for Japan's role in the war. Sorge was preparing to close down his group when the Japanese police finally broke the ring. Miyagi was the first leader to be arrested. Tortured, he threw himself headlong out a second story window of the police station. This suicide attempt to protect his comrades failed. But his frail health was now broken for good. The whole apparatus was arrested in October 1941. Still awaiting sentencing nearly two years later, in August 1943, Miyagi Yotoku died in prison, a Communist. The following year, Ozaki Hotzumi and Richard Sorge were hanged on the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. Sorge's last words, in Japanese, were "The Red Army! The International Communist Party! The Soviet Communist Party!" Earlier while rotting in prison year after year, Sorge and the others drew some satisfaction from the news of the Red Army's victory at Stalingrad. But their hopes for freedom through an exchange of prisoners were dashed—by Stalin! As then Japanese Vice-Minister of Defense Tominaga later revealed to Sorge's comrade Leopold Trepper: "Three times we proposed to the Soviet Embassy in Tokyo that Sorge be exchanged for a Japanese prisoner. Three times we got the same answer: 'The man called Richard Sorge is unknown to us'." The problem for the Kremlin was that Sorge had proof of Stalin's treacherous defeatism on the eve of war!

So at the very time the American

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Urgent Appeal for Striking British Miners' Families

The Partisan Defense Committee has issued the following call:

The PDC is launching a $25,000 fund drive among American trade unions to aid the families of the heroic British miners, on strike for nine hard months against Reagan's bloody sister Margaret Thatcher. From the Arizona copper miners to black Detroit auto workers, from the West Virginia coal fields to Chicago's transit barns, the U.S. working class has an enormous stake in seeing Thatcher routed through a miners' victory.

Through their reign of terror against the National Union of Mineworkers, the guardians of moth-eaten British capitalism hope to wipe out this bastion of the working class. When Reagan went all out to smash PATCO, hundreds of thousands of unionists knew it would take labor solidarity *in action* to beat the government. And international working-class solidarity can help defeat "Iron Lady" Thatcher's war on the miners.

With 8,000 miners arrested since the strike began, with union funds impounded by the capitalists' hired judges, and now miners' children killed scavenging for coal to heat their homes, the British miners have stood rock hard. They and their families must be defended! That's what union dues are for—a labor war chest! Thousands of dollars must come from union locals across this country. When it was announced that Soviet trade unions had sent over $1,000,000 in food and donations to the miners' Hardship Fund, Thatcher tried her usual "reds under the beds" scare. The miners applauded the Russians' act of solidarity. Thatcher "quarantined" a shipload of food donated by Russian workers, but just let her try and steal miners' money in a Soviet bank!

In the tradition of the early International Labor Defense, which defended and assisted strikers and class-war prisoners, and their families, the PDC—a class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League—appeals to *WV* readers to support this fund drive. We invite socialist and defense organizations in the U.S. to organize efforts parallel to our own on behalf of the British miners. Given the enormous political differences between us and other groups, an attempt at a united-front campaign would create more problems than benefits for the miners, but we stand ready to coordinate with others to achieve the largest mobilization of trade-union support for the miners' side of the class war in Britain. If the Socialist Workers Party and the Workers League can distract themselves long enough from Poland and Solidarność, if the staid old Communist Party is interested, if the Democratic Socialists of America have time on their hands since the Mondale campaign is over, we will make available our plans and access to union locals where we have friends.

The miners' strike has struck a deep chord in Britain, and has galvanized all those who have felt Thatcher's lash: Irish, blacks, Asians, women. The miners have staked everything on this strike. American unionists and minorities have a duty, and an opportunity, to strike a blow against reaction by coming to the aid of our class brothers and sisters. We appeal to unionists who want to mobilize their organizations in defense of the British miners to join us.

Make checks payable to: Aid to Striking British Miners' Families; mail to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013. Contributors will receive numbered receipts; financial records of this fund drive are open to inspection by any bona fide workers organization.

Break the Iron Lady!

British Miners Fight for All Oppressed

We print below remarks by comrade Eibhlin McDonald at a New York Spartacist League forum on South Africa, November 16.

I'm a member of the British section of the Spartacist tendency, and I'd like to take a few moments to describe to people particularly the British miners strike which has been going on now for about nine months. I believe. In fact, we had a demonstration recently in London organized by the Spartacist League on the question of South Africa, where a number of miners attended. And we raised the slogan, "African Gold Miners, British Coal Miners—Same Enemy, Same Fight, Workers of the World Unite!" [Applause.] And this slogan had a really powerful resonance—one which is very deeply felt in Britain, primarily as a result of the experience of these miners after nine months on strike. Because you have to understand, two miners have been killed on picket lines; several others have died on the way to picket lines; and most recently people have been killed trying to salvage coal from rubbish tips in order to heat their homes. If you imagine what it's like to have been without money for your family for nine months—no money for food, they have no heating, nothing like that.

However, they're pretty solid. They're not going back. Because they know that to go back means 20,000 jobs will be lost, and whole communities will be devastated. And, in fact, several thousand of them have been arrested, just simply for picketing. Thatcher has learned a few lessons from Botha's South Africa. They've recently adopted the tactic, instead of throwing people in prison—you obviously can't throw eight, nine, ten thousand miners in prison, because the prisons will overflow—so what they've started to do is to deport them within the country. People are sent off from English coal mines to the north of Scotland, and are not allowed to return home until after the strike.

So there was a certain identification with some of the stuff that was described recently in South Africa among the British miners. There is, of course, a scabbing operation, pretty well funded, we believe probably by the Vatican. Although if you listen to the news reports, then you could very easily be misled. Because as one miner told us recently in one of our meetings—according to the news reports there are now 3,500 scabs in his pit, which he finds very hard to believe, since only 500 people work there [laughter].

Now, there are two things that I want to draw out from the British miners strike. One is that such a hard-fought class battle against the Thatcher government has inspired whole sections of the population in support for the miners. It's particularly noticeable among the black and Asian community. Something that is very new in Britain—you have a situation where miners, when they come into the city of London from their areas in order to collect money, of course the cops hound them throughout London, and arrest them for trying to collect money and so forth. They go along to a pub in the black ghetto, and the cops come into the pub—"Where are these miners?"—they want to arrest them. But the word had gone out that the cops were arriving, so of course the local people had hidden them. You know: "What miners? There are no miners here." Now, this kind of thing never would have happened before, because capitalism fosters those kind of divisions, and given that the miners union is predominantly white, this solidarity is a direct result of the struggle against Thatcher.

Another aspect of it is that women, mainly miners' wives and families, who'd come from pretty isolated communities, have in fact become political and taken on a leadership role in the strike and have organized themselves into strike committees.

And the other thing that I want to draw out of it is on the Russian question. It comes up most concretely and revolves around the question of Polish Solidarność, in Britain, and it's very sharply felt. Because the background to this miners strike was in fact—the leader of the British miners, Arthur Scargill, happened to mention

Sturrock/Network

Class war in British coal fields. Pickets at Yorkshire coal mine battle cops to stop van carrying scabs.

before a trade-union conference a year ago that Solidarność was an anti-socialist organization. For this he was witchhunted and hounded by not only the capitalist class, the Tory party and so forth, but by a whole section of the trade-union leadership. And it has now become very clear, the people who were most outraged by Scargill's statement are today urging their union members to cross miners' picket lines quite openly. The leader of the Solidarność movement in Poland has sent a message of solidarity...to the scabs. And so Solidarność is hated and despised, not just among the British miners, but among whole sections of the population. Which is actually quite a good thing, because it doesn't bode well for Thatcher's war preparations against the Soviet Union.

They do the same kind of thing there. Talking about the "evil empire" in Russia. Except that in Britain a lot of the population now doesn't believe it, because they have seen miners go off to the Soviet Union and have very nice holidays on the Black Sea, you know, for their families and so forth. And they see this on television, and say, well, this is "totalitarian Russia"...it really doesn't look so bad looking at it from Britain [laughter].

Now, just in conclusion. One of the things that is patently obviously missing from the situation is a revolutionary party with a policy directed to the overthrow of capitalism. Because in order to cohere together the struggle, particularly in a situation where old frameworks are breaking down within the country, to cohere and direct that struggle requires a program for the overthrow of capitalism. And that's what the existing trade-union leadership and the Labour Party in Britain doesn't have. For example, twice in the course of the miners strike, the dockers were out on strike, and were sent back, having gained absolutely nothing. Because these leaders understand that in order to go all out and do what is necessary in order to win the strike, you must be prepared to at least play around with the question of power. And that's what they're not prepared to do.

That in a nutshell is the strategy and program that the Spartacist League has been fighting for there. Because simply in order to win this strike, it's necessary to spread it to other sections of the working class. We hope as the outcome of that kind of successful class battle that you will have the basis for building a revolutionary party. Because in Britain, in South Africa, in fact in the U.S., you can have very hard-fought class battles which may lose or in fact may be frittered away, if you're not prepared to go all the way and address the question of power, for the working class in power, like they did in Russia in 1917. ■

SAP Trips Over Defense of the USSR

Swiss USec Expels Trotskyists

This summer, four comrades of the Swiss Socialist Workers Party (SAP), section of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), were expelled, in an explicit political expulsion, for fighting inside the organization for positions paralleling the Trotskyist politics of the international Spartacist tendency. In the expulsion statement, the SAP Central Committee commission which investigated the case concluded:

> "The positions of the four comrades are in political agreement with those of the Spartacists who characterize the Fourth International as counterrevolutionary. This political orientation makes common work with the SAP impossible."
>
> —CC Commission motion for expulsion, 15 August

A public justification of the expulsion was published in the SAP newspaper, *Die Bresche* (3 September). We print below the open letter which the Swiss comrades produced protesting their expulsion.

The politics of the USec section in Switzerland reflect some of the more unappetizing qualities of that country, a complacent, racist little capitalist haven. It doesn't take much to be a "progressive" in a country that is socially so backward that even now women are denied the vote in several Swiss cantons and only a few weeks ago the first woman deputy managed to get into parliament. At the moment the Swiss government is in the process of returning to the bloody hands of the Sri Lankan government 1,700 Tamils who, fleeing the murderous pogroms in their country, found their way into Switzerland in the last year. And Switzerland is notorious for its vicious abuse of foreign workers who make up a larger proportion of the proletariat there than in any other country in Europe.

spartacist

West Berlin, 24 July 1981: German Trotskyists initiate protest demanding asylum for Tamil refugees.

When the comrades of the Trotskyist Faction began their fight in the SAP, centering on the Russian question and emphasizing the questions of special oppression, the leadership immediately branded them as Spartacist agents and finally resorted to bureaucratic expulsion, the first such expulsions in the 15-year history of the SAP. This was justified in a shamefaced public statement in their German and French language newspapers *Die Bresche* and *La Brèche* (which, however, omitted the mention of dreaded Spartacism).

> "These comrades demanded that the SAP support Jaruzelski's coup in Poland because the 10 million workers organized in Solidarnose are manipulated by the CIA, the Pope and the imperialist banks. They demanded that the SAP condemn the pacifist movement in East Germany because it would harm the defense of the socialist countries. They demanded that the SAP distance itself from the FSLN in Nicaragua and from the FMLN in El Salvador, under the pretext that both organizations are 'petty bourgeois' and would not uncompromisingly defend the interests of workers and peasants."
>
> —"Incompatible Political Positions," *Die Bresche*, 3 September

The CC drew the conclusion that these positions are in radical contradiction to the views of the SAP. Very true! Take for example the SAP's view of the imperialist anti-Soviet war threat:

> "In the middle run the U.S. general staff certainly strives to attain a qualitatively superior first strike force. But they leave no doubt that the possibility of the Soviet Union retaliating with nuclear weapons is great enough today that the American bourgeoisie—not being confronted with an extremely deep-going crisis—is far from considering such an adventurist military offensive in the coming years... In the *present period* the main target of the U.S.A. is the colonial revolution, especially the Central American revolution."
>
> —Reply to Comrades H., P., S., and B., SAP CC Commission

Pictorial Parade

Soldier of Fortune

Swiss army protects gnomes of Zurich. Swiss USec group pushes utopian pacifist demand to abolish bourgeois armed forces.

In this way the SAP attempts to simply erase the very issue of defense of the Soviet Union. But it is clear as day that the ultimate target of Reagan's threats against Nicaragua is the Soviet Union. In rejecting this truth, USec leader Ernest Mandel and his Swiss friends Duret and Bergmann are preparing the ground for explicit third-campist and outright state-capitalist positions to grow, as for example in the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire.

The Trotskyist Faction also fought around the centrality of the immigrant worker question in Switzerland. Against the complete indifference of the USec section to this key question, the comrades wrote:

> "Full citizenship rights for foreign workers! For a mobilization of the working class against the special oppression of foreign workers!
>
> "...We want to state here that the masses of foreign workers do not regard us [the SAP] as playing a leading role in fighting against their oppression. So it is no wonder that this decisive part of the proletariat is only sparsely represented in our ranks. A party which takes the fight for proletarian revolution seriously would in fact base itself first and foremost on this part of the working class."
>
> —Declaration of Faction

Meanwhile, positively exuding narrow Swiss neutralist-pacifist nationalism, the SAP has been deeply involved

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For a Trotskyist Party in Switzerland!

We print below the open letter issued 20 September 1984 by the expelled Trotskyist Faction of the SAP.

The CC [Central Committee] of the SAP [Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei—Socialist Workers Party] has felt obliged to publish a public statement on the expulsion of four comrades (*Bresche*, No. 252). The CC claims that we hold incompatible political positions. The question is: incompatible with what! Certainly not with the Trotskyist program.

In the face of Reagan's massive war preparations against the Soviet Union we do not shrink from our position: For unconditional defense of the Soviet Union. As Trotsky taught us in *In Defense of Marxism*:

> "What does 'unconditional' defense of the USSR mean? It means that we do not lay any conditions upon the bureaucracy. It means that independently of the motive and causes of the war we defend the social basis of the USSR, if it is menaced by danger on the part of imperialism."

Instead the SAP calls for disarmament West and East and spreads pacifist illusions (as do preachers and social democrats). In its statement it even demands the withdrawal of Warsaw Pact troops from East Germany, which means nothing other than serving up a deformed workers state for dinner to the capitalists!

Trotskyists say: For defense of the workers states against imperialism! Only the armed workers will disarm the bourgeoisie! Victory to the Red Army in Afghanistan! (Declaration of Faction, p. 3).

In Poland as well, the SAP has abandoned the Trotskyist program of defense of the gains of October and of the proletarian political revolution led by a Trotskyist vanguard party: a sellout to Solidarność which is considered an anti-bureaucratic movement by the SAP (even Reagan is opposed to the bureaucracy....) There is no doubt that Solidarność has a program for capitalist restoration in Poland: decentralized self-management to restore market capitalism; trade unions, independent of the bureaucracy..., but not independent of the AFL-CIO (better known as AFL-CIA on the South American left); establishment of the Catholic church as the state church and so on.

We support the preventive coup by the Polish government, which halted Solidarność' counterrevolutionary grip on 13 December 1981. That is why the SAP tried to brand us as fans of Jaruzelski. Trotskyists can only be thankful that the bureaucracy, which constantly endangers the gains of October, has, at least for the time being, prevented without a bloodbath certain capitalist restoration.

This does not mean that we give political support to the bureaucracy. On the contrary: we sharply criticize it, because it economically undermines the country, favors the church and small peasants against the workers and thus is to blame for the workers being driven into the arms of Walesa, Wojtyla and Reagan.

Therefore, in Poland it is necessary to build a Trotskyist party. We need the Trotskyist program to cut the ground from under the feet of counterrevolution once and for all. We need a return to the authentic communism of Lenin and Luxemburg! Down with clericalism! For the strict separation of church and state! For collectivization of the land! For trade unions independent of bureaucratic control and based on defense of socialized property! Cancel the imperialist debt! For international socialist economic planning! For soviet democracy, not bourgeois parliamentarism! For proletarian political revolution! Defend the USSR against imperialism! For revolutionary unity of Polish and Soviet workers!

Defense of the Soviet Union is also on the agenda in Central America. Masked behind the attacks against the revolutionary process in Nicaragua and El Salvador are Reagan's rollback plans: Nicaragua, Cuba, Warsaw, Leningrad and Moscow are supposed to fall. The international Spartacist tendency (iSt) is the only organization which stands for military victory of the left-wing insurgents in El Salvador! The SAP supports the FSLN and FMLN in such an uncritical manner that it is opposed to building its own organizations in Central America. The SAP stands with those who look for a political solution. This means nothing other than bargaining over the price of the revolutionary fighters' blood! We are not simply spectators, as the CC of the SAP wants to pretend. We took a clear position in our document of May 20: "Support of the Sandinistas' struggle and of the Salvadoran guerrilla fighters against U.S. imperialism and its local butchers

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Defend, Complete, Extend the Revolution!

Nicaraguan Elections and Yankee Blackmail

Over the last century more than 200,000 Nicaraguans have died fighting to liberate their homeland. American forces have intervened militarily in this Central American country *14 times* in the same period. For 70 years, from 1909 to 1979, Nicaragua was almost continuously under occupation by the Marines or ruled by U.S.-installed puppets. And throughout this time they staged "elections." Back in the 1920s they made no bones about it: the electoral laws were drawn up by Washington, which also picked the candidates and the winner. While running Nicaragua as a private hunting preserve, the Somoza dictatorship understood that to please their "democratic" imperialist masters they had to periodically stage a fraudulent vote. Since the bloody dynasty was overthrown by a popular revolt five years ago, Ronald Reagan has repeatedly denounced the "unelected" Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) regime in Managua. But when the FSLN decided to beat the Yankee imperialists at their own game, the U.S. did everything it could to sabotage "the first free elections in Nicaraguan history."

A "Soviet-style sham election," says Reagan. Washington wants to discredit the Nicaraguan elections in order to pave the way for American intervention against "Sandino-Communism." And the conservative Nicaraguan opposition, liberal media in the United States and European social democrats chimed

AP

Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega campaigning for president.

in, clamoring to postpone the vote until 1985. More than three quarters of Nicaragua's registered voters went to the polls, compared to barely half the electorate in the U.S., yet the State Department declared it "just a piece of theater for the Sandinistas"! Just about every different kind of party you can imagine participated, including three openly pro-capitalist parties. But the Americans dismiss it as "unrepresentative" because Uncle Sam's candidate—José Arturo Cruz, a banker who has lived for 30 years in Washington and speaks better English than Spanish—boycotted the vote on instructions from the CIA!

WV Photo

May Day in Nicaragua, 1984: Demonstrators declare "Every worker, a defender of the homeland."

When Nicaraguans went to the polls November 4, it was in the middle of a war against a "made in USA" mercenary army of former Somoza Guardsmen. In the first three weeks of October there were 92 battles between the army and counterrevolutionary invaders, leaving 250 "contras" and 80 soldiers dead. And the day after the vote Nicaraguan postal minister Enrique Schmidt Cuadra was killed commanding a special detachment fighting the contras. The Somozaist cutthroats Reagan calls "freedom fighters" explicitly targeted the elections as they carried out the instructions of the CIA murder manual for "selective use of violence" against the population. And to sow panic in the population, an American SR-71 "Blackbird" spy plane caused sonic booms in Nicaragua's cities.

The liberal media joined the Reagan administration in denouncing the Nicaraguan vote. "Only the naïve believe that Sunday's election in Nicaragua was democratic or legitimizing proof of the Sandinistas' popularity," editorialized the *New York Times* (7 November). The vote results belie this. Two thirds (67 percent) of the valid votes were for candidates of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, out of a field of seven parties. The Conservative Democratic Party (PCD) came in second with 14 percent, the Independent Liberals (PLI) third with 10 percent, the Popular Social Christians (PPSC) got 6 percent and three small leftist parties won slightly over 1 percent each. In addition, about 7 percent of the ballots were blank or write-in votes for the Coordinadora Democrática, the contra-endorsed, CIA-backed coalition which boycotted the election.

From the moment they were announced last February, the Nicaraguan elections have been subordinated to the confrontation between the radical-nationalist Sandinistas and Reagan's America. Initially they were aimed at gaining "legitimacy" in the eyes of the Democratic-controlled U.S. Congress and in Europe. As pressure from Washington mounted to put off the vote, the fact that it was held at all became an act of defiance against Yankee imperialism. But in the end this brought no "breathing space" for the Nicaraguan revolution. Instead the elections provided a forum for the internal counterrevolution and created a bourgeois parliamentary institution that will be an obstacle to further revolutionary advances. If this were not enough, on the eve of the voting the FSLN hosted a "national dialogue" including the CIA-backed Coordinadora boycotters. And immediately afterwards the U.S. launched a war crisis over mythical MIGs to Managua.

At the Sandinistas' closing rally, junta coordinator (now president) Daniel Ortega cried out to the enthusiastic crowd estimated at 300,000: "We must be ready to fight in the streets of Managua against the Americans, with guns, with rocks, with machetes." The crowd responded with the battle cry of the Spanish Civil War: *"¡No pasarán!"* They shall not pass! But in Spain the Francoists did get through, because the Stalinists blocked the proletarian revolution at every step, politically tying the workers to the bourgeois republic. The Sandinista vote and the clear evidence of popular support for the revolution won't stop the contra terrorists. What's needed is mobilization of the workers and peasants to defend Nicaragua the only way possible—completing and extending the revolution.

From Revolution to Election

The Nicaraguan revolution was sparked by the Sandinistas, but the armed struggle which finally overthrew "Somozalandia" went far beyond the few thousand guerrillas. The Spanish Republic had its Guernica—Nicaragua had four: the towns of León, Esteli, Masaya and Chinandega, which were destroyed under savage attacks by National Guard tanks and air force bombs. Victory was achieved when the workers and poor rose up in Managua, holding off the Guard for three weeks, carrying out a mass retreat of thousands and then returning to take over Somoza's infamous Bunker 24 hours before Sandinista troops rode into the capital. Referring to a poem by FSLN founder Carlos Fonseca Amador, billboards proclaimed, "dawn has ceased to be a temptation"—the new day has begun.

What took place in Nicaragua in July 1979 was a giant political revolution which overthrew a one-family regime, and thus had important social consequences from the start. The capitalist state was smashed as Somoza's praetorian guard hightailed it across the border to escape the wrath of their victims. In its place a petty-bourgeois government took power, committed neither to capitalist nor proletarian property forms. The former "opposition" bourgeoisie initially went along with the victorious Sandinistas. They were all pledged to the policy of "mixed economy, political pluralism and nonalignment." But as the FSLN resisted imperialist pressure to strangle the revolution, its capitalist allies gradually left.

Alfonso Robelo, originally a member of the "government junta of national reconstruction" together with the FSLN, is now a contra leader. Arturo Cruz, another former junta member, became the CIA's "non-candidate." The PLI's Virgilio Godoy, who acted as a spoiler in the campaign, was labor minister until February of this year. None of these were prominent leaders before the FSLN made them into symbols of the "patriotic" bourgeoisie. The Sandinistas *created* this bourgeois opposition, in order to bolster their attempts at a "third way" between socialist revolution and bloody counterrevolution.

The American press claims the vote is "unrepresentative" and "a farce" because of the absence of "major opposition candidates," but Nicaraguans had

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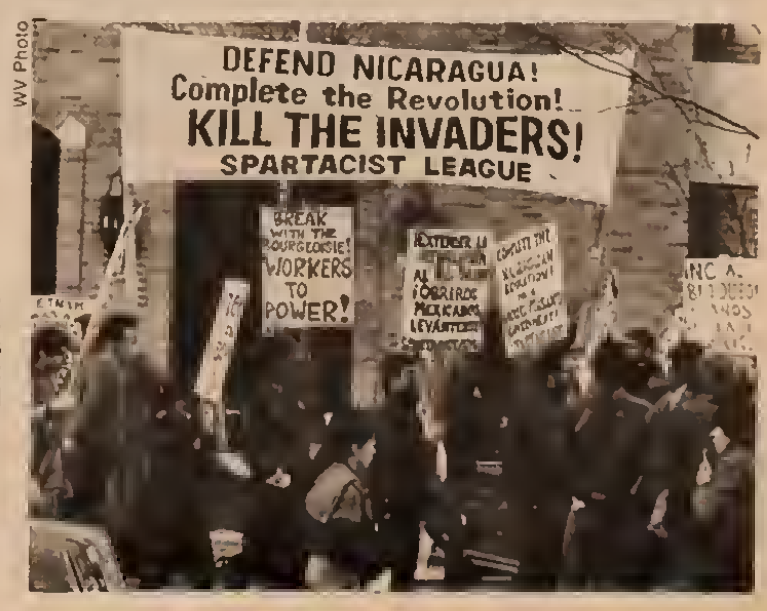

WV Photo

New York City, March 1983: Spartacists march against CIA-directed contra invasion of Nicaragua.

Black Freedom...

(continued from page 1)

The vote dramatically showed the deep racial polarization in this country. It was Jesse Jackson, above all, who delivered the massive black vote for Mondale. But the result was a white racist backlash that more than canceled out the black vote, particularly in the South. The split was so stark that in Mississippi and Alabama, 90 percent of the black vote went to the Democrats and 80 to 85 percent of the white vote went Republican. In this mean, racist society, a black bloc vote guarantees that for each black voter another 13 whites will vote. Eighty-year-old quadriplegic white ladies will make it to the polls after getting the word there is a black bloc vote.

Richard Pryor, the black entertainer and astute social commentator, understands what this country is about. "What were Japanese people thinking in 1941?" he asks in his movie *Richard Pryor—Here and Now*. "They sat around and said, 'We bombed Pearl Harbor! They'll never fuck with us again'.... Cause they'd been to the University of California and shit, and saw white people were laid back. They hadn't been to the University of Alabama and Mississippi. I mean—I'm not lying—they got white folks down there they keep on a leash in the basement: 'Maybe in Central America we'll let you go, but not yet. Sit'." Prewar Japanese students at UC Berkeley wouldn't easily grasp the all-American racist mentality that gloried in the firebombing of Tokyo.

This was a damn peculiar election. As a rule, different social groups vote for the party which claims to represent their interests. In Germany in 1932, the last elections before the Nazi takeover, reformist-minded workers voted for the Social Democrats, radical workers for the Communists, Catholics for the Catholic Center Party, and the large, floating vote of desperate petty bourgeois went to the fascists. In contrast, this election was marked by massive false consciousness. White trade unionists voted for an outright union-buster, white women for a president opposed to the ERA and the right to abortion, white youth were "standing tall" for an administration which may soon be bringing them home from Central America laid out flat in aluminum caskets. The only white folks who seem to have voted against Reagan as a group are the former PATCO air controllers, and also the usual breed of "lesser evil" leftists.

It looks like blacks are the only major section of the population not caught up in the wave of macho chauvinism (aside from the Hispanics who had to dodge *la migra* on the way into this country, and can't vote). Black people thought a vote for Mondale would help fight Reagan reaction. They were wrong—but at least they voted in their *perceived* social interest. As for the economic upturn which helped win white workers for Reagan, it didn't help ghetto blacks, who are as ever the last hired and first fired. In a *New York Times*/CBS poll on the eve of the elections, 55 percent of blacks said they were worse off economically than four years ago. They know that the "new patriotism" is just the same old racist shit painted over in red, white and blue.

Black people have never shared the Cold War anti-communist and anti-Soviet sentiment. Blacks are incensed at the sheer hypocrisy of Reagan's "free world" crusade against Communism: Take, for example, a recent letter to the *New York Post* (9 November) about the police killing of a poor black woman who was being evicted from her apartment in the Bronx.

> "I wonder if anyone in a Communist country would ever be evicted from an apartment the way Eleanor Bumpurs was.
>
> "I suspect that if a Solidarity member in Poland was ever gunned down by police for no more than she was, there would be protests in our streets, and the U.S. President would be denouncing the Polish government for such a barbarous act."

For the capitalist order in Reagan's America, blacks are the *weak link*. Black people know that their main enemy is at home. Given half a chance, from the abolitionists and the Civil War to the rise of industrial unionism and the civil rights movement, black people have fought for their rights, and their struggle has been a motor force for social progress. That struggle, linked to the power of labor through multiracial *revolutionary* leadership, will be a motor force for shattering this racist capitalist system once and for all.

When Reagan's supporters in white sheets announced they were going to bring their racist terror to the streets of Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982, the Spartacist League's call for a mass labor/black mobilization to stop them evoked a powerful and determined response from black unionists and youth throughout the region. Of course the black Democrats from Congressional Black Caucus leader Walter Fauntroy to ex-SNCC leader and D.C. mayor Marion Barry did everything in their power to ensure the Klan would march with impunity. Instead, the SL-initiated mobilization, mainly black and more than 5,000 strong, drove the Klan out of town and gave a taste of black workers' *real social power* as it triumphantly marched the planned route of the firebombers and cross burners.

As the Democratic Party National Convention in San Francisco approached, Spartacist supporter Richard Bradley twice took down the Confederate flag from that town's Civic Center. SF's Democratic mayor Dianne Feinstein arrogantly replaced that banner of chattel slavery and KKK terror, and like a Confederate officer she tore down the Union flag Bradley had put up. But wide support for Bradley's anti-racist actions forced "Dixie Dianne" to back down and when Bradley and Diana Coleman ran on a revolutionary program for SF Board of Supervisors, the best fighters for that campaign were militant supporters of the Labor Black League for Social Defense.

WV Photo

In SL-organized Labor/Black Mobilization, 5,000 largely black workers and youth stopped the KKK from marching through the nation's capital, 27 November 1982.

"Where Is Our Party?"

Jackson's now complaining that blacks were the only part of the traditional Democratic Party constituency that remained loyal in this election. Anyone who thought that this massive (and lonely) display of loyalty would increase black influence in the Democratic Party is dead wrong. In fact, it is having just the *opposite* effect. Democratic Party leaders have concluded that they must go after the open racist vote to win back some of the constituencies they lost. That is the meaning of Democratic National Committee chairman Charles Manatt's statement that the presidential ticket must be "regionally balanced"—that is, from now on run a Dixiecrat racist. Likewise with Gary Hart's statement that the Democrats must put all this New Deal labor/minority coalition stuff behind them and appeal to the Yuppies (young urban professionals). Significantly, a quarter of the people who supported Hart in Democratic primaries ended up voting for Reagan. All the new code words for racism abound: ending the identification with "special interests," getting rid of the "image of the party of the needy." When Manatt says the Mondale/Ferraro campaign was "not getting across a message of economic opportunity," this is just doublespeak for attacks on social welfare programs.

So here you have this massive display of loyalty, with blacks the only sector of society which remained true to New Deal liberalism...and the result is that the Democratic Party tries to distance itself even further from anything which smacks of the black gains of the 1960s. The Democrats figure they've got blacks trapped, that they have nowhere else to go. And in *bourgeois* electoral terms, they're right. Blacks were cynically used as voting cattle by the Democrats, and will continue to be, until there is a break from the two-capitalist-party stranglehold, until a revolutionary workers party leads a fight to bring down this whole racist system!

Jesse Jackson sought to channel the potentially explosive black hostility to Reagan into Democratic Party electoralism. Thus he campaigned *against* the black militancy and mass action of the 1950s and 1960s. He spelled this out repeatedly, such as in his speech at a black community college in lower Manhattan a year ago:

> "You cannot serve the age of those who sat in, you cannot serve the age of those who rode the flaming buses, you cannot serve the age of those who fought the Vietnam War....
>
> "We need not explode through riots as we had to in '63 to be heard.... We can use the ballot to bring about change and transition through elections and not bloody revolution."

The only time the black masses got anything at all was when they shook up this country, like the mass struggles of the late '50s and '60s. It was the civil rights movement which exploded the Cold War/McCarthyite reaction of the 1950s and opened up a whole new political period in this country. The Montgomery bus boycott, the lunch counter sit-ins, the freedom rides, the early SNCC community projects, their defiance of redbaiting and the whole gauntlet of right-wing slander and intimidation sent the HUAC witch-hunters/Dixiecrat racists scrambling as the movement took on mass support.

This had its effect in terms of foreign policy as well—the young SNCC activists who visited Cuba helped to break down the anti-Communist hysteria in this country. Blacks who were up against the capitalist state—from the fire hoses and attack dogs of Bull Connor's Birmingham to the billy clubs and tear gas of Boss Daley's Chicago—played an important role in the growing opposition to the Vietnam War. As Muhammad Ali put it, "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger."

In the South the black activists were able to win voting rights and access to public facilities (rights which had existed north of the Mason-Dixon line for years). But "the Movement" ground to a halt in the North, unable to change the hellish conditions of ghetto life—the mean streets, rat-infested housing, the last-hired/first-fired endemic unemployment, the whole cycle of black poverty, drugs, crime and desperation. Just as he is doing today, Jesse Jackson along with M.L. King and the rest of the SCLC liberal preachers channeled black anger and black activism into the party of the Dixiecrats and Vietnam War. Instead, what was needed was to link the demands for black rights to the organized power of labor.

It has to take *class* struggle, the integrated power of white and black workers, to do away with the racist oppression rooted in the very fabric of the American capitalist system. And here lies the strength of blacks—not diluted, 1 in 12 at the ballot box, but as workers, concentrated in the key strategic sections of the economy—steel, auto, transport, longshore, etc. Blacks, the most advanced sector of the proletariat, concentrated at the point of production, have in their hands the power to shut this country down!

The civil rights movement tried to confront the unfinished business of the Civil War. Black chattel slaves had been emancipated only to be stripped of political rights and economically subjugated. It will take a third American revolution—a workers revolution—for black emancipation, to smash the racism inextricably woven into every aspect of the American capitalist system, to uproot the racist rulers as a class and to expropriate the country's wealth on behalf of the working class and poor. The key to socialist revolution in this country is united struggle of black and white workers led by a multiracial vanguard party. The road of the class struggle, the fusing of the fight for black liberation and proletarian revolution—that is the program of the Spartacist League, a revolutionary Trotskyist organization dedicated to the construction of the multiracial vanguard of the working class. Join us! ■

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Young Spartacus

Underground Spartacus

Lady Dobermans Bare Teeth for Red, White and Blue "Rainbow Coalition"

"Go Underground with Xandra the Red Avenger!"

SAN FRANCISCO, November 20—Young communists are being hunted down, chased, beaten and arrested for distributing Marxist literature. No, this is not Chile or South Africa, but the supposedly liberal "marketplace of ideas," San Francisco State University where the Spartacus Youth League has been driven underground and its literature banned.

The gang which is seeking to deny us all known democratic rights does not appear in the guise of Hitlerite totalitarians. Instead they partake of the "beansprout totalitarianism" of the "me"-generation on today's campuses, where it has become a crime to read pornography or try to buy a pack of cigarettes in a restaurant; where unescorted men are to be jailed as rapists if they're found on the streets after 10 p.m.; where anti-tank barriers are erected to protect children from cars. It's a nasty, cloying, ultra-parochial milieu where anything you don't like, like maybe seeing a piece of Marxist literature, becomes a form of "assault" called "you're invading my space." In willful mockery of this beansprout totalitarianism, the SYL will give them undergroundism beansprout style. The SYL at SF State becomes the Red Avengers of the Underground SYL, adopting the appropriate tactics like communiqués and guerrilla theater.

The communiqués received from the Red Avengers hold up for scorn the strutting little junior-grade book-burners who are replicating in the confines of their campus sandbox the panoply of sinister forces whose intent is to set up and destroy revolutionary Marxists with lies and cops. The whole thing has the stench of the FBI's COINTELPRO, the state's preferred undercover method of wiping out any perceived political opponents of the government, part of ideological regimentation of the population for war.

"Mellow" San Francisco has most recently been the scene of cop terror, from bashing the heads of demonstrators at last summer's Democratic Party National Convention to the cop rampage at a recent protest against "Defense" Secretary Caspar Weinberger. And the vicious Democratic Party mayor "Jefferson Davis" Feinstein must still burn with hatred every time she crosses Civic Center plaza and sees where her Confederate flag *used* to fly before the Spartacists removed and destroyed this offensive banner of

Young Spartacus

Introducing the Red Avengers. Venceremos!

slavery and KKK terror.

Exposed and wounded animals are dangerous and it appears these Democratic Party beasts have lashed back with a vengeance at SF State, an institution which enacts student conduct codes that prescribe who can and can't exist as if it were a feudal fiefdom that escaped the bourgeois-democratic revolution. How fitting that the attack dogs for this red-hunt are first and foremost the lady dobermans in the SF State Women's Center (WC), followed by the whole panoply of pro-Democratic Party aspirants and camp followers in the red-white-and-blue Rainbow Coalition, and the Associated Students (AS)—a nest of student carecrist parasites eager to impress the powers that be. (A measure of the caliber of this "Women's Center," by the way, is that it has been accused of conducting "an unofficial boycott of homosexuals" [*Phoenix*, 18 October]—and this in San Francisco!) One week after Reagan's electoral landslide, these popular-frontists, in frenzy and despair over their loser Mondale, began competing with Pinochet for book burning and rounding up the reds.

On October 9 the SF State Student Activities Office castigated the SYL for daring to organize a rally off campus against the South African apartheid butchers without first getting Big Brother's permission. But liberal totalitarianism really reared its ugly head in earnest at a November 1 debate sponsored by the WC, featuring SF Board of Supervisors candidates Diana Coleman of the Spartacist League, Sylvia Weinstein of Socialist Action and Julianne Malveaux, a former member of the Carter administration now representing Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition. WC director Judy Moore (aka "Baby HUAC") decided that a table displaying Spartacist literature invaded her inner space and called the cops and the administration in to whisk away socialist literature (of course leaving intact the literature display of the right-wing Lyndon LaRouche nut group). Student Activities Coordinator Russ Natson arrived on the scene and barked: "Student Activities considers this [Marxist literature] a counterdemonstration." The next day, Natson fired off a "Letter of Concern" to the SYL complaining of "two incidents involving literature distribution, when members of SYL were again the focal point of dissension" and stating that "this form of negative behavior is inappropriate for the safety and well being of students at SFSU."

Do Natson and Moore really have psychotic delusions of Marxist Bulletins, newspapers and pamphlets leaping off literature tables to "counterdemonstrate" and assault them? Probably not—but for the capitalist ruling class, which wants its wage-slaves and future wage-slaves docile, Marxist ideas being offered for scrutiny by youth and working people are dangerous (remember, it was once a capital crime to teach slaves to read) and the strutting would-be J. Edgar Hoovers and mini-Feinsteins at SF State are ever eager to do the bidding of their masters, the capitalist rulers. Anyone with a shred of decency should understand what's really going on. SFSU professor Sam Wellbaum, the SYL's faculty adviser, said flatly: "I don't believe they (SYL) are violent. They are loud and offensive, but that's their privilege" (*Golden Gater*, 20 November).

Meanwhile, the SYL is undergoing very real repression at the hands of the book-burners and their pals in blue. Thus far, supporters of the SYL have been subjected to six arrests; eight people were served with 72-hour bans from campus (including one person banned twice), four with 14-day bans; one student was warned his student status might be withdrawn if he was seen distributing SYL literature ever again.

A section of the bourgeoisie aims to criminalize political dissent as "terrorism," combining the ideological criteria of McCarthyite witchhunting with the direct-hit methods the FBI used to set up and destroy the Black Panthers. To them we are "terrorist" criminals guilty of "crimes" like: exposing the CIA's company unions like Polish Solidarność, leading masses of black unionists and youth in stopping the Klan, tearing down the Confederate flag of slavery, opposing war criminals on campus and recruiters for the murderous govern-

continued on page 8

Red Avengers...

(continued from page 7)

ment spy agencies, seeking to win youth to opposing imperialist war and recruiting them to socialism.

The anti-Soviet popular-front leftists take their cue from their bourgeois masters. To these frenzied, seared, demoralized pro-Mondale "leftists" we are "disrupters" whose crimes include: seeking to intervene like other members of the public in public meetings, carrying our own anti-Democratic Party revolutionary slogans in demonstrations, criticizing other organizations and recruiting youth to revolutionary Marxism. Both bourgeois and reformist components agree to bolster their interseeting respeetive cases with lying allegations of Spart "violence" to set us up for repression.

A vicious resolution passed November 15 by the Associated Students —yet another toothless body totally subservient to the administration, and whieh was dissolved during the '68-'69 strike—is a tissue of slimy lying allegations of SYL violence including the baseless claims that the SYL "belligcrently and violently disrupt[s] the meetings and funetions of other campus organizations" and "targets, harasses, and physically assaults members of the campus community."

This star-chamber Inquisition hearing included depositions submitted by Malveaux and various other dubious elements of the Democratic Party's "left" swamp. Malveaux reportedly claimed she had been assaulted by SYL supporters at a class October 23. One can't exaetly take this lie seriously since the prevalent definition of violence hy these birds centers on "assaults" on their "space" by Marxist literature. Indeed, Malveaux's whining about SYLers indeeently approaching her with a microphone and tape recorder is nothing but poor-little-old-me cloying hypoerisy—the woman is a public figure trying to become more so: indeed, she was a candidate for publie office at the time. But in any casc, Malveaux never publicly raised any allegation of "violence" prior to the AS meeting nearly a month after the incident; why didn't she call the eops at the time, nor make the eharge when she debated a Spartacist supporter at the Women's Center debate.

Another partieipant in the AS meeting reportedly tried to smear the SYL

WV Photo

April 1984—Richard Bradley, a leader of the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense, twice scaled 50-foot flagpole in San Francisco Civic Center to rip down the Confederate flag of slavery. Bradley's action earned him the vindictive wrath of SF's Democratic Party mayor, "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein.

"We Stopped the Klan!" WV supplement celebrates Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan in Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982. Reagan and the cops said KKK would march, but Spartacist-led demo stopped them. Now at SF State a repulsive "Spart-busters" wall poster mocks this victory, parodying it as "We Shopped for Spam!"

with the criminal allegation of arson, that the SYL had set a fire in the student union. The slanderers have been unable to make this one stiek at all. The firehug was in fact a right-wing woman who stood up on a chair and yelled, "God Bless America," ignited the Red Avengers' communiqué and dropped it to the floor. When a cop appeared asking "Who started the fire?" the woman confessed and the dismayed cop walked away.

It must have been a furious night of brainstorming—all but one of the depositions are dated the same day. That's the most political activity we've seen from these creeps since registering people to vote for Mondale. As for allegations of "violence," we wonder whether these stupid people ever looked at bodies—shot, knifed, burned, ripped—*that* is violence. Maybe "Baby HUAC" and her sisters get social and sexual excitement out of the seepages of a ruined human body, i.e., violence. We don't.

This is not the first time the SL/SYL or our supporters have been falsely accused of violenee. In a series of remarkable legal victories we have won apologies and retractions from the likes of the Secret Service, the California attorney general, the Moonies and various bourgeois newspapers.

On November 12, the Red Avengers made their first campus appearance in a variety of masks and disguises, including Groucho Marx noses and glasses, "Ms. Piggy" faces and a Red Devil or two. Communiqué No. 1 was distributed throughout the campus; when delivered to the WC, it was eop city with a nasty vengeance. WC "media director" Renee "Freikorps" Frye, hysterically flapping about like a rahid bat—striking WC people trying to restrain her and Red Avengers alike—called in some male-type eops against a black trade unionist supporter of the Underground SYL. The comrade's crime was distributing leaflets and stepping in Frye's way when she tried to assault Xandra the Red Avenger. Our comrade was then handcuffed, dragged off, chained to a chair for 45 minutes at the campus police HQ and finally eharged with "assault" for invading Frye's "space."

On Thursday, Novemher 15 the Red Avengers held an "illegal" rally in the SFSU Student Union to raise money for the urgently needed arms to Nicaragua in its defense against Yankee aggression. The rally site was draped with the flags of U.S. imperialism's enemies—those of the Nicaraguan FSLN, the Cubans and the revolutionary Fourth International. Four comrades were arrested, handcuffed and dragged off by campus security forces, then charged with being outside agitators and taken downtown. Racist scum disrupted the rally hy hurling Klan-like epithets at black members of the Red Avengers: "They wouldn't want you in Russia, so you should go to South Africa" and "Why don't you go to Grenada?" In their crusade against communism, the Rainbow Coalition from Malveaux to Workers World Party has now unleashed this racist filth. The feminist WC in bed with white raeist jocks.

The Red Avengers struck again that afternoon as the AS met to de-fund the SYL and recommend to the administration that it be banned. Ten Red Avengers burst into the AS meeting room and an Underground SYL spokesman denounced the student government as the agents of imperialist war and racism: "We stand on the other side! We're for black liheration through socialist revolution! We're for smashing apartheid slavery!" The Red Avengers refuse to aeeept a penny from the student government, junior-grade conduits of the ruling class.

While exiting the AS meeting, a female comrade was seized by a partieularly deranged campus cop, thrown up against a wall, frisked and handeuffed. Red Avengers and some onlookers demanded "Let Her Go!" until she was released to the Red Avengers' eheers: "Venceremos!" The following day, in defiance of police "banning" notiees, one Avenger supporter, a student at the University of California at Berkeley, was arrested for a seeond time: the police report filed on him cites his "crime": "On campus/consent to remain withdrawn," and his "motive": "to pass out 'Spartacus' Nicaraguan support flyers."

Right-wing feminists, along with other "me"-generation "political" self-seekers looking for patronage from the powers that be, add a new element to the notion of "disruption" with the concept of "self-defense" against invasion of one's "space." Do these dobermans of the female persuasion have something like the maritime 12-mile limit so that Marxists intruding into this "space" with books and ideas constitute a form of physieal assault? These anti-freedom feminists become genuinely violent and/or call in the cops to manhandle Red Avengers of all raees and sexes, which certainly violates our "spaee" except they've determined we don't have any. We know what happens to people who become non-persons with no space. The Nazis set up camps for them.

So the WC has found allies. Their vicarious fear of the invasion of their inner space leads these little ladies to call out big, brutal, sweating, white male cops to stop people from explaining that Karl Marx understood a thing or two. Which leads us to a lesson in dialectics. A while back there was a reference in the San Francisco press referring to the "husiness end" of a female great white shark. (Here in the land of beansprout totalitarianism there is, of course, much touching eco-compassion for the plight of the great white shark.) We wondered ... what *is* the husiness end of a female great white shark? The answer, you see, depends on whether one is a horny male great white shark or a deeply committed feminist skindiver.

So here, fräuleins of the WC, is the unfolding of the dialectic. It's similar to the question of what is the business end of a great white racist sexist cop? He also has alternate business ends, depending, and you prefer to use the business end that eompares to the toothed end of the poor, oppressed, Third World great white shark. Remember, pigs come in several forms, too. And one of them is spelled S-O-W.

As for the nasty children of the AS: we, as reasonable people, despite your lies ahout us, are always ready to make a deal. Relegalize us. No matter what we'll he damned if we ever take a dime from you. We don't want your bloody Yankee Amerikkkan dollars or the bonus that undouhtedly eomes for unswerving service to this rapacious imperialist government whose running dogs you are. We promise to continue to promulgate our views in the way we have and to eampaign against any political organization which sucks at the mammary gland of the hourgeoisie. In the words of the Red Avengers: "The hattle lines are drawn.... Down with the book-burners! Antiaircraft missiles for Niearagua! Military victory to Salvadoran leftist insurgents! Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! For the International Communist Revolution!" ■

Red Avengers T-Shirts (just like Xandra's!)

You too can be a Red Avenger!

Get yours! (T-shirt, that is) Ten dollars* and the deal is made (small, medium or large).

*In no way, shape or form subsidized by student governments

Young Spartacus

Make payable/mail to: SYL, Box 11685, San Francisco, CA 94101

Antiaircraft Missiles For Nicaragua!

Crown

SYL raised money at SF State to help Nicaraguans clear skies of Yankee invaders. Above: Soviet SAM-7 antiaircraft missile.

Associated Students of San Francisco State University
1650 Holloway Avenue San Francisco, CA 94132 · (415) 469-2371

November 15, 1984

WHEREAS the Associated Students Legislature recognizes the need for student organizations to exist; and

WHEREAS the Associated Students Legislature acknowledges the right of all student organizations to express their views while maintaining due regard and respect for the organizational integrity of other groups on campus; and

WHEREAS the Associated Students Legislature believes that this mutual respect fosters understanding and tolerance for the diversity of opinion inherent to the campus community; and

WHEREAS the Associated Students Legislature recognizes that the Spartacus Youth [illegible] campus organizations [illegible]

WHEREAS the Spartacus Youth League has frequently responded to this divergence of opinion by belligerently and violently disrupting the meetings and functions of other campus organizations; and

WHEREAS the Spartacus Youth League targets, harasses, and physically assaults members of the campus community — including students, faculty, and staff; and

WHEREAS [illegible] policies [illegible] Associated Students Legislature believes that [illegible] istence with other organizations within the campus community;

THEREFORE BE IT

RESOLVED that the Associated Students Legislature does officially censure the Spartacus Youth League; and be it further

RESOLVED that the Associated Students Legislature withdraws all current monies allocated to the Spartacus Youth League and will not support future funding, space allocation, or any other benefits afforded student organizations by the Associated Students Legislature; and be it further

RESOLVED that the Associated Students Legislature strongly recommends revocation of the Spartacus Youth League's student organization charter.

The Associated Students' evil lies.

Young Spartacus

Guerrilla theater: The Effete Legal SYL bound and gagged by the Oh-So-Official Women's Center.

Seven little Ms. Piggies go to tree market. Bottom right: Renee "Freikorps" Frye. Her "sisters": top, from left: Margaret Thatcher, Indira Gandhi, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Dianne Feinstein. Bottom, from left: Golda Meir, Hitlerite filmmaker Leni Riefenstahl.

Young Spartacus

Young Spartacus

Red Avengers at AS meeting: "Down with the Associated Student Stooges (SS)! Gag on your benefits! We won't take one dime from the agents of Amerikkkan imperialism!"

COMMUNIQUÉ NO. 1

Beware Lady Dobermans in Anti-Soviet Heat— Your Ass Could Be Bitten Next!

The Spartacus Youth League of San Francisco State University has been driven underground by gestapo persons and rabid doberman pinschers of the female persuasion crawling between the toes of the FBI. We go underground because sinister elements in the student government and the Women's Center, book burners inspired by sentiments at bottom not different than those of CIA tool Pinochet of Chile, leave us no recourse if we are to distribute our Marxist literature—especially our newspapers *Young Spartacus* and *Workers Vanguard* and the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

As an underground organization we will invite people to campus meetings to discuss Marxist politics. As for the female doberman agents of the bourgeoisie in the grip of anti-Soviet heat, they are going to have to face the just political rage of those driven underground. Beware of the Red Avengers!

Certainly the SF State student government and Women's Center have made a spectacle of themselves during the sorry events of the last few weeks. They would do well to ponder the Amerikkkan CIA's long tradition of using student governments as dupes and pawns in their global campaign of anti-Soviet disinformation and terrorism in the service of imperialism.

Young Spartacus

Red Avenger "space invader" busted.

Perhaps we are witnessing the rebirth of something like the National Student Association, a CIA creature whose cover was blown in 1966. That's how Gloria Steinem got *her* start as a CIA spy on Communist youth. SF State's "Women's Center" may be the breeding ground for a new crop of Steinems. To find out, we might ask the local Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) chapter whose mentor, Michael Harrington, has a similarly "comfortable" history with the likes of the NSA.

As it is, events at SF State over the past period read too much like a William Buckley CIA spy novel about a mythical Midwest college where anti-freedom feminist CIA agents dupe the campus cops and student government into acting as tools to get the reds.

Behind the farce at SF State lie some fundamental points. The SF State campus is not the bourgeois state but a derivative of it. Money disbursed by student governments is thus only indirectly money of the state. But he who pays the piper calls the tune. The power of the purse is the power to control or destroy. The Democratic Party-ensconced Harringtonite DSA, of the shabby history cited above, makes a career of living off this largess.

The underground SYL defends the struggle for legality, but refuses to take one dime from the paid agents of bloody Yankee imperialism. We demand the de-funding of all political organizations except those groups who are agents of the bourgeois state—e.g., Young Republicans will get their money from the FBI and the Young Democrats from the CIA. We note with satisfaction that the excellence of our proposal is only underlined by the fact that the Workers World Party/People's Anti-War Mobilization, Unity, John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, et al. are up to their ears in the imperialist filth of the Democratic Party. Amen!

For our part we happen to be old-fashioned Marxist-Leninists who don't think that smoking in an elevator merits being stabbed (as happened to black SF State student Doris Collum by an eco-freak in February, 1982) or that distribution of Marxist literature merits castration.

We know that this is an uncivil statement, we only wish that it was also inaccurate. It takes two to be civil. To our rabid opponents we offer a deal: you catch the unwary looking for a good fuck and we'll catch the ones looking for an understanding of the world... you're bound to give yours a real screwing.

Speaking of which (witch?) Women's Center guru Judy Moore (a.k.a. Baby HUAC) informs us, "I'm not impressed with police brutality, nor do I care in the least what's happening in Nicaragua." But Moore likes to throw her considerable weight around, and doesn't want State students to read Karl Marx. Well, in lieu of Marx, we recommend that Ms. Moore read *Miss Manner's Guide to Rearing Perfect Children—A Primer for Everyone Worried About the Future of Civilization.*

To those students at State who do care about stopping U.S. imperialism's counterrevolutionary schemes in Central America the Red Avengers of the underground SYL invite you to a rally of the effete legal SYL on Thursday, November 15 at noon on the plaza for military defense of Nicaragua against Yankee imperialism. We will be soliciting funds for the Nicaraguan government to purchase the most advanced antiaircraft missiles from the Soviet Union, especially the Soviet equivalent of the Stinger. Join the Red Avengers at the A.S. meeting at 4:00 Thursday to protest the two-bit Führers' attacks on the SYL (camouflage provided upon request).

Red Avengers—friends of the rights of the Underground SYL
Venceremos!

11/12/84

Address all correspondence to:
Red Avengers
c/o Underground SYL
Felix Dzerzhinsky Square
corner of Karl Marx Street at
Fourth International Avenue
SF State University
San Francisco

COUNTER-COMMUNIQUÉ NO. 1-½

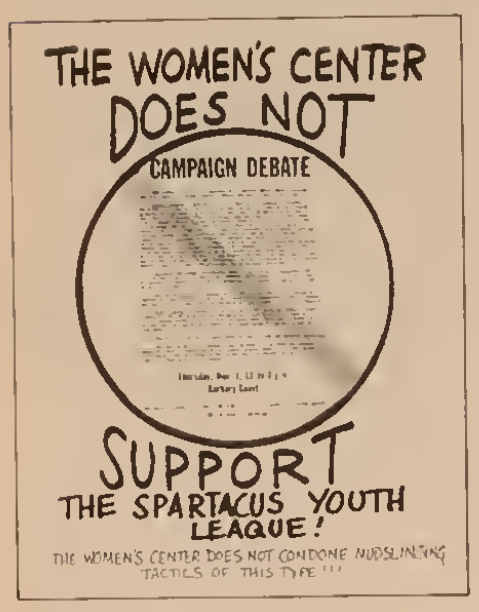
The following counter-communiqué (excerpted) from "Ms. Piggy" to "Good boys and girls" was circulated November 19 at SF State campus after it fell into the hands of the Red Avengers.

FROM: Ms. Piggy, Esq., Ph.D., Führette-in-Chief of the Wombat Center

TO: Good boys and girls

RE: Totally unauthorized commie literature and rally

I. It has come to my attention that completely non-permitted subversive Bolsheviki propaganda is being circulated on this campus by the self-designated "Red Avengers of the Underground Spartacus Youth League." My flunkeys advise me that some of these ignorant sluts and low-class riffraff have even gone so far as to impersonate Me. Further, these people reportedly held a commie rally at 12:30 PM last Thursday in the Student Union cafeteria.



The feeling is mutual.

ACHTUNG! NOW HEAR THIS!

i. This Marxistic, Trotzkyite trash is *not* stamped and counter-signed by Myself and Big Brother. This is *prima facie* proof that it is *ipso facto* (that's pig Latin) unlawful, unladylike, unauthorized, prohibited, forbidden, not nice, naughty *und sehr verboten*. DO NOT READ IT! It is hereby CANCELLED.

ii. Subversive Russia-lovers are definitely agents of the devil.

iii. Those caught reading aforementioned smut *will* be punished. Report yourself to: Campus Frog Bureau of Insemination (FBI), c/o Wombat Center, J. Edgar Hoover Memorial Union. Repeated infractions may result in clitorectomy and/or castration....

v. ...Now, commie weasels...if you won't "grow up" like those nice Human World Party people and Democratic Socialists it'll be more pig slop for you! Off with your heads!

2. The Thursday 12:30 Red Avenger rally to raise funds for the purchase of advanced Soviet anti-aircraft missiles for Nicaragua was an outrage and an intolerable affront to: Dianne Swinestein (aka the Falling Wonder), Phyllis Schlafly, Lady Di, Margaret Thatcher, the Queen of England, Jeane Kirkpatrick, the late lamented Indira, and all my other Sisters. You know what happens when you cross me and my girls, the direct descendants of Lizzie Borden and Carrie Nation....

3. My colleagues and lackeyettes called the cops (how I love 'em!) to cart off those Marxist books at the Debate. Cross my heart and hope to die, those books assaulted me. Sociable Tea Biscuits and Red Revolution do not mix or match, as Miss Manners or Emily Post will tell you. Then Renee Frye called the cops to arrest a black trade unionist supporter of the Red Avengers after he aided that slutnik Xandra when Renee Freikorps attacked her. Yes, I *do* love the cops, but I'm still not satisfied. Be advised that My Administration is weighing the following additional measures:

a. an invasion of SF State by the Marines (if Ronnie says OK);
b. a quarantine by the 7th Fleet;
c. getting Pres. Duarte to lend me some death squads...
g. Korean Air Lines spy plane to buzz Red rallies, with simultaneous activation of U.S. RC-135 recon aircraft and other goodies.

In any event, a Pot-Luck Book Burning and Doberman Beauty Contest will be held soon. Your friendly local American Anti-communist Alliance squad leader and Girl Scout cookie salesperson will advise you of the time and place.

4. Now, my children, never forget:

x. Communism saps precious bodily fluids and *could* lead to fluoridation.

ix. Communists fight imperialist war, racial and sexual oppression, unemployment, and other sacred foundations of our American Way of Life.

viii. In awful Russia there is free medical care, no unemployment, no slumlords, no Dixiecrats and in general no way of advancing Ms. Piggy's career in the Democratic Party.

vii. Xandra comes from the Russian name Xandropova.

vi. It is a proven fact that Marxism makes hair grow on your palms. It has been linked to impure thoughts, pleasure, masturbation, pornography, pleasure, taking your clothes off, heterosexuality, homosexuality, bisexuality, and other sources of bestial orgasms. It is a social disease.

vi(a). These people, in their mad desire that you seek to change the world, could actually make it harder for you to be clean cannon fodder for invasion of Central America, WWIII, and other worthy causes. Besides, there is mounting evidence that Karl Marx was a foreigner.

v. There is no Point v.

iv. Nancy Reagan is a Person too.

iii. There is *too* a pot of gold at the end of the Rainbow. (I have a bridge to sell you, too.)

ii. If I play my cards right, I might get to be U.S. Dictator of Grenada some day, or at least of Treasure Island. Today SF State, tomorrow the world!

i. Revolution is definitely not authorized by the SF State Bondage and Disciplinary Review Board.

Are You Now or Have You Ever Been? You Better Not!

Down with Intelligence—Long Live Death! (My *very* favorite Francoist slogan)

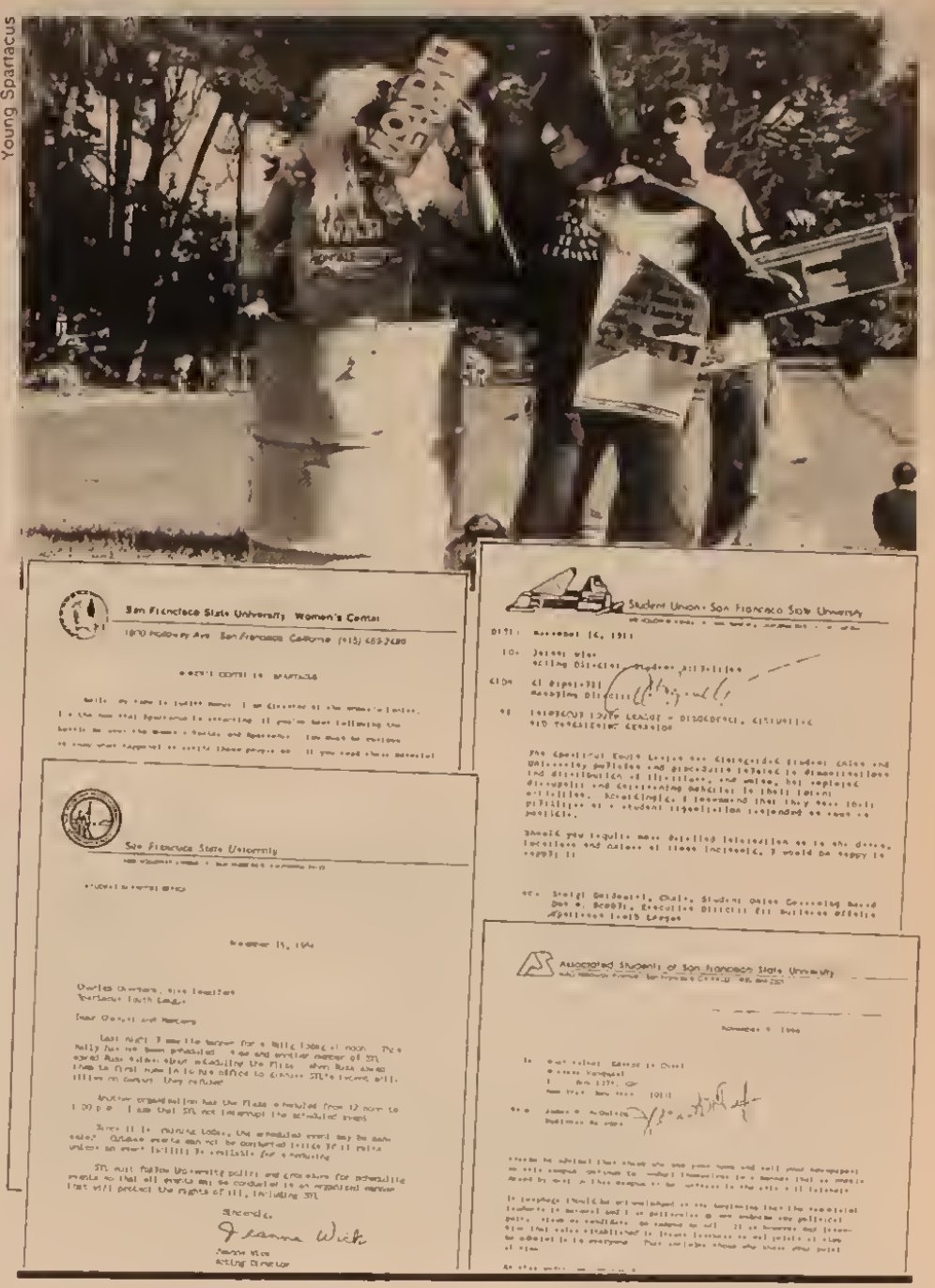
MIGs No! Pigs Si! Oink if You Love the Bourgeoisie!

Go Back to Russia, Commie SYL Perverts!

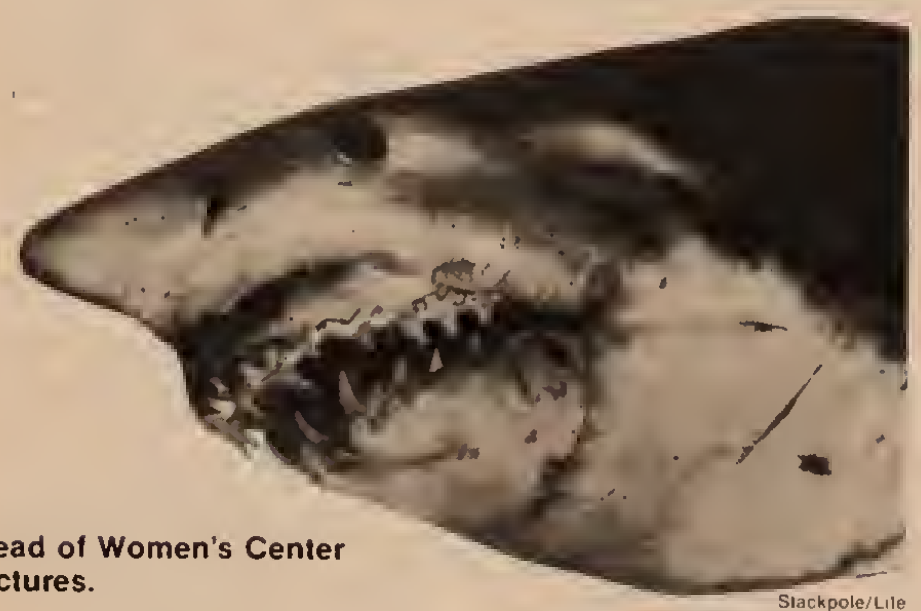
Ms. Piggy, Esq., Ph.D.
RSVP

Nov. 18, 1984

Young Spartacus



Top: Ms. Piggy finds her pork barrel. WC honcho Judy Moore writes: "protect yourselves" against SYL's Marxist views "by any means necessary." Feminist beansprout totalitarians conspire with sandbox student bureaucrats, whine to cops and administration that our Marxist literature "invades their space"—the pretext to frame up and silence reds.



Head of Women's Center lectures.

Stackpole/Life

Young Spartacus

Judy Moore

Question: Which end of a female great white shark is the business end? Answer: It depends whether you're a horny male great white shark or a militant feminist skindiver.

Hands Off Tamil Refugees in Switzerland!

The Swiss government has announced plans to deny political asylum to thousands of Sri Lankan Tamil refugees. The fate of these Tamils, threatened with imminent deportation to certain imprisonment and possible death in Lanka, now hangs in the balance. *WV* has received a letter dated October 16 from S. Janarthanan, on behalf of the World Tamil Youth Organization in Sri Lanka, requesting publicity and protest.

Following the July 1983 government-orchestrated anti-Tamil pogroms in Lanka, in which many hundreds were hideously massacred, tens of thousands of desperate Tamil refugees fled to India while thousands more managed to make their way to Europe and North America where they rotted for months in squalid detention centers. About 1,700 landed in Switzerland, the biggest such influx of dark-skinned political refugees Switzerland had ever experienced. (Remember that the Swiss denied asylum to Jews fleeing Nazi terror.)

In mid-August the Swiss government sent a delegation of two officials to Lanka. Their task, S. Janarthanan wrote to *WV*, was "to investigate the prevailing ethnic situation here in order to ascertain the possibility whether those asylum seeking Tamil youths... could be sent back to the island. After an eight-day stay here [spending] only 5 hours in the troubled North... not even able to keep most of their appointments to hear representations [about] the Tamil youths, hunted, tortured and persecuted by the Sri Lankan security forces," the delegation returned to Switzerland to write its report.

Even before arriving in Colombo, the Swiss Director of the Federal Office for Police Affairs had claimed that "the Swiss authorities had no evidence that the Colombo government was responsible for Tamil repression"! The subsequent "report" reads like a press handout prepared by the rightist terror regime in Sri Lanka. Its claims are flatly contradicted by the daily testimony of journalists, which are available for all the world to read, in papers as diverse as the London *Guardian* and the courageous Jaffna-based *Saturday Review*. Claiming that the situation has calmed down "except for the most recent confrontations in the past few weeks in the North"(!), the report continues:

> "The government seems concerned to contribute to stabilizing the situation by taking various measures—not allowing for the granting of certain of the Tamils' political demands. One cannot say there is a general discrimination aimed against the Tamils.
> "The present regime may have behaved clumsily for some time and overreacted with respect to the separatist tendencies among the Tamils. But today it seems to be making an honest effort to resolve the conflict peacefully."
> —*Wochen Zeitung* (Zurich)
> No. 42, 19 October

1,700 Tamil refugees in Switzerland face deportation into hands of bloody Sri Lankan regime.

Meanwhile the draconian "Prevention of Terrorism" regulations and the censorship remain in force while in the Tamil north and east of the island the population reels under the attacks of a rapacious army of occupation.

As a result of the Swiss government's grotesque whitewash, thousands of Tamils face deportation back to communalist terror and government bonapartism. Other European governments, West Berlin for example, are now also threatening Tamil refugees with deportation on the basis of the Swiss "report." Since the refugees lack identification papers, their imprisonment in Lanka is virtually assured. The jailers of the brutal Jayewardene government in Colombo must not get their hands on these refugees! Remember last year's massacre at Welikada prison where 53 Tamil prisoners were bludgeoned to death. These deportations must be immediately and vigorously protested! Send telegrams to: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Chemin Tulipiers No. 7, 1208 Geneva, Switzerland; Bundeskanzlei, Bundeshaus West, 3003 Berne, Switzerland.

Stop the Deportations! Political Asylum for Tamil Refugees! ■

Swiss USec...

(continued from page 4)

in the fake-left-inspired referendum to "Abolish the Army" (which is about as likely to succeed as a drive to abolish Swiss chocolate). In one of their electoral brochures, they make the following "startling" revelation: "It is guaranteed that an atomic war in central Europe would not spare Switzerland...." In addition to this referendum (in Leninist terms a vote to abolish the bourgeois state!) the SAP proposes that Switzerland distance itself from NATO. In other words—let's have *real* neutrality so we can devote ourselves exclusively to making lots of money out of the blood of the workers in the *next* war too! SAP politics have more in common with those of their countryman, the social-patriot pacifist Robert Grimm (whom Trotsky described as "a hopelessly dull bourgeois from a godforsaken Swiss village"), than those of Lenin and Trotsky, leaders of the first revolution to rip the means of production from the hands of the rapacious warmongering bosses. Every self-respecting worker wants to see the gold of the gnomes of Zurich liberated too, and put into the service of world revolution.

The international proletariat has plenty of reason to despise the Swiss bourgeois state which profited from two devastating world wars while remaining "neutral." Switzerland is a solid anti-Soviet bulwark whose "neutrality" is based on its banks and strong military establishment. Ex-banker Paul Erdmann, who ought to know, wrote about the Swiss in his novel *The Crash of '79*:

> "The secret of Switzerland's amazing record of non-involvement in the destructive conflicts of our century lay not in its declared policy of neutrality. Who cared? Rather, no one had invaded Switzerland because the power elite of that nation had always made sure that the country maintained a very effective military deterrent—combined with the willingness to 'do business' with both sides in any major conflict. In World War Two, for instance, the Swiss in effect told the Nazis: Invade us, and every Swiss male between seventeen and fifty will hole up in the Alps and fight an endless war of attrition, Tito-style. On the other hand, if you are smart enough not to invade us, we will be most happy to supply you with the best our highly developed industry can produce. Against cash, of course."

Before World War II, Trotsky wrote about Swiss neutrality and national defense in "War and the Fourth International" (1934), one of the fundamental documents in the foundation of the new international in 1938:

> "Just as the preceding war swept away the neutrality of Belgium, so the new war will leave no trace of Swiss independence. Whether after the war Switzerland will retain its entity as a state, even though without its independence, or whether it will be divided among Germany, France and Italy depends on a number of European and world factors among which the 'national defense' of Switzerland will occupy an insignificant place."

The Fourth International was destroyed in 1953 by a revisionist current, Pabloism. Following an impulse to abandon the perspective of forging proletarian vanguard parties on the national terrain and a democratic-centralist international, this tendency advocated the substitution of other social forces—Stalinism, social democracy, later "third world" nationalism—for the Trotskyist party. The fight against Pabloism then, though belated and partial, was carried out by the American SWP along with factions of the English and French sections, and the Swiss section. Evidently there is not a shred of memory of this fight in the current hopelessly petty-bourgeois SAP, which is itself quintessentially Pabloist today. The international Spartacist tendency was born in the struggle against Pabloist revisionism. The iSt carries forward the fight for genuine revolutionary, proletarian internationalism. The Swiss comrades' struggle for Trotskyism led the SAP to push these young comrades toward us, and we welcome them to the iSt. ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area
Fri 5:00-8:00 p.m., Sat 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone (415) 835-1535

Chicago
Tues 5:00-9:00 p.m., Sat. 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
161 W. Harrison St., 10th Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 663-0715

New York City
Tues 6:00-9:00 p.m., Sat 12:00-4:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone: (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto
Sat 1:00-5:00 p.m.
299 Queen St. W., Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario Phone (416) 593-4138

Trotskyist Faction...

(continued from page 4)

is a necessity of revolutionary policy. It is necessary to defend the Nicaraguan revolution and to complete it by the proletarian conquest of power, and to assure that it does not remain limited to Nicaragua." This is the only road to victory.

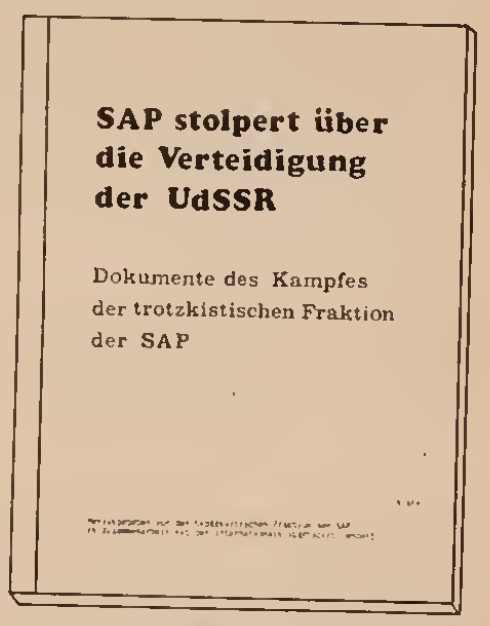
The Sandinistas' policy of maintaining blocs with the patriotic bourgeoisie and of making deals with the imperialists aims at a third solution between capitalism and socialist revolution and at preventing the completion of the revolution. To really win, the masses need a Trotskyist party.

Defend the Nicaraguan revolution! Expropriate the bourgeoisie! Complete the revolution!

Why We Were Expelled

In its statement the SAP has kept quiet as the grave about the iSt, although they labeled us iSt U-boats from the moment we started our fight, and expelled us for it.

Upon being confronted with Trotskyist positions, the SAP was so fearful that it tried to avoid political discussions by means of bureaucratic maneuvers. That's why they suspended us and threatened to expel us. Then they looked for a pretext to justify this measure which contradicted the organizational rules—and they found it when we sent our first document to members of the SAP. But, as even the Control Commission itself had to state, in no way does this violate the party's rules. This is why the CC in its statement omits where exactly we supposedly violated the rules. However, the reason for our suspension and expulsion had nothing to do with the rules. Maybe the SAP has reason to fear the iSt.... It is true that in several countries USec members, truly looking for Trotskyism, have been drawn to the iSt. In the U.S., the formation which was expelled from the SWP in 1963, now called the Spartacist League/U.S., has today become the recognized Trotskyist party of the American left.



Bulletin documenting the fight for Trotskyism in Swiss USec group.

We were young, loyal comrades who wanted to discuss some Trotskyist positions which were also held by the iSt. The leadership's witchhunt drove us into the arms of the iSt. For this we can only be grateful. Thus we found our way from the national narrowness of Switzerland to proletarian internationalism. When 5,000 black workers, led by the SL/U.S., drove away the Ku Klux Klan in Washington, then this is our victory as well! When our comrades of the Spartacist League/Lanka fight against anti-Tamil pogroms this is also our fight against anti-Tamil terror in Switzerland!

We call on all those who really want to build a Trotskyist party in Switzerland, part of a real Trotskyist international. The SAP cannot escape concrete class conflict by means of bureaucratic expulsions. We will pursue our struggle and therefore are publishing all the documents of our faction fight in the SAP.

Trotskyist Faction of the SAP
(expelled)
Now members of the iSt
20 September 1984

Nicaraguan Elections...

(continued from page 5)

ample opportunity to vote for "democratic" counterrevolution. The Independent Liberals, a split from Somoza's party dating back four decades, campaigned for "national reconciliation" including with the contra mercenaries. The Democratic Conservatives openly act as a voice for capitalists, stating that Nicaragua "should be run by business people in their own interests." The PCD baldly appealed to war weariness, saying that "Mr. Reagan, or any other Reagan who becomes president of the United States, will continue the war" until the FSLN is removed, but that if the Conservatives were voted in the fighting would end overnight (*Barricada Internacional*, 11 October).

Meanwhile, the U.S. embassy in Managua was twisting arms and offering to buy off anyone who was for sale. In late October, PLI standard-bearer Godoy quit the race the day after receiving a visit from the American ambassador urging him to drop out. However, the PLI vice presidential candidate refused, party activists objected and no other candidates resigned. A week later, Democratic Conservative party leaders tried to pull the same maneuver but were rebuffed by the party convention. PCD leader Córdova Rivas, a member of the ruling junta, said the U.S. had offered the boycotters "all the money they wanted" to pull out of the campaign. Accurately taking the measure of these motley bourgeois puppets-for-hire, the Sandinistas offered to increase *their* bribe, upping the government election subsidy by a few thousand dollars.

Sandinistas Try to Walk the Middle Road

In the recent elections, the FSLN campaigned on a "Plan of Struggle" centered on defending Nicaragua's sovereignty and "institutionalizing" the revolution. This program vainly attempts to bridge the fundamental alternatives: social revolution or bloody counterrevolution. While talking of "people's power," they have just elected a parliamentary assembly in which right-wing reaction is well represented. The FSLN platform commits itself to "deepen the social and economic revolution that has already been launched," and in the next breath talks of "consolidating our model of independent economic development." Yet only by expropriating the bourgeoisie, replacing the "mixed" capitalist economy with socialized production, can the power of the capitalist fifth column be broken.

To date the Sandinista land reform has not gone beyond the 20 percent of the agricultural land held by Somoza and his pals as well as the few landowners who fled the country. The large landowners, particularly cotton planters, and the kulak producers of coffee and tobacco have not been touched. These layers are simultaneously the main producers of Nicaragua's foreign exchange, and the main support for the contra terrorists in the countryside. In the cities, most industry is still in private hands. As a result of contra terror and imperialist boycott, shortages are everywhere, and inflation has cut the workers' standard of living drastically (down by 13 percent in 1982 and another 25 percent in 1983). Meanwhile, wages were frozen for the last five years. The result has been discontent, not only among middle-class housewives who can afford to send their maids to pay exorbitant prices on the black market, but also in the working class. This was forced underground by the prohibition of strikes under the state of emergency in force during the last three years.

U.S. Air Force

"Blackbird" of death: SR-71 spy plane prepares U.S. attack on Nicaragua. Sandinistas need advanced antiaircraft missiles!

When the ban was lifted during the election campaign, there was a flurry of walkouts. The largest was a five-day strike in late August by 1,600 workers at the state-owned Victoria Brewery where strikers demanded a 100 percent pay increase. The brewery strikers went back to work after the minister of labor threatened prosecution. At the same time metal workers at the METASA plant in Managua also struck. In response, the Sandinista union federation held a meeting of several hundred union activists to denounce "economist" attitudes among the workers and to oppose strikes. Meanwhile, the FSLN's cheerleaders abroad become apologists for strikebreaking. "Labor assembly discourages strikes in industrial conflicts," says the Socialist Workers Party *Militant* (2 November). "Nicaraguan Workers Enjoy the Highest Standard of Trade Union Democracy," declared the ex-Maoist *Frontline* (29 October). Try selling that line to the Victoria Brewery or METASA workers!

The Sandinista platform seeks to defend the anti-Somoza revolution by freezing the present totally contradictory social conditions. Today student volunteers are picking coffee, protected by militiamen armed with Soviet AK-47 assault rifles, for private landowners who finance contra terrorists with their profits, so that the FSLN government can earn dollars to pay off the debt to New York banks largely inherited from the Somoza dictatorship! *This situation cannot last.* Inevitably it means conciliating social reaction. Thus while the head of the Nicaraguan Catholic church hierarchy, Bishop Vega, condemns the Sandinista regime in scarcely veiled anathemas, the government last month pardoned Father Peña who was caught in June with a suitcase full of contra propaganda, plastic explosives and a Vatican flag. And while women have taken the lead in mobilizing mass action—such as the Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs who insistently chanted "We want peace" during pope John Paul Wojtyla's visit last year—the FSLN "Plan" calls for "defending the nuclear family," the primary instrument of the oppression of women.

An important part of the Sandinista election campaign, directed at the imperialist liberals, was Nicaragua's acceptance of a "peace" treaty worked out by the Contadora group (Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela). Rightly fearing that a U.S. invasion could put Central America in turmoil, these bourgeois regional powers seek to contain the revolutionary conflagration peacefully—offering the FSLN an opportunity to stay in power by selling out the Salvadoran revolution. The Sandinistas are only too willing. Daniel Ortega even called for "joint patrols of the Honduran army and the Nicaraguan army" to "contain the trafficking of arms and men from Nicaraguan territory to El Salvador as well as from Honduran territory into Nicaragua" (*Wall Street Journal*, 13 August). Ortega makes this offer knowing full well that Nicaragua has cut off all arms shipments to the Salvadoran leftist insurgents since 1981. But that itself is a betrayal—not a virtue as the imperialist liberals would have it—and a *suicidal* betrayal.

Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

The Sandinistas are a far cry from the "Sandino-Communists" imagined by the Reaganites. Not by a long shot do they call for "revolution without frontiers" as America's Madame Nhu, Jeane Kirkpatrick, claims. The FSLN is exactly what it says it is: a radical nationalist liberation movement, forced into a corner. Simply out of an instinct for self-preservation, the Sandinistas may be constrained to go further than they intended under the murderous pressure of Yankee imperialism. Even then, *at best* the result would be a bonapartist, nationalist regime—a bureaucratically deformed workers state on the Cuban model. And today every concession to capitalist reaction threatens the very survival of the revolution. For there to be a "new dawn" for the Nicaraguan masses, an internationalist communist vanguard must be forged, a party built on the program of the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky. What, then, of the several self-proclaimed socialist parties who challenge the Sandinistas' claim to hegemony?

The Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN), the historical pro-Moscow Stalinist party in Nicaragua, actually stands to the *right* of the Sandinistas. The PSN campaigned on a platform remarkably similar to that of the right-wing bourgeois opposition: abolition of the draft, down with Sandinista block committees and end food rationing. "The Revolution is not in a position at this time to abolish social classes, and this is why mixed economy must continue," PSN leader Domingo Sánchez Salgado told *Barricada Internacional* (10 September). Apparently Sánchez Salgado seeks to rival Cuban Stalinist Blas Roca, who in August 1960 (on the eve of Castro's expropriation of the Cuban and imperialist bourgeoisie) declared: "Private enterprise... is still necessary."

The Communist Party (PCN) is a split-off from the PSN which follows a pro-Moscow line (although Moscow favors the FSLN and PSN). While making some left criticisms of the FSLN's land reform, the PCN calls only for a "democratic and patriotic government"—i.e., as dyed-in-the-wool Stalinists, they stand for "two-stage" revolution, and rigidly confine the present stage to bourgeois reforms. "Nicaragua is a capitalist country, and the Constitution we write is going to have to reflect that," one of the PCN's two deputies declared (*New York Times*, 18 November). This, while every day the logic of the class struggle is pushing toward a showdown with the supposedly "patriotic" bourgeoisie that is more and more acting as a tool of the CIA!

While the "soft" Stalinist PSN makes common cause with the bourgeois liberals, the "hard" Stalinist PCN opposed the elections, saying that they responded to demands by "U.S. imperialism, the international bourgeoisie and local reactionary forces." This view coincides with that of various "hards" within the Sandinista Front as well. It is certainly true that the November 4 vote was called in order to placate imperialist bourgeois opinion. Leninists insist that the *class* question is key. What's needed in Nicaragua is a soviet regime based on *workers* democracy, which will carry out a *socialist* revolution. As Trotskyists and Leninists, we fight for a program of permanent revolution throughout Central America, for workers and peasants governments that expropriate the bourgeoisie.

The tiny Liga Marxista Revolucionaria (LMR), followers of Argentine pseudo-Trotskyist adventurer Nahuel Moreno (who staged the short-lived Simón Bolívar Brigade escapade around the time of the 1979 insurrection), has complained that they were kept off the ballot. Marxists oppose any exclusion of working-class tendencies in the Nicaraguan elections just as we have protested the arrest of leftist militants by the Sandinistas. The Morenoite LMR has had a checkered political history, earlier calling for a "constituent assembly" at the same time that this was being raised as a battle cry by the right-wing capitalist opposition

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WV Photos

November 8: SL contingent at SF protest against war criminal Weinberger (left). Feinstein's cossacks rioted against radicals, media (right).

S.F. Cop Riot at Anti-Weinberger Protest

SAN FRANCISCO—As 1,000 demonstrators protested the appearance of imperialist war secretary Caspar Weinberger at the posh St. Francis Hotel November 8, the San Francisco cops ran amok. While Weinberger was honored as "man of the year" by the USO at a $125-a-plate dinner inside, the police launched repeated orchestrated forays into the crowd of protesters outside. The cops sent one woman to the hospital unconscious and arrested 28 on phony charges ranging from disorderly conduct to assault on a police officer. But this time the SFPD tried to take on a little more than they could get away with. As cops waded into a group of "punkers" staging a "die-in" in front of Saks Fifth Avenue they roughed up TV news cameramen and smashed out the camera lights of all the news crews covering the demonstration. The police not only wanted to cover up their dirty work but also deliver a warning and a "payback" to the media for some of the "bad press" the scandal-wracked SF police department has been getting of late.

Once again Feinstein's cossacks were led by deputy chief George Eimil, who also presided over the cop riots at the 1981 anti-Duarte demonstration and last April's anti-Kissinger demonstration. After the Kissinger demonstration the local media read and sounded like the "Police Gazette," retailing lurid tales of "left-wing violence" being wholesaled by the cops. They reported, unquestioned, the slanderous assertions that the Spartacist League and a number of other left groups were planning violence at the Democratic convention—lies spread by the police to cover their own plans for terror at the convention. The "Fourth Estate"—the world's oldest profession. Now the prostitutes of the capitalist media are squealing because they were on the receiving end of a small sample of the kind of cop violence and cop lies that are routinely inflicted on minorities, labor and leftists in this country.

This consciously planned and executed assault speaks volumes about the sinister mood of cop bonapartism that has been rapidly escalating in SF since Democratic mayor Dianne Feinstein authorized the siege-like "security" preparations for the Democratic convention last July. Herb Caen in his 8 November *San Francisco Chronicle* column caught the mood among the police. At 2 a.m. the morning after the election, cops patrolling Clement Street announced over their cruiser's loudspeaker: "Ronald Reagan has just been re-elected president of the United States. Martial law has been declared. Please clear the streets!" According to Caen, "The car then drove off amid gales of laughter from its two occupants." Like Reagan's "we begin bombing in five minutes" this was no "joke"—it's a *program*.

The November 8 protest against war criminal Weinberger came amidst the escalation of war threats from Washington, beginning on election night, over mythical Soviet MIG-21s supposedly bound for Nicaragua. A spirited 50-strong Spartacist contingent raised the call: "Defense of Cuba and the USSR Begins in Central America—Nicaragua Needs MIGs! Russia, Cuba—Arms to Nicaragua!" Other chants included "Defend Nicaragua—Kill the Invaders!" Whether it was because of their dejection over the miserable showing of their darling Fritz "Quarantine Nicaragua" Mondale, or the pot of shit at the end of Jesse Jackson's rainbow, CISPES and the other assorted reformists were plainly demoralized, straggling up to the hotel to be met by our militant Soviet-defensist chants.

While the Spartacus Youth League is out at SF State collecting money for SAM-7s so Nicaraguan soldiers and Salvadoran leftist guerrillas can shoot down Yankee planes, the reformists consider this a "provocation." (What does that make Daniel Ortega, who's trying like hell to buy every SAM that he can get his hands on?) For these fakers, solidarity with Central American struggles is to get people to pull the lever for Mondale. But the capitalists, both Democrat and Republican, are mobilizing for war against the Soviet Union and war on labor and blacks at home. We say: those who really want to oppose U.S. imperialism will join the fight for labor strikes against the capitalist war drive. As "Feinstein's finest" showed with their swinging riot clubs: the main enemy of all mankind is here at home.

to the Sandinistas. However, according to its cothinkers in the U.S., the LMR currently advocates a "workers government formed by councils of delegates from factories, the peasantry, soldiers and the militia" (*El Bolchevique*, September-October 1984).

The last of the left parties that participated in the Nicaraguan elections (receiving 11,000 votes), the Popular Action Movement (Marxist-Leninist), reportedly campaigned on a platform for the dictatorship of the proletariat to replace the Sandinista regime which it characterizes as a petty-bourgeois government. Often mislabeled Trotskyist, the MAP came out of the Maoist brand of Stalinism and until recently supported the positions of Albania. It has evidently rejected the dogma of revolution by stages, at least for Nicaragua, and calls for a "government of workers and peasants" that would be a "transitional regime that would...set us on the road toward building socialism" (*Barricada Internacional*, 24 September).

Through its union group, Frente Obrero (FO), MAP led several militant strike actions and occupations of rich landowners' lands during 1979-81, and had their newspaper shut and MAP/FO leaders jailed as a result. Unlike the PCN and PSN, which both sat out the 1979 insurrection and even denounced the FSLN as adventurist, the MAP participated in the armed struggles through its Anti-Somoza Popular Militias (MILPAS). While it calls repeatedly for "deepening the revolution," MAP propaganda known to us is vague on how to do this. In fact, its various pronouncements cry out for the Trotskyist Transitional Program. But clearly they have not yet come to grips with the deeply anti-Leninist, Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country."

On the question of the elections, MAP protested the participation of the bourgeois parties and objected that mass organizations will not be represented in the new National Assembly. But what is proposed in its place? Trotskyists call for the creation of Nicaraguan *soviets*, for a government of workers and peasants councils, which can mobilize the revolutionary energies of the exploited masses to take and hold state power, like in Russia in 1917. This was the Bolsheviks' answer to bourgeois parliamentarism, the banner of reformist fake socialists (the Mensheviks) and White Guard generals alike. The program of soviet power retains its full validity today.

The issue of the draft has become a major issue in Nicaragua during the last year, as right-wingers sought to mobilize middle-class opposition to military conscription in defense of the revolution. The Popular Action Movement calls for the working class to "put its class stamp on the Military Service" (*Prensa Proletaria*, June 1984). But how? While the Sandinistas appeal to patriotism, building a republican army as in the Spanish Civil War, Trotskyists insist that it is necessary to construct a proletarian army to defeat the counterrevolution. Communists and class-conscious worker militants must call for *military training under trade-union control*, for the formation of *workers militias* based on the factories, for *soldiers committees* in the army and the *election of officers*.

The key is the struggle for state power. The class character of the army is determined by who commands it. And to achieve a genuine workers and peasants government in Nicaragua it is necessary to mobilize the working masses in struggle for their class interests. Communists must fight in the unions, including in the Sandinista-controlled CST, to impose *workers control of production* and to demand the *expropriation of the capitalists*. Instead of a national assembly modeled on West European bourgeois parliaments they must fight for a *soviet* regime of *workers and peasants councils*. Above all, the key to completing and extending the Nicaraguan revolution is the fight for a Leninist, Trotskyist party as a resolute internationalist communist vanguard to replace the vacillating petty-bourgeois nationalist Sandinistas.

The ex-Maoist, ex-Albanian "MLers" oppose the FSLN's conciliation of the domestic bourgeoisie, but they have not broken with the nationalism common to the Sandinistas and all brands of Stalinism. A Frente Obrero May Day poster reproduced in Marxist-Leninist Party USA newspaper *Workers' Advocate* (10 February) concludes: "Only with the working class in the vanguard will the socialist homeland be built." The Trotskyists know socialism in one former banana republic is *impossible*. Nicaragua is a small, dirt poor, predominantly peasant country with a tiny working class. To lay the economic basis for advance to socialism, a classless society based on abundance, it is indispensable to link up with the big battalions of the proletariat, beginning with Mexico and ultimately, in the belly of the beast, the American working class. Simply to defend against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution, Nicaragua must join with the leftist insurgents in El Salvador in waging revolutionary war throughout Central America.

The Yankee imperialists, both Republican and Democrat; European Christian Democrats and social democrats; Latin American bourgeois governments of every hue; Stalinist regimes from Moscow and Peking to Havana; Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale, Fidel Castro and Willy Brandt, Ortega and Duarte, the Sandinistas and the CIA's Coordinadora, nationalists and reformists everywhere—they all support the Contadora "peace process." What this unholy alliance expresses is their *common fear of international revolution*. Such a "peace" treaty would place a noose around the Central American masses. In reality, it is "Contra"dora—a stab in the back against the Nicaraguan revolution.

Besieged Sandinista Nicaragua recalls Soviet Russia in the early months of 1918, facing imperialist "quarantine" from without (soon to become direct military intervention) while the country polarizes internally. What's different is the absence of a communist leadership. Where the Sandinistas seek to paper over fundamental class divisions, the Bolsheviks stood at the head of the working class and united Russia on a new basis, spreading soviets throughout the land. It was this political program that enabled Trotsky to construct a powerful Red Army that won the civil war. In Lenin and Trotsky's Russia, unlike Spain, the "contras" did not pass. This is the program of the Trotskyists today: for workers revolution throughout the isthmus and beyond, led by a world party of socialist revolution, a reborn Fourth International. ■

Yankee Guns Over Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

Kaiser whipping up war fever: bluster loudly and wave a big stick. "The MIGs are coming! The MIGs are coming!" they screamed, so that gives them the right to destroy Nicaragua. Seventy-two hours later they admit the MIGs aren't coming and never were, but they're going to obliterate Nicarágua anyway, supposedly because of the Sandinistas' arms buildup. It was a war of words, all right, but 'don't just watch their mouths—keep an eye on their aircraft carriers.

The day after the American elections, the Pentagon launched three exercises in Honduras; a fourth began November 8. A major naval exercise (unannounced) involving the battleship *Iowa* and two dozen other U.S. warships was being held in the Caribbean "in striking distance of Nicaragua," as the early edition of the November 9 *New York Times* reported. Maneuvers codenamed "Quick Thrust" and involving precisely those infantry and paratroop units that would be involved in an invasion of Central America are scheduled to begin at the end of the month. And somewhere in the Pacific, an exercise involving *five* American carrier battle groups is under way with a blackout by the U.S. media.

"We have not received, we are not receiving, and there's no boat on the way with any MIGs," Nicaraguan foreign minister Miguel D'Escoto told ABC's "Nightline" (7 November). But after this categorical denial, he defiantly added:

> "We believe that we have the right to get whatever we need for our defense, and if ever we came to believe that MIGs were needed, we would get them, and we would have no difficulty in telling you that we are getting them."

(Subsequently Sandinista spokesmen have said that they are negotiating for SAM antiaircraft missiles.) D'Escoto said the phony MIGs affair was intended to discredit the Nicaraguan elections, and to "punish" Nicaragua for agreeing to the Contadora "peace" proposals.

The Nicaraguans did not limit themselves to verbal denunciations of the Yankee provocations. On Thursday, November 8, Sandinista commander Jaime Wheelock told 20,000 student volunteers in Managua's Plaza de la Revolución that they would not be sent north to the mountains to pick coffee but instead would be mobilized to defend the capital. "A rifle will be given to every young person and all the people of Managua.... We would rather let the coffee fall than let the country fall," he declared. The crowd replied: "They shall not pass!" The next morning, more than 100 tanks and armored vehicles took up positions in Managua as the defense ministry issued "emergency communiqué No. 1" announcing a nationwide alert against the threat of a U.S. attack. Sandinista defense committees stockpiled food, militias redoubled weapons training and soldiers reopened trenches dug after Reagan's invasion of Grenada last fall.

The Soviet news agency TASS (9 November) issued a statement saying: "The aim of this provocative undertaking is obvious—preparation of ground for armed attacks on and invasion of Nicaraguan territory by U.S. troops" as a "pretext to destroy the Sandinista revolution." Pentagon officials accused the Nicaraguans of being "paranoid." "They're absolutely convinced that we're coming, and they're preparing for the D-day invasion" (*New York Times*, 10 November). But anyone might get more than a little paranoid seeing battalions of the 82nd Airborne Division, the 101st Airborne Division and the 24th Army Infantry Division (15,000 men) mobilized for "exercises," the *Iowa* with its 16-inch guns cruising off the Caribbean coast, and half a dozen U.S. aircraft carriers lying in wait "somewhere in the Pacific."

The American working class and oppressed minorities have a direct stake in the victory of the revolutionary upheavals sweeping Central America. If the United States invades Nicaragua, there must be a mass mobilization of organized labor, blacks and Hispanics, students and other sections of American society to deal the imperialist war machine a defeat *at home*.

Follow That Fleet

The Reagan administration is mobilizing, destabilizing and jerking the Nicaraguans around in every known way. What are the Yankees up to? Clearly Washington has a hit list: yesterday Grenada, today Nicaragua; then tomorrow on to the big one, the Soviet Union. (And if the wind is right, maybe the fallout will wipe out America's Chinese allies and there won't have to be a No. 4.) Secretary of State Shultz, currently posturing as the administration's soft cop, says that the flap over the MIGs "strategically" involves the Soviet Union, and talks of "punishing" the Russians elsewhere (*New York Times*, 9 November). Meanwhile, "hard cop" war secretary Weinberger talks of reversing the Kennedy administration's 1962 agreement not to take military action against Cuba. This confirms, as we have repeatedly insisted to the consternation of the rad-libs, that *defense of Cuba, USSR begins in Central America*.

The U.S. is trying to wear down the Nicaraguans by provoking a constant mobilization. But ultimately it comes down to a question of timing. The Americans have already exhausted their other alternatives. In three years of gruesome terror the contras have not been able to take a single town. Nothing suggests that if Congress turns on the dollar spigot again things will be any different. A "surgical air strike"? But there's nothing for the air force to take out. A naval blockade would only make somewhat worse the already desperate economic crisis: a "quarantine" only makes sense as the first step of an invasion. So Reagan is faced with the alternative: live with the Sandinistas or try to overthrow them. And by now, if the Americans seek an accommodation with Managua they really will look like paper tigers.

Is a Yankee invasion imminent? Is this a war of nerves, or is it the real thing? From a perusal of publicly available information on the various military exercises now going on, the U.S. is clearly building up forces for something. Aside from the several smaller operations in Honduras, there are two major naval maneuvers. COMPTUEX 1-85 in the Caribbean involves 25 U.S. warships (cruisers, destroyers, frigates, minesweepers, attack submarines) plus other NATO craft. Most worrisome are the massive FLEETEX maneuvers, involving the carriers *Carl Vinson*, *Constellation*, *Enterprise*, *Independence* and *Midway*, in the Pacific. A total of 65 ships plus an amphibious ready group and a surface combat group are included. "We don't normally have access to that many carriers over such a short time for an exercise," a U.S. Navy spokesman told the *Navy Times* (5 November).

The *New York Times* (9 November) report on the Caribbean maneuvers seeks to calm fears by mentioning that there are no aircraft carriers nor Marine amphibious units involved in COMPTUEX 1-85. They're somewhere on the Pacific side of the Central American isthmus. There have been no published reports of the whereabouts of FLEETEX, which was first mentioned in the Sandinistas' *Barricada* of October 20. An ominous silence? We recall that prior to Pearl Harbor the two main carrier groups of the Japanese fleet disappeared from sight. The Americans assumed they had returned to Japan, but instead they holed up in Tankan Bay and then proceeded under radio silence to Hawaii.

The *New York Times* in reporting these various maneuvers included the following ominous paragraph (dropped from the late edition): "In addition, senior naval officers have long asserted, when arguing for increased funds and support for their service, that warships at sea are always prepared to suspend training exercises to undertake a 'no notice' contingency operation." And last week the nuclear carrier *Nimitz* sailed to Guantánamo, Cuba.

Meanwhile, "high administration officials" are gratuitously recalling the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. While it's ludicrous to pretend that MIG-21s (range 680 miles) are equivalent to nuclear IRBMs (which the Cubans had every right to have, to protect themselves against U.S. invasion threats), American actions in the recent Nicaragua MIGs crisis are ominously familiar: spy planes spot suspicious crates; accusations of Nicaraguan (Cuban) invasion plans as a pretext for a U.S. attack; President Reagan (Kennedy) threatens grave consequences if the "Soviet surrogates" obtain "significant offensive capability," etc. And don't forget the Monroe Doctrine.

Nicaragua Needs MIGs, SAMs...

In Nicaragua, it's not "who blinks first"; rather, the question is: once the U.S. gets in, how does it get out? No doubt some Reaganite Cold War crazies coming off a "Grenada high" in the White House basement may think they can take Nicaragua in a couple of weeks. But in a country where the masses are ready and willing to defend their revolution, the "Vietnam syndrome" could easily become a "Nicaragua syndrome."

The lesson drawn by the American military machine from their ignominious Indochinese defeat was not to get "sucked into a Vietnam-type thing where we get nibbled to death" without popular backing. The corollary was put forward in a policy paper by Pentagon systems analyst Mark Cancian: "Everything must be accomplished during the initial period of public support" (quoted in Allan Nairn, "Endgame: U.S. Military Strategy in Central America," *NACLA Report on the Americas*, May/June 1984). The White House strategists doubtless figure that if ever there is going to be public support for a Reagan intervention, it is now, following the landslide '84 election.

But will they be able to take the casualties? The soft underbelly of Yankee imperialism is the lack of masses of troops ready to fight to the death against "communism." In fact, over a quarter of the U.S. Army today is made up of black and Latin minorities, who are not about to die for the greater glory of El Salvador-style death squad "democracy." As a substitute, the Pentagon relies on an impressive array of weaponry—from high-altitude bombers to the 16-inch guns of the *Iowa*. In purely military terms it's possible to seal off Nicaragua and take it, although it would probably require all the shock troops at the Pentagon's disposal. But it would be bloody hell. Are the Americans prepared to take the 25,000 or so casualties which it is conservatively estimated the operation would cost? If in their imperialist arrogance the Yankees do invade, they must be made to *pay*—in their "back yard" and at home.

The Nicaraguans vow to fight for every inch of their territory, and it is clear they have the will to do so. But they need the means. MIGs might not last more than 15 minutes against the U.S., but they would counter the Honduran, Salvadoran and Guatemalan air forces, which have almost 100 jets while Nicaragua has virtually no air force at all. Above all they need hand-held SAM-7 antiaircraft rockets, and sophisticated mobile SAM-8s to knock down an airborne U.S. invasion force. It is the internationalist obligation of the Soviet Union to supply *and resupply* these weapons to Nicaragua, which it has been reluctant to do. But even without such equipment, the Nicaraguan army numbers more than 50,000, with an equal number of members of standing militias, and the Sandinistas say they will have *hundreds of thousands* of armed Nicaraguans waiting to shoot down those paratroopers, from the beaches to the cities and the hills.

Denouncing "Mr. Allpowerful in the White House, who believes he has been anointed with special powers to decide the destiny of Nicaragua," Sandinista commander Tomás Borge last April vowed: "Neither mines, nor aircraft carriers, nor mercenaries, nor marines, nor hardships, nor lies, nor traitors will turn back the Nicaraguan people, a people who made a revolution to audaciously explore new horizons." He added:

> "We are certainly paying a high price in defending our homeland. But our enemies will pay the price of a historic defeat of unpredictable consequences, perhaps the price of the liquidation of the injustices that still travel along the impoverished roads of Latin America."
>
> —*Barricada*, 14 April

The struggle to defend Nicaragua means to complete and extend the revolution; it means a revolutionary war mobilizing the hundreds of thousands of hideously oppressed peasants, linking up with leftist insurgencies in El Salvador and Guatemala, and getting the Yankees bogged down in an indecisive conflict as the number of U.S. casualties mounts.

The task of socialists, unionists, black militants in the United States is to take up their place in this fight to stop Reagan before he blows up the world in the insane *bipartisan* anti-Soviet war drive. This means breaking from the Democrats, who have pledged in advance their support for a U.S. "quarantine" (was Mondale informed of impending American plans?), breaking from both capitalist parties, in order to fight for a workers party. It means "hot-cargoing" of all U.S. arms shipments to Central America, and political strikes against an American invasion. It means a class struggle against Yankee imperialism "in the belly of the beast." ■

Miyagi Yotoku...

(continued from page 2)

Communist Party hacks were heaping racist abuse on their imprisoned ex-comrades as supposed collaborators with Tojo—Sorge, Ozaki and Miyagi were being pushed to their deaths in Tojo's jails by the Kremlin! The U.S. Communist Party *knew* that Japanese American workers on the West Coast had no loyalty to Japanese imperialism. Browder & Co. simply sold their comrades' skins to buy their own way into Roosevelt's racist war machinery. An accurate capsule description of what motivated Miyagi's generation was given by General MacArthur's sinister chief of intelligence, Major General Willoughby:

> "It will be noted that Miyagi arrived in California at the height of the anti-Japanese agitation as well as during the period of the Russian Revolution. It is likely that he suffered keenly from the discrimination against all Asiatics, but especially against Japanese, then common in the State of California, and in turn looked to the embattled armies of Lenin and Trotsky as the hope of a free and happier society."
>
> —*Shanghai Conspiracy*

Stalinism threw that generation away and now they want it forgotten. But Trotskyists remember this hideous crime and we remember immortal services like those of Miyagi Yotoku.

Comradely greetings,
Victor Gibbons

Racist Terror Island in Chicago

CHICAGO—In the early morning hours of November 7, a racist mob laid siege to a black family that had just moved into a lily-white West Side enclave, called "The Island," next to the notorious Jim Crow suburb of Cicero. Around 2 a.m. the racists poured out of two bars on the borderline, Roosevelt Road, and more than 20 of these scum started throwing bricks, rocks, tire irons and anything else they could find through the family's second floor window. Some waved handguns at the apartment.

For six hours of terror, Spencer Goffer, a 32-year-old mechanic, his wife and their son huddled in a hallway, the doors barricaded with furniture. Michael, eight, was almost killed as the attack began—a brick crashed through his bedroom window and landed where he had been sleeping a moment before. Throughout the night the family was unable to make contact with the outside world since the phone had not yet been connected. At 9 a.m. they left their belongings behind and escaped out a back door.

For six uninterrupted hours a mob stood on a main commercial thoroughfare and hurled bricks at the Goffers' apartment. Any Chicagoan knows you can't stand on a street for six minutes without seeing a squad car. So where were the cops? Answer: they were in the thick of the lynchers. *In fact, Cicero police participated in and possibly organized the attack!* Around 3 a.m., Goffer says he saw a Cicero cop, later identified as Patrolman Jack Oden, pull up in a squad car. Before leaving, Oden talked briefly to two men who had arrived earlier in an orange Chevrolet Nova with a trunk full of bricks. This pair spent the night pointing their guns at Goffer's apartment. Luckily, Goffer got part of the Nova's license plate, and its owner turns out to be...the Cicero Police Department!

What about the Chicago cops? Chicago district police commander Sanford Neal claims his squad cars never cruised down Roosevelt Road that night because they were busy "fighting crime" over on the other side of the Eisenhower Expressway (where blacks live). In other words, the task of defending "The Island's" "ethnic purity" is left to Cicero cops, while Chicago's racist gun thugs in uniform terrorize the black population in its neighborhoods.

On November 10, an integrated protest rally of about 40 people gathered on Roosevelt Road at the site of the attack. The marchers were kept on the Chicago side of the street by a line of cops, while a racist crowd about twice that size hurled threats, and waved hand-lettered signs scrawled with their racist filth from the Cicero side.

The continuing racist backlash to the 1983 election of black mayor Harold Washington has meant an increased level of terror by the bonapartist cops against minorities in and around Chicago. Frequent and unbridled police violence is a daily occurrence in the ghetto, despite Washington's appointment of a black police superintendent. Blacks who wander into suburbs like Blue Island and Berwyn are truly in peril if they happen to cross paths with a cop. But the attack on Goffer and his family was no random event. It was premeditated, officially sanctioned mob terror. The poor family hadn't even realized they would be in trouble. They didn't know about the "understanding" that "The Island" is under Cicero military rule, i.e., *no blacks*.

Although its residents would love to secede in a confederacy with lily-white Cicero and Berwyn, "The Island" is part of black alderman Danny Davis' ward. The day after the racist mobilization, Davis, a key Washington supporter, showed *he* sure as hell wasn't going to upset the apple cart. He went out of his way to praise the "solid citizenry in that area" and placed blame on outsiders who "had a little too much to drink" (despite interviews with local residents in the *Chicago Tribune* and *Defender* which show overwhelming community support to this racist mob)! Even Chicago mayor Harold Washington, who doesn't know if he is safe from "his" cops as he walks down the street in "Segregation City," has gone out of his way to appease the racist "save our neighborhood" coalitions. Here is a classic case of the interlocking of racist terrorists in white sheets with those in blue uniforms, yet the Democratic "BEOs" (black elected officials) preach reliance on a government whose armed enforcers are aiding and abetting and organizing the lynch mob segregationists!

Meanwhile the Cicero cops are stonewalling—according to the *Chicago Defender* (12 November), a "gag order" has been imposed on police. The FBI is supposedly "investigating" (like they did the police/FBI murder of Chicago Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark?) while a federal grand jury says it will subpoena three Cicero cops about possible "civil rights" violations in the attack. Don't hold your breath.

From the 1966 "open housing" march attacked by fascist hoodlums to the terrifying ordeal of the Goffer family, it's clear that the forces of "law and order" are enemies of the oppressed. Black people will not be defended by the party of George Wallace, but by thousands of black and white workers from foundries, mills and machine shops throughout Chicago—and Cicero. Such impacted "islands" of white racist terror cannot be reformed—they must be conquered. It will take a proletarian army, fighting for socialist revolution, to root out the lynchers and make the streets of Cicero safe for human decency. ■

Gero/Chicago Tribune

Hanes/Chicago Tribune

Chicago: Racist terror siege of black family (left) sparked protest demonstration on November 10.

Chicago...

(continued from page 16)

and teachers. We say it's *time to fight!*

This city has always been a Democratic Party stronghold—and a stranglehold for blacks and the entire proletariat. But confidence in the Democrats has been shaken by Democratic-administered cutbacks and takeaways. This year fewer Chicagoans voted than in any presidential election since 1944. And this in Jesse Jackson's home town! Down at City Hall, the Democratic Machine is split between the liberal and black forces of Mayor Washington and the lily-white City Council majority ("the 29") of Cook County Democratic Party chairman Ed Vrdolyak. Vrdolyak's "29" have led a racist backlash which targeted Washington and threatened to prevent him from taking office with all the normal prerogatives of a mayor. To date, Washington's veto power has enforced a stalemate, although his backers are grumbling about sitting at the table and not being allowed to eat. One thing in Chicago stays the same: it's racist, it's segregated and it's mean.

Reagan reaction means cutbacks. And the Democrats who run this city are doing their part to help finance a war drive against the USSR and the working masses of Central America by going after essential services needed by the working masses here—transit and education. They are targeting the city's most powerful labor organizations, the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) and the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU), demanding hundreds of millions of dollars in immediate givebacks.

Teachers already hire in at the poverty level and this year the 28,000 teachers and all 11,000 members of 17 other Chicago school system unions are working without a contract as the school board demands $40 million in cuts, including a 25 percent health care deduction and a reduction in the school year. Five hundred teachers were already laid off November 1 when the federal government slashed over $100 million in desegregation funds. The CTU House of Delegates voted overwhelmingly to strike if the cuts go into effect, and last Friday the board began taking medical payments out of the teachers' checks.

The contracts for ATU Locals 241 (bus) and 308 (train) expire November 30. The Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) is going right for the throat of the union, armed with HB 1805, which was enacted last year. This remarkable piece of anti-labor legislation immediately looted the union's pension fund of $100 million and "postponed" repayment of $33 million "loaned" by the fund to former mayor Jane Byrne in 1981. It prohibits any cost-of-living clause, gives veto power over all contracts to the Regional Transit Authority and gives the CTA the unrestricted right to hire part-timers. Moreover, the CTA is demanding a 5 percent across-the-board wage cut, and the slashing of new hires' pay to 65 percent of the top rate, with a nine-year pay progression! At a meeting earlier this month, ATU members cheered militant transit worker Kevin Quirk, who said:

> "We've got the power to turn 1805 into a harmless scrap of paper. We've got to prepare this union for a fight and use that power come November 30 and shut down this city!"

Enough is enough! Teachers and transit workers must strike together to smash this anti-labor offensive, reduce HB 1805 to ashes and win urgently needed pay raises. Out together—back together! To hell with the strikebreaking injunctions of the bosses' courts and their crooked judges! A joint teachers and transit workers strike in Chicago could be one of the most powerful displays of social power by the organized working class in this city in a long time. It could quickly break the back of this Reagan-style austerity, givebacks and union-busting. And because of the total interpenetration of these unions with the black and urban poor of Chicago, an effective and militant strike could be the springboard for a mobilization of all the oppressed against the social rot and destruction of essential social services that is the brutal reality under decaying racist capitalism. Teachers and transit workers: strike together and shut down Chicago! Smash HB 1805!

When Harold Washington was elected, *Workers Vanguard* warned:

> "As a Democratic Party mayor of Chicago [Washington] has to maintain capitalist law and order. That means, just like Coleman Young in Detroit, he's going to break strikes. He's going to slash social services. He's going to lay off city workers. And he's going to have the racist cops break up protests by trade unionists, blacks and others who can't take it any longer. That's Harold Washington's job."
>
> —"Harold Washington Will Betray Black Chicago," *WV* No. 328, 22 April 1983

And that's the job he's doing. Every transit worker knows it was Washington who almost single-handedly forced passage of HB 1805 in return for a couple of appointments to the RTA board. When he tried to sell this swindle at an ATU Local 241 meeting last January, he was hooted down and forced to leave by the rear door by angry black transit workers. And the black Democratic honchos at Washington's side used every trick in the book to smear the mostly black teachers union which struck for 15 days last fall. Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH organized scab schools, while the black *Chicago Defender* declared that the CTU was in a "conspiracy with the racist '29'."

With his anti-labor attacks, Washington goes after the only force that can put a stop to race-terror, and its shock troops the Nazis and the Klan. Solid picket lines that nobody crosses can be mobilized against the racist thugs and nightriders. Workers defense guards will be desperately needed to wage a serious fight for school integration and integrated housing, which in Chicago means busing to schools in the lily-white suburbs and defense of black families' homes attacked by Klan and Nazi terror. But the class battles necessary to defend labor and blacks in Chicago will not be won with trust in Harold Washington. He postures as "neutral" and a defender of black Chicago, while his hatchet men like Ruth Love try to carve up the CTU with *Washington's* budget cuts, first in 1983 and again now. And it will be Washington's orders which send the brutal, racist Chicago cops against picket lines of black unionists.

The pro-capitalist union misleaders are the ones who want labor and blacks to lie down for the Democrats. Oust these bureaucrats! Labor must break with the capitalist Democrats and build a *workers party* that will lead the struggle for black liberation and a planned economy under a workers government. What kind of union leaders are needed to bring this fight to life? That question was answered by militant ATU members in a leaflet last January in response to the HB 1805 rip-off:

> "In our union, we need leaders armed with an anti-capitalist program. That is the only guarantee against selling out to the capitalists who run this society. A class struggle leadership must be built in our union—one that stops kissing the ass of the CTA and the Democrats, a leadership that can weld the struggle of our union to the ghetto masses, to the unemployed and to all the oppressed. That's the way forward to fight for real power for workers and blacks." ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

For International Labor Action– Free All Victims of Apartheid Terror!

Black Workers Shake South Africa

"We have proved to the government that we have the power.... We cannot go back any more."
—Thami Mali, black unionist and work stay-away leader

NOVEMBER 18—The current wave of anti-apartheid struggles sweeping South Africa has brought into direct conflict the two fundamental antagonists: the increasingly organized and combative black working class and the white masters with their machine of state terror. On November 5-6, hundreds of thousands of the superexploited black workers in South Africa's industrial heartland, the southern Transvaal, came out together with a 250,000-strong black student strike, in a political general strike demanding the withdrawal of troops and police from the black townships, release of all political prisoners and detainees, and the reinstatement of fired workers. According to the government's own broadcasting service, *two thirds* of black industrial workers in the Johannesburg area struck and in some industries the figure reached 95 percent. "Widening Black Protests in South Africa Could Pose a Challenge to Rule by Whites," ran the headline in the *Wall Street Journal* (7 November). America's own white racist rulers see their anti-Soviet "free world" ally in crisis as the black unions throw their weight into the struggle.

The apartheid regime is attempting to quell the widening black revolt through massive police-state measures. The leadership of the Transvaal Regional Stay-Away Committee, the coalition of black trade unions, political organizations and student groups which called the strike, has been detained. Among the trade unionists arrested are Piroshaw Camay, secretary general of the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA), and Chris Dlamini, president of the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU). The main anti-apartheid political formation, the United Democratic Front (UDF), is in imminent danger of being banned. Already many UDF leaders are detained and its principal spokesman, the Rev. Allan Boesak, could face five years in prison for denouncing police terror.

After mass black stay-away strike in early November, 6,000 workers at strategic Sasol synthetic oil plant were shipped back to bantustan hellholes.

State terror is being directed not only at the leaders but also the rebellious black masses. After the stay-away at the strategic state-owned synthetic oil plant at Secunda, management fired 6,000 strikers and deported them to the poverty-stricken bantustans. Then on November 14-15 police rounded up *2,300* black workers in the militant township of Sebokeng south of Johannesburg.

The Transvaal general strike was part of a chain reaction of anti-apartheid struggles set off in August when the "coloured" (people of mixed race) and Indians protested and boycotted elections to new segregated puppet parliaments designed to line them up against the black majority of 22 million. In early September townships in the southern Transvaal exploded in demonstrations against rent increases which, met with police terror and the unprecedented use of the army for domestic repression, soon turned into attacks on local black government collaborators. Next, South Africa's main value producer, the black gold miners, waged a bloody strike over wages and union recognition. And for much of the year hundreds of thousands of black student youth have shut down the schools in protest. The regime responded as usual with batons and tear gas, rubber bullets, machine guns and armored cars. But even killing over 160 and detaining thousands, the racist rulers cannot keep the lid on.

"Our members wanted to demonstrate their discontent and it was impossible for the union to just stand by any longer," said a spokesman for FOSATU (*Wall Street Journal*, 7 November). In the past FOSATU has had a reputation for being economist, avoiding political issues. Likewise, CUSA, the other main force in the mass work stay-away, has been a relatively tame union grouping. But the black workers' hatred for apartheid impelled even these moderate unions into battle.

This is a critical moment for the black revolt in South Africa. The Transvaal general strike marks the highest level of struggle to date. The racist regime has responded with escalating repression. Here *international* labor action in solidarity with the embattled black toilers can be decisive. Boycott all shipping and cargo to and from South Africa! Free the black trade unionists and all victims of apartheid terror!

In South Africa, where 22 million black people are treated like foreigners and chain-gang labor in their own country, every struggle for democratic rights, social equality and national emancipation points toward the destruction of apartheid capitalism. In the past months the black masses have displayed incredible courage and combativity in confronting unarmed the bloody police-state regime. What is needed, above all, is a Leninist vanguard party which can mobilize the enormous power of the black proletariat for all of the many-sided struggles to smash apartheid, and open the road for a black-centered workers and peasants government. ■

Harold Washington Pushes Cutbacks, Layoffs, Wage Slashing

Chicago Teachers, Transit Workers: Strike Together!

CHICAGO—On the eve of a confrontation between City Hall and Chicago labor, the reality behind Reagan's superficial recovery is laid bare—the "city that works" isn't working for blacks, Hispanics, working people. Poverty, malnutrition, evictions and unemployment are ravaging the black and working masses, while the furnaces and mills of U.S. Steel's South Works, where 8,000 USWA members worked for decades, are scrapped. Today, almost half those workers—and 61 percent of those are black—don't have any jobs at all. Like hundreds of thousands of their union brothers and sisters across the region, these workers were told by their union leaders, "Don't fight, vote Democrat." They didn't fight and they lost big. Now a showdown is brewing between black Democratic mayor Harold Washington and two big, mainly black unions, transit workers

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Chicago teachers, other school unions rally November 13 as labor gears up for showdown with city.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 368 x-523 7 December 1984

Black Workers Take the Lead

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Smash Apartheid Slavery!

We print below a speech by Reuben Shiffman, a member of Transport Workers Union Local 100 and writer on colonial and national questions, at a Spartacist forum held November 16 in New York City.

For more than a decade there has been a mounting struggle, black struggle centrally, in South Africa against apartheid. This culminated earlier this month in a massive general strike in the industrial heartland of South Africa, which is Transvaal Province, around Johanneshurg, involving 40 percent of the black labor force who when they go on strike risk being deported to the bantustans, and brutality and murder at the hands of the police and now the army. Over 250,000 student youth also participated throughout Transvaal Province in a massive stay-away campaign. This general strike had reverberations not only against the apartheid regime itself, but throughout the famine-scarred and war-torn continent of Africa, and indeed throughout the world and especially in the United States. And that's mainly what I want to talk about tonight—that is, not only what apartheid is about and the strategy for bringing it down, but the implications of the struggle against this brutal, racist regime in South Africa throughout the African continent and internationally, especially in the United States.

The strategic importance of South Africa has not least to do with the fact that it is the repository of more than 70 percent of the gold in the so-called "free world." And as Karl Marx wrote in *Capital* about gold, it embodied in capitalist society "the glittering incarnation of the very principle of its own life." It is in the struggle to extract this gold and the diamonds from the South African mines that apartheid was created. But in addition, of course, South Africa has many other even more strategic metals, such as chromium, manganese, platinum, and in Namibia, uranium. It's also very important because the Cape controls the shipping

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ILWU Tops Scuttle S.F. "Hot-Cargo" Action

Battle Over Union Action at South Africa Ship

SAN FRANCISCO, December 4—For the last ten days the predominantly black longshoremen in San Francisco refused to handle South African cargo aboard the *Nedlloyd Kimberley*. For more than a week the "Nedlloyd blood ship" just sat there at Pier 80. By "hot-cargoing" those goods these American workers sought to strike a blow against the hated apartheid regime. They did so in the face of victimization by the bosses of the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA), outright betrayal by the bureaucrats of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) and sabotage by their reformist and pseudo-leftist hangers-on. Last night these forces united to bury the action, as the ILWU Local 10 executive board called off the boycott in the face of a court injunction ordering the union to work the cargo.

Since late August the South African black masses have been almost continuously in revolt against the white racist terror regime. In early November, a massive two-day "stay-away" strike paralyzed the industrial region around Johanneshurg. Seeking to behead the growing black workers movement, the apartheid regime has arrested the leaders of the stay-away strike. Real, effective international solidarity action is urgently necessary, demanding: Free the black trade-union leaders and all victims of apartheid terror! We salute the longshoremen who refused to move South African goods on the

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British Miners' Strike Draws the Line

We print below remarks by Eibhlin McDonald at the recent plenum of the National Committee of the Spartacus Youth League.

The Red Avengers is kind of a hard act to follow, but let me make one point that one comrade made in the forum in Toronto the other night: the British miners would really love the Red Avengers.

What I want to try to do is give you a flavor of the political situation in Britain, because it really is in marked contrast with Reagan's America right now. But there's something that I would like to underline, which is that the Thatcher government is in the second term of office and went in with a pretty big majority in the election in 1983, not quite as big as Reagan's. The first real opposition they ran into came from the British miners. And it's important to have the understanding and the hope that Reagan will run into the same kind of trouble, because it really does alter the political contours in the country.

The miners have been on strike now for about nine months. The strike has been declared illegal. They've had two people killed on picket lines, others have died on the way to the picket lines, young kids have died trying to get coal from rubbish tips, where there's a kind of a landslide and the stuff falls down on top of them and they get buried alive. The miners have had thousands of people arrested and have really suffered massive repression from the bourgeois state in the course of trying to fight to defend their jobs and their communities. And some of the lessons coming out of that are the things that I mainly want to talk about.

Press Association

Police charge pickets outside mine near Dover. Coal strike is a fight for all the oppressed.

You'll have noticed in the press here recently a lot of ballyhoo about a big "back-to-work" movement. And you could very easily be misled, because if you really added up the figures for people that have gone back to work then you probably would get more than is actually in the miners union, in the NUM itself. However, it is true that there has been a certain erosion within the strike recently. (Unlike what the bourgeois press tells you, it's not because of the Qaddafi connection. Miners think that it's really wonderful if they get money from anywhere, and one of them has said recently, in a meeting where someone mentioned the Qaddafi connection, "Well, you know, if we can't get money from Qaddafi, maybe we can get guns. We can use them." And it's not because of getting money from the Soviet Union—they'd love it.) But as of now, there's not much prospect of industrial struggle alongside the miners, and so they're basically now having to dig in to try and survive through the winter pretty much on their own against all the forces of the capitalist state. And that does have an effect on certain elements in the union.

Now, some of the things that are most striking about the course of the struggle. First of all, the way in which whole sections of the population who are normally deeply divided have rallied behind the miners and have seen in the miners' strike a possible solution to what they suffer under Thatcher. This is particularly true for the racially oppressed minorities. The blacks and Asians in Britain have become some of the most solid supporters of the miners. If you understand that the miners union is predominantly white, and pretty elitist in its political attitudes, for them to find allies in the black and Asian population is really quite a change in British politics. The reason for the identification is that the kind of treatment that's being dished out to the miners in the course of the strike is something that has been dished out to the black and Asian population in the inner cities in Britain for quite a long time.

And there's also the fact that the racial minorities tend to do the dirtiest, most dangerous and worst paid jobs in Britain. In actual fact British mining almost falls into that category, because you have to understand that miners or craftsmen in the British mines might take home, at the end of having worked 40 hours, less than $100 a week. And that's someone who's gone through an apprenticeship. And it's really dangerous and there's a lot of accidents. So there's that reason for identification as well.

It's also true of the Irish population. Previously if you had an IRA bombing in the mainland of Britain, regardless of what the target was, it was always followed by a wave of anti-Irish hysteria. You know, a pretty bad period. Whereas recently when the IRA bombed the hotel where a lot of Tories were staying during their conference the response was everybody cheered because one of the people who suffered most was the employment minister, Norman Tebbit. They showed these pictures on television of this guy lying under four or five floors of rubble and then being dragged out by his feet, and everybody cheered and clapped and thought it was wonderful. And someone had the response, whoever did this should be shot—for missing the target. They're really sorry they missed Thatcher.

There's also another example of the way in which the social divisions have broken down. There's an organization in London called Lesbians and Gay

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TROTSKY

LENIN

Revolutionary Leadership and British Labor

In 1926, Tory plans to "reorganize" the coal industry by massive wage reductions forced a militant strike by the miners and a nine-day general strike by British labor. Trotsky's writings on the 1926 General Strike are crucial to the class war that rages in Britain today.

It would be inopportune at this moment to make prophecies as to the duration of the fight and its development, to say nothing of its outcome. Everything must be done from the international point of view to help the fighters. We must, however, clearly recognize that success is only possible in accordance with the degree to which the British working class, in the process of the development and intensification of the general strike, realizes the necessity for changing its leaders and succeeds in so doing....

The most important piece of work for the truly revolutionary participants in the general strike will be to fight relentlessly against every trace or act of treachery, and mercilessly expose reformist illusions. In so doing, they will not only help forward the chief and permanent task of developing revolutionary cadres, without which the victory of the British proletariat is altogether impossible, but they will also contribute directly to the success of the present strike by intensifying it, revealing its revolutionary implications, pushing aside the opportunists and strengthening the position of the revolutionaries. The results of the strike—both the immediate results and those further ahead—will be all the more important the more decisively the revolutionary will of the masses breaks down the barriers and obstacles of the counterrevolutionary leadership.

—Leon Trotsky, "Problems of the British Labor Movement" (May 1926)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 368 **7 December 1984**

Funds Needed Now for British Miners' Families!

As Britain heads into a hard winter of class war, the striking British miners remain firm in their battle against Thatcher and the National Coal Board. With the onset of cold weather, coal stocks are dropping while management's attempts to create a back-to-work movement with Christmas bribes for scabs has failed. Thatcher's High Court tries to steal National Union of Mineworkers' funds in Luxembourg and Dublin banks, but striking miners are appealing to trade-union organizations internationally to come to their aid. The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), which has launched a $25,000 "Aid to Striking British Miners' Families" fund drive among U.S. trade-union locals, urgently appeals to readers of *Workers Vanguard* to assist in this campaign.

A generous donation has already been received from AFSCME Local 2477 in Washington, D.C. The members of this local of government employees participated in the 27 November 1982 demonstration which stopped the Klan in the streets of Washington, D.C. At a public forum of the Trotskyist League of Canada held November 22, over $350 was collected after comrade Eibhlin McDonald of the Spartacist League of Britian described what is at stake in the miners' heroic fight. In addition we are pleased to print below a letter the PDC has received from a New York City transit worker which underscores the urgency of this effort.

To mobilize for the fund drive in your area, write to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013. Make checks payable to: Aid to Striking British Miners' Families. Contributors will receive numbered receipts; financial records of this fond drive are open to inspection by any bona fide workers organization. ■

Nov. 18, 1984

Partisan Defense Committee:

As a former "liberal" and presently a member of Local 100 of the T.W.U., and also a new subscriber to *Workers Vanguard*, it is refreshing to read a newspaper that is truly pro-working class, after being "brainwashed" for so many years by the anti-labor biases of the N.Y. newspapers (*Times, Post, News*). I have to be honest and tell you that the strong language used by *Workers Vanguard* scares me a bit, but I do admire your courage to tell it like it is.

Enclosed is a check for the striking British miners. I have never donated to a fund like this before, but I am beginning to see the need for a world wide solidarity of the working class.

Yours truly,
T.F.

West German State Targets Spartacists

Stop Neo-Gestapo Terrorist Smear!

We print below the political declaration by our comrades of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands against the sinister "advertisement" campaign by the West German interior ministry, which smears the Spartacists and other leftists and sets them up for repression.

The anti-Soviet war drive is finding in West Germany also its inevitable domestic expression in the brandishing of police-state measures of intimidation and terrorization. The federal minister of the interior, Friedrich Zimmermann, West German top cop and a favorite speaker at conventions of fascistic "captive nations" refugees, has launched a deadly "anti-extremist" smear campaign of "advertisements" in the bourgeois press prominently featuring our newspaper *Spartakist* and slanderously equating leftists with Nazis and terrorists.

The interior ministry headed by Zimmermann, a protégé of Franz Josef Strauss, published a threatening quarter-page "ad" that appeared in the 24-25 November and 1-2 December weekend editions of more than a dozen regional and national newspapers urging every order-loving federal citizen [*Bundesbürger*] to send in a coupon for the 1983 and even the unpublished 1984 report of the so-called "Office for the Protection of the Constitution" in the Fatherland. Referring to leftists as "enemies of the constitution" who might present an "acute danger to the legal state," it calls for "defense measures by the police." This is a barely veiled threat of repression and illegalization against left organizations.

Under the ominous title "Who Is Behind This?" plastered over a helmet, this "publicity" displayed a collage of newspaper mastheads and symbols of left organizations along with swastikas, fascist slogans ("Germans Awake!" "No More Foreigners!"), Nazi initials and the like. Although it is illegal in West Germany to display the swastika, symbol of racist terror and genocide, the guardians of "law and order" have no compunctions about breaking their own laws when it comes to smearing leftists, and they liberally sprinkle the Hitler trademark around their filthy "advertisement."

Deadly smear "advertisement" by Interior Ministry with ominous headline "Who Is Behind This?" prominently portrays *Spartakist* masthead, newspaper of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency. Also portrayed are hammer and sickle of Maoist MLPD and CP paper masthead, along with illegal Nazi swastikas and vile racist slogans. Text asserts that information gathered on "extremists" by the secret police is "indispensable to the democratic stability of the Federal Republic of Germany." Police job, they claim, is to prepare so "steps may be taken by the police to defend" against "enemies of the constitution." Coupon at bottom of ad is provided to send for 1983 and 1984 spy reports. TLD protest campaign and injunction motion demand government cease publication of "advertisement" and retract slander. Stop West German state terror campaign!

The Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD, West German section of the international Spartacist tendency), publisher of *Spartakist*, denounces this vile hate-and-fear propaganda, the precursor to dreaded "night and fog" actions which threaten the democratic rights of all. We have brought urgent legal action to stop the federal government's witchhunting "advertisements," and we demand an immediate retraction. But in the tradition of Goebbels' Big Lie campaigns, the interior ministry's slander ad was repeated a week later in the "prestigious" businessman's paper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and the right-wing Springer press empire's *Die Welt*. Significantly, the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* refused to publish the Zimmermann ad because of the display of the swastika.

The federal government is trying to whip up a "red scare" reviving the old counterrevolutionary *Spartakistenhaß* ("hatred of the Spartacists"). *They want to kill that woman, that Polish Jewish Communist, Rosa Luxemburg, all over again!* And this sinister business of "advertisements" has a long history. Remember the famous campaign of posters aimed at beheading the German revolutionaries in 1918-19: "The Fatherland is threatened not from without, but from within, by the Spartakus group," they proclaimed. "Strike its leaders dead! Kill Liebknecht!" A few weeks later Luxemburg and Liebknecht were dead. But the Spartacist bogeyman, the spectre of communism, still haunts the German bourgeoisie.

Not only the Trotskyists are targeted by this Christian Democratic witchhunt. Everything to the left of the governing parties falls in Zimmermann's sights. The social-democratic-led "peace movement" has long been under attack as "puppets of Moscow," the Greens in parliament have been labeled "Communist infiltrators," and now among the examples of "extremism" singled out in the Zimmermann ad is a leaflet by the "Coordinating Committee of the Peace Movement," including the Lutherans' Aktion Sühnezeichen. With Strauss' CSU [Bavarian Christian Democrats] inquisitors on the loose, even Chancellor Kohl's CDU (whose social vision is only slightly more advanced than the Council of Trent) had better worry.

"Who Is Behind This?"

Today the "free" bourgeois press shamelessly prints the "advertising" smear campaign the *government* pays for openly—a transparent bribe to turn the media into a mouthpiece for official propaganda. (Will the *Frankfurter Allgemeine* soon resemble the *Völkische Beobachter* [official organ of the Third Reich]?) But then Zimmermann is well versed in corruption: he received his crumbs from the Flick money, DM25,000 as a "book allowance." (Let's see: how many copies of *Mein Kampf* would that buy?) Bribes and smear campaigns [*Schmiergeld und Schmutzkampagne*]: these are the specialties of this protector of the constitution.

And what else would one expect given the long, venal tradition of the West German state? The main financier behind the Bonn government, Karl Friedrich Flick, inherited a financial empire built from the monstrous profits gained by starving the entire German working class through the astronomical inflation of the '20s. Flick, Sr. was also the main financier of the SS Freundeskreis Heinrich Himmler, and his fortune in the Third Reich was built on the superexploitation of hundreds of thousands of forced laborers from the concentration camps.

The regime supported and suborned by the Flick millions today is indeed the "legitimate" successor to the Hitler regime. To keep the wheels of German industry turning it imports millions of "guest workers" crammed into miserable ghettos. It keeps them in line, outlawing Turkish leftist groups while the fascist Grey Wolves stalk their prey with impunity. And when the capitalist economy is in crisis, "no more foreigners" becomes the slogan not only of the neo-Nazis but of the federal ministry of the interior. Making a mockery of the right of asylum written into the constitution, hundreds of Tamils are deported to Sri Lanka to face pogroms and murderous state terror at the hands of West German and American ally J.R. Jayewardene.

Do not forget: it was the Soviet Red Army that smashed the Nazi regime. And the German Trotskyists, who ultimately fell victim to the Nazi plague, fought to prevent Hitler's rise to power, calling for a united front to unite the powerful German working class against fascist barbarism. In 1933, their organ, *Die Permanente Revolution*, was banned by the government as a threat to the state. Four years later came the trial of the Danzig Trotskyists, who published a mimeographed bulletin, *Spartakus*, and called on dock workers to do everything in their power to prevent shipments of war materiel. Today our Australian and American comrades of the international Spartacist tendency are likewise fighting to stop death cargos to El Salvador and South Africa. The heroic Danzig Trotskyists of the Spartakusbund proclaimed, as do we today: "*the defense of the USSR remains the unconditional duty of the proletariat.*"

It is a mockery of the tragic fate of the Jewish people, and of German history, which has amply proved the enormity of the crimes of Hitler fascism—the genocide of 6 million Jews and over 5 million others (other minorities, communists, trade unionists), the annihilation of 20 million Soviet citizens, the suffering of entire nations under the Nazi jackboot—when the militant opponents of

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German communists founded the Spartakusbund and began publishing Spartacus (top left) in opposition to the imperialist First World War. Right before the brutal murder of workers' heroes Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg (bottom), in the heat of the 1918-19 revolution, counterrevolutionaries put out call (top right): "The Fatherland... is threatened not from without but from within, by the Spartakus group. Strike its leaders dead! Kill Liebknecht!" But Liebknecht's revolutionary slogan "The main enemy is at home!" and the spectre of Spartacism still haunt the German bourgeoisie.

Neo-Gestapo...

(continued from page 3)

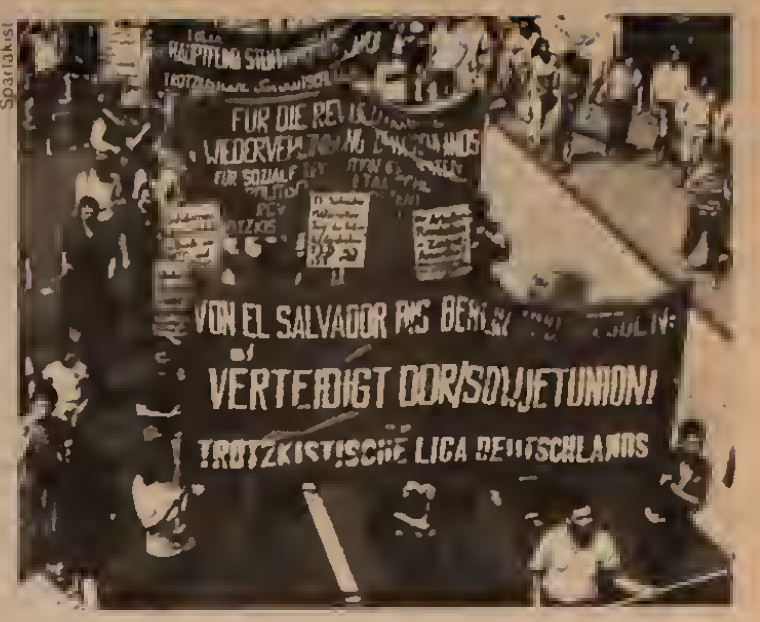
fascism are equated with their Nazi executioners by the arrogant West German state, the "democratic" heir to that unspeakably grotesque and barbaric regime. It is the legacy of Nazism which has left the German nation, and the German proletariat, divided. The Trotskyists of the TLD fight for *revolutionary reunification* of Germany, in a socialist United States of Europe. The West German secret police try to silence the Marxists as part of the imperialist drive to overthrow the historic conquests of the DDR [East German] deformed workers state east of the Elbe.

Who Is Afraid of the Spartacists?

It's downright perverse that the *Verfassungsschutz* [Office for the Protection of the Constitution], the secret police of an imperialist state allied with bloody bonapartist dictatorships from Sri Lanka to Turkey to Chile, should accuse Marxists of "terrorism." In the "Zimmermann ad," Leninist-Trotskyists are accused of putschism as we are thrown together in the smear collage with the Nazi slogan "Smash this state!" In fact the capitalist government is not "smashed," violently or nonviolently. The historical likelihood is that in a revolutionary situation there may well be little government to "overthrow." And surely not this government in its present form. The choice posed will most probably be between the workers democracy of soviets versus a tottering bonapartist dictatorship.

The Trotskyists defend the victims of bourgeois state terror, such as the defunct Red Army Faction (RAF—referred to in the bourgeois press as the "Baader-Meinhof gang"), who in their petty-bourgeois despair strike out at individual representatives of imperialist oppression. We seek instead to educate and mobilize the proletariat around its historic tasks. Nothing is less conspiratorial than a Marxist working-class organization, whose success is entirely dependent on the open and widest dissemination of its views and aims. Any leftist organization that fits the *Verfassungsschutz* definition of "extremist" would have to be a group of suicidal psychopaths.

And just what are these "protectors of the constitution" protecting? The West German imperialist state which arose after 1948 has adopted the rhetoric of its Allied conquerors. Its constitution even includes a "bill of rights." Twenty articles guarantee legal equality, freedom of conscience, freedom of opinion, freedom of assembly, freedom of religion, freedom of travel, freedom of occupation, etc. But in Article 21 the sinister concept of "unconstitutional" [*verfassungswidrig*] parties is introduced. For them all rights can be denied; instead there is *Berufsverbot* [occupational bans], criminalization, and trial by "advertisement." And it's all enforced, whether Social Democrats or Christian Democrats occupy the ministerial seats, by a federal state police [*Bundesstaatspolizei*] dressed in constitutional grey.



Bonn, June 1982: German Spartacists march in mass protest against Reagan's visit.

For generations palpably false characterizations have been used as a cover in order to arrest opponents of the government. In the cause of banning the KPD [Communist Party of Germany] in 1956, the threatening concept of "enemies of the constitution" was created. This police-state definition allows the wholesale civil service blacklisting of, for example, supporters and members of the KPD's successor, the DKP. In the yearly spy report, the subject of the Zimmermann ad, virtually all left groups are labeled "enemies of the constitution." References to the TLD repeatedly warn that we are "pro-Soviet."

Our American comrades successfully conducted a legal struggle against an attempt by the California state attorney general to include us on a "terrorist" list with such unsavory elements as the Hell's Angels and the criminally insane Manson and his cult followers. We beat back this attack and obtained a retraction from the State of California. And in the face of the Reagan administration's attempts to proscribe communists as "terrorists," the SL/U.S. has just now successfully settled a legal suit asserting our rights against the American FBI [see "FBI Admits: Marxists Are Not Terrorists," page 16]. We adamantly defend the right of a workers party to organize.

The TLD is part of a disciplined internationalist communist organization, the international Spartacist tendency. Given this, it is unreasonable to suppose that we would be troublesome in one country and not another—unless one defines "troublesome" to include practices permitted by the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution. Since the present West German state issued from several years of United States military dictatorship, we would like to think that activities that we undertake which would be privileged under the United States Constitution would also be permitted in the Federal Republic of Germany.

What Is This State?

On the other hand, we also understand that much of the present practice of this state issues from the practices of the "previous period" (the Third Reich). Nor does the Bonn government overlook this. The federal republic claims legal continuity with the state of the Hitler period. Indeed, the laws on foreigners are actually *worse* than those on the books in the Third Reich. And as Hitler ruled under the Weimar Constitution, the laws of the present state go back to Napoleonic law. This law has its origins in the last century as the Junkers and the King of Prussia unified the Reich *from above*. The revolution failed in 1848. There *was* no bourgeois revolution in Germany, no successful revolutionary struggle of the masses which would have done away with feudalism to enfranchise the masses and establish democratic rights on a mass scale as a precondition to developing a modern capitalist industrial economy in Germany.

Thus fundamental rights such as *habeas corpus* (a gain from the 12th century Magna Carta) do not exist in Germany, and prisoners can be held without charge. The anti-abortion law (Paragraph 218) has been on the books for over 100 years, since Wilhelminian Prussia. Separation of church and state, a fundamental bourgeois-democratic legacy of the American revolution, does not exist in the "democratic" federal republic. Indeed, with the Catholic party in power today, the "Moral Majority" *is* the state.

The threat of illegalization and murderous violence against us is quite explicit in the smear campaign the *Verfassungsschutz* has begun. But not only against us. Any group believed to be "terrorists" or "enemies of the constitution" would be laid open as immediate targets for police and/or right-wing attack in the course of carrying out ordinary propaganda work: a rally, a street sale, a public meeting. If this owes anything to the legal traditions of its American occupiers, it is the legacy of the worst McCarthyite witchhunting period. This state now takes on "terrorists" with its guns drawn. Just recall the illegal Strauss actions, applauded by Zimmermann, in the vicious persecution of *Spiegel* publisher Rudolph Augstein. And today Green parliamentarian Otto Schily, who defended the RAF prisoners, is still denounced as a recipient of "terrorist money" by Strauss (during an official hearing on the DM2.23 million the Bavarian CSU leader received from Flick!).

And if there were any doubts as to the danger of the deadly fascist threat one need only look at the hideous 1980 Oktoberfest massacre, the ever more frequent attacks on Turkish families, on Green and women's organization offices, which go unavenged while Zimmermann calls for unleashing police-state measures against the left.

All of us on the state's hit list had better know what it can mean to be treated as a terrorist and "enemy of the constitution" in West Germany. We are compelled to undertake this battle not only to defend ourselves against the criminalization attempts by the *Verfassungsschutz* and the West German state, but also to preserve the existing democratic rights of the working-class movement. The revolutionary Marxists are the only consistent defenders of democratic rights, particularly in a period when the anti-Soviet war drive places the defense of all gains by the working class, from the trade unions to the Soviet Union itself, clearly on the agenda: in Lenin's words, the proletariat is the only consistently democratic class.

We do not intend to be outlawed and blown away—faceless, nameless victims in the dead of night. As the defenders and disseminators of revolutionary Marxism in West Germany today, our task is too important: the liberation of the workers and oppressed from the chains of this decaying racist system through victorious socialist revolution.

—3 December 1984

Motion for a Temporary Injunction

The following are excerpts from the legal brief of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands for a temporary injunction ordering the West German Ministry of the Interior to stop its campaign of smear "advertisements" prominently featuring the TLD newspaper Spartakist.

Hannover
28 November 1984

To: Hannover State Court

Motion
For a Temporary Injunction

1. The Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands, represented by its National Secretary, Fred Zierenberg, Frankfurt am Main
2. Editor-in-Chief Fred Zierenberg, Frankfurt am Main

-Petitioners-

Through their attorneys:
Dr. Holtfort, Dr. Helms, Dr. Horstmann, Waldraff and Borries, Hannover

- v -

The Federal Republic of Germany, represented by the Minister of the Interior, Bonn

-Respondent-

re: Injunction

Preliminary damages: DM 20,000.00

In the name and on behalf of Petitioners, I hereby move, without a hearing due to the particular urgency of the matter, that the presiding judge of the civil court issue an injunction to prevent Respondent, on pain of damages to be determined by the court for each instance of non-compliance by Respondent, from using the masthead of "Spartakist" in advertisements for the Office for the Protection of the Constitution, such as the one which appeared in the Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung on 24-25/11/1984, or similar ones, in particular in conjunction with neo-Nazi and terrorist symbols and slogans.

IV. The rights of Petitioner(1) and Petitioner(2) have suffered injury due to the advertisement which is the subject of this complaint....

The day-to-day work of Petitioner(1) was also damaged by the advertisement which is the subject of this complaint.

The use of the logo "Spartakist" in the advertisement which is the subject of this complaint, in conjunction with the other symbols and slogans used there, in particular the frequent use of the "swastika," creates the impression in the casual and even average reader that Petitioner(1) is a neo-Nazi and terrorist association.

In particular: The impression created by the advertisement which is the subject of this complaint is one dominated by symbols and slogans of neo-Nazi organizations. In particular the swastika, a banned image, is used frequently. This makes it a matter of a neo-Nazi organization. In no way is it made clear to the reader that it is not exclusively a matter of neo-fascist organizations. In addition, this is not made clear in the text of the advertisement. For the most part, the advertisement which is the subject of this complaint contains symbols and slogans of organizations which are already banned, or their successor organizations. Petitioner(1) is neither a banned organization nor a successor organization to a banned organization. On the basis of the advertisement an unsuspecting and insufficiently informed reader must conclude that Petitioner(1) is an already banned organization or successor organization, or perhaps an organization which is imminently threatened with being banned. However, this is not the case, as Respondent will also confirm.

It slanders Petitioner(1) for Respondent to equate Marxist and neo-Nazi tendencies and organizations in its advertisement. The results of National Socialism, in particular genocide, should be known to the court and have been sufficiently demonstrated by German history. The flat equation of Petitioner(1) with neo-Nazi groups is therefore unlawful. As is even an approximation.

s/ Borries
Attorney

NYC Rally Protests Police Murder of Eleanor Bumpurs

Down with Koch's Killer Cops!

Chanting "We want Stephen Sullivan!" more than 200 angry demonstrators marched down the Grand Concourse in the Bronx and converged at the 46th Precinct station house on November 17 to protest the police murder of black, crippled, 67-year-old Eleanor Bumpurs in her own home. Sullivan the Cop was triggerman for the SWAT team, equipped with side arms, mace, bulletproof vests, gas masks, shields and "restraining bars," who kicked in the old woman's door on October 29 and then killed her with a 12-gauge shotgun. She was $417.10 behind in her rent and the city ordered her out: it was eviction by death.

200 march November 17 in protest against "eviction by death" of Bronx grandmother.

The cops said Sullivan shot Mrs. Bumpurs only once but the medical examiner's report states that there were two blasts. The first caused "extensive destruction" of the hand which supposedly wielded a knife. *Then*, when even by official report she was utterly defenseless, Sullivan fired the fatal round to her chest. At that point Eleanor Bumpurs was still alive, but according to Victor Garcia, an eyewitness to the killing (*City Sun*, 21-27 November), it was more than *half an hour* before the cops brought the dying woman outside, naked. They ignored an ambulance at the scene and put her into a patrol car at about 10:50 a.m. She died at Lincoln Hospital at 11:35.

With NYC under Congressional scrutiny for police brutality, the *New York Times* called on Koch to clean up the "procedures" for police killings. Meanwhile, the police brass say that the execution was "within department guidelines." Commissioner Benjamin Ward, Koch's black front man, emphasized the point with a ghoulish demonstration at the November 28 meeting of the city council's Committee on Public Safety. An "emotionally disturbed" person with a knife was approached by a robot which asked, "Would you like a cup of coffee?" When the victim responded "Leave me alone" (reportedly Eleanor Bumpurs' last words), he was then blasted with water which in real life, it was pointed out, would be mace...or bullets. The commissioner reassured the audience: "In some cases, these devices will do some damage, but the person will probably survive death"(!)

Black Democratic Party demagogues like Herbert Daughtry are trying to capitalize on the murder of Eleanor Bumpurs and use the police brutality hearings to launch an anti-Koch candidate in the 1985 mayoral elections. But whether it is racist pig Ed Koch or black ex-cop Tom Bradley in Los Angeles, the Democratic big city mayors "crack down" on the ghetto masses as enforcers of Reagan's racist austerity, part of the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. A Spartacist placard in the November 17 march declared: "Break with the Democrats—Build a Workers Party to Lead the Fight for Black Freedom!" Yet another grand jury or FBI "investigation" will be a cover-up for the legal lynch mobs in blue. We say: "Jail the Killer Cops!" and, as a sign carried by a militant NYC transit worker at the Bronx demo read, "Labor/Black Action to Stop Racist Terror!" Workers and the oppressed must be mobilized in revolutionary struggle to sweep away the death squads of racist American capitalism.

Running Against the Democrats and Their "Left" Lackeys

S.F. Spartacist Campaign For Black Freedom

SAN FRANCISCO, November 30—Today, at Pier 80 on the SF docks where militant members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) are fighting for mass pickets to boycott the South Africa-bound ship *Nedlloyd Kimberley*, Richard Bradley, Spartacist candidate for the SF Board of Supervisors in the recent elections, told the local NBC-TV affiliate KRON (Channel 4):

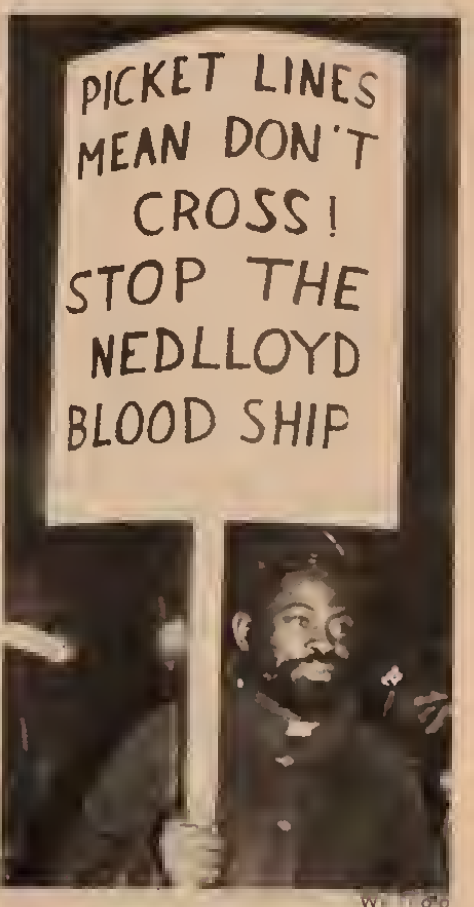
> "You know, the whole question behind Dellums, Conyers, and these other House of Representatives members that are being arrested: it's crazy to meet with this guy [the South African ambassador] because, basically, everybody knows where South Africa stands on the issue. The point is the line right here. What should be done right out here is mass picket lines.... The longshoremen here should not be unloading this ship. There should actually be a mass picket line protesting this racist ship that's docked out here on the pier.... The point is it's embarrassing, especially to blacks...that Local 10 is still dispatching longshoremen out here, and on every day, so the guys go inside ...and walk back out. That's not class struggle. Class struggle's about the mass picket lines. There's a lot of talk in the city right now about mass picket lines. And there's a lot of talk in the city right now about a general strike. Let's stop talking about it, let's *have* a general strike against union-busting, against this kind of racist thing like the ship being docked here in the bay."

In the face of the landslide re-election of anti-Soviet nut Reagan, and in this predominantly Democratic city, the Trotskyist program of socialist revolution got nearly 7,000 votes in San Francisco. The Spartacist campaign of Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman sought not only to make broad Marxist propaganda but to translate their program into action. Class-struggle internationalist labor solidarity with anti-imperialist fighters from Soweto to Central America—where Reagan is setting the stage for an invasion of Nicaragua—was central to their campaign, as was their stand for the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive.

In defense of San Francisco's large communities of Hispanic and Asian immigrants, the Spartacist candidates demanded: "Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign-Born Workers!" The Bradley and Coleman campaign's central slogan was "Finish the Civil War! For Workers Revolution!" This was the popular chant of the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League that stopped the racist-terrorist KKK from marching through the streets of Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982. And this slogan was appropriate to the heroic action of Spartacist candidate Bradley who twice climbed a 50-foot flagpole in SF's Civic Center to tear down the Confederate flag of slavery and racist terror obstinately flown by the Democratic administration of Mayor "Dixie" Dianne Feinstein. Bradley's action was acclaimed by Bay Area blacks and all enemies of racism. But by exposing the party of Cold War loser Mondale as the party of Dixiecrat Jim Crow, it drove into a frenzy those labor skates, "rainbow" coalitionists and left tailists who were hustling votes for the Democrats.

The Bradley/Coleman campaign took place during the 50th anniversary of the San Francisco general strike that shut down the docks and turned this city into a union town. With the slogan "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball!" the Spartacist candidates called for a revival of the militant class-struggle tactics that built the unions, in order to defend them today against the union-busters. They took that slogan down to pickets of hotel and restaurant workers whose long strike was crippled by the bureaucrats' policy of selective strikes and nominal picket lines. And they went to the Central Labor Council and called for less commemoration of the '34 general strike and more action to do it again. At a mass rally of Local 2 restaurant workers, Bradley called for militant mass picket lines that nobody crosses, backed up by the rest of SF labor. Only now that the strike is up against the wall are the CLC fakers blustering about a general strike against the hotels and restaurants who refuse to take the strikers back.

The SL sought to use this campaign to expose the government's sinister "anti-terrorism" ploy, by which it seeks to equate political opponents, especially Marxists, with "terrorism," thereby outlawing or exterminating political opposition to its deadly anti-Soviet war preparations. From the White House to City Hall, bourgeois authorities combined to bring this "anti-terrorist" government terrorism to the streets of San Francisco, targeting the tame demonstrations scheduled to coincide with the Democratic Party National Convention, targeting the convention proceedings themselves and targeting the Spartacist League, despite our loudly expressed indifference to the proceedings of this bourgeois party. The streets around the convention center were militarized as cops beat up and arrested hundreds of demonstrators.



Richard Bradley joins longshore protest against South Africa-bound ship.

Having gotten a taste of blood, Feinstein's thugs in blue have been rampaging against immigrants, blacks, gays and antiwar protesters ever since. Despite our fundamental class differences with the Democrats, we offered a

continued on page 11

Smash Apartheid...

(continued from page 1)

lanes over which passes 20 percent of the oil imported to the United States, and more than 50 percent of the oil imported to its NATO allies. South Africa has become the gendarme for imperialism and especially American imperialism in southern Africa, as demonstrated by its role in Angola and also in Mozambique. And it is in the front line of the American anti-Soviet war drive, the drive for confrontation and nuclear showdown with the Soviet Union, that threatens humanity with nuclear holocaust.

Gold and Apartheid

So, how did apartheid develop and what is it all about? In this brutal regime is seen, especially by the colonial masses throughout the world and by blacks in America, a mirror of their own oppression. A mirror that magnifies, that renders grotesque and exaggerated but nevertheless is a reflection of what the peasants in El Salvador, what the Mexican migrants in the Southwest, what the Turkish worker in Europe, what the untouchable in India, and yes, what a black welfare mother in the Bronx feels in a racist society, in a colonial society, in a society in which there is special oppression. And here the colonial relationships are encapsulated and magnified in one country.

The system of apartheid was developed during the 19th century to extract gold and diamonds which, especially at that time, was a very labor-intensive form of production. Furthermore it was production that was highly volatile and subject to enormous fluctuations in the world market. And unlike mining in certain other countries, such as the Soviet Union, South Africa has continued to develop its mining (which creates 70 percent of its exports), not through capital investment, not through improvement in machines, but through the increasing brutalization and exploitation of black labor.

Reininger/Contact

Black gold miners have the power to strike at the heart of South African apartheid economy.

symbol of chattel slavery and racism down, and whites will not be spared the lash by white skin privilege in this industry.

Now just to give you some idea of what I mean by this increasing exploitation in South Africa without capital investment: the rate of profit for gold per metric ton of ore in 1970 was 3.9 Rand (a Rand is worth 50 cents to 60 cents); by 1981, this had increased about *14-fold*, the rate of profit, to 53.7 Rand. Some of that reflects inflation, but certainly not a great deal of it. It represents a real increase in the *rate of exploitation*. In South Africa, oppression, as I said, is reflected and made naked. It's bare, it's explicit, it's institutionalized. Let me just give you a statement, for example, that was put out by the prime minister's office in 1924, and I assure you things have not changed very much, especially in the mines. The statement said about their "civilized labour" policy:

> "Civilized labour is to be considered as the labour rendered by persons whose standard of living conforms to the standards generally recognized as tolerable from the usual European standpoint. Uncivilized labour is to be regarded as the labour rendered by persons whose aim is restricted to the bare requirements of the necessities of life as understood among barbarous and underdeveloped peoples."

Read "blacks, coloureds [people of mixed race], Indians"—but especially blacks.

Therefore, the whole point is to drive the entire labor force in the mines down to the bare necessities to get through one day and the next, and that is *all*. Now the most stark way of doing this is that the entire black labor force—500,000-strong—in the mines is migrant labor. Forty percent of this migrant labor comes from outside of South Africa: client states like Lesotho, so-called independent states like Mozambique. They have no rights. And if they attempt to protest their plight, they are just shipped back to where they come from, after a period of detention in which they do prison labor, which is a big industry in South Africa.

So what about the other 60 percent [of black mine workers]? Here is the real motor force behind apartheid: to get at that gold, to get at those diamonds, a whole people, a whole nation, or nations, has been uprooted from their homeland, has been stripped of their birthright and declared foreigners in their own country. Something called the Native Land Act of 1913 declared 87 percent of the country a white homeland, even though whites constitute but 16 percent of the population, and the 70 percent of the population that was black was relegated to 13 percent of the land, one or two hundred scattered parcels, which happen to represent the poorest part of the land. The ports, the cities, the industry, the economically viable land is all centered in the white homeland, in the 87 percent that the whites gained under their "self-determination." Blacks, in an obscene mockery of "self-determination," are supposed to realize *their* homeland where there is neither land nor home—in the brush, in the desert of the other 13 percent. The bantustans today generate but 3 percent of the gross national product of South Africa. The other 97 percent is in the white "homeland."

So the real jobs, the cash jobs—and you need cash because you have to pay taxes in South Africa, and to support your family in the bantustans you need cash—are in the white homelands. Where in order to go you have to have a passport, the so-called Pass Laws, and where you can only go if you are "economically necessary"—i.e., if you have a job. You leave your family behind, your wife and children back in the bantustan to scrape out a living out of the brush while you go off—if you're amongst the lucky—to get into the mines, to live in a hostel, or a barracks, 20 to a barracks. The better-equipped ones have one tap of running water and maybe one sink. And they literally are barracks: no privacy, double bunkbeds, and this is where you spend your economically viable life.

The bantustans therefore constitute a reserve, an industrial reserve for the unemployed; for the sick this is your social insurance. If you're sick, you're dismissed from your work and you're sent back to the bantustan. And this is a very dangerous occupation—as late as 1981, 619 workers were killed in the gold mines alone, another 119 in coal mines. Killed! Murdered. Thousands are maimed for life and dumped back on bantustans. It is there the next generation of wage slaves are raised. It is there the husbands return when they are unemployed, when they are sick, when they are maimed and when they are dead to be buried by their widows, whose lives are one unmitigated toil of triple oppression, as women, as blacks and as domestic servants. So of course the state does not need to provide unemployment compensation and all the other benefits: injury insurance, workmen's comp. This is all taken care of by the women in the bantustan.

The women in the bantustans, however, even though their life is brutalized, are also an enormous reserve of social protest. During the 1950s when the Pass Laws were extended to women, there was a massive mobilization of women—black women, Indians and coloureds and whites—who came from all over South Africa, very often walking for hundreds of miles in a massive pilgrimage. And they gathered 20,000-strong in Johannesburg, and they sang the freedom song whose lyrics will resound soon. They are: "Now you have touched the woman, you have struck a rock, you have dislodged a boulder, you will be crushed."

John Seymour

Bantustan hellhole (Tilinge, South Africa): Apartheid prison house for black masses.

In fact the mines are run somewhat like the [New York City] subway system is supposed to be run under our new subway czars Kiley and Gunn—that is, they don't want to invest money; they think they're going to use what's called in South Africa the *sjambok*, which is a Boer bullwhip. And it's indicative of how South Africa is a replication of colonial and special oppression everywhere: we have up at the 207th Street shop, sported by one Davis, the proprietor of that plantation, a bullwhip wrapped around an American flag, a fitting symbol of the new era of labor relations in transit. And I'll tell you, this union had better stand up for its rights, like they say in the song, and take that

The Black Proletariat: Gravedigger of Apartheid Capitalism

So to create this superexploited pool of migrant labor, to make migrants out of the inhabitants of the land, and to make them subject to superexploitation; to create massive unemployment, a massive reserve army, so that if you don't like this job, there's another hundred back on the bantustans that are crying out for your job, apartheid was created. And all of the institutions of "separate development"—the homelands, the Pass Laws, the Group Areas acts—exist today to create a total regimentation of the labor force for superexploitation. The bantustans, I assure you, are coequal with anything you see today or hear about in the starving Sahara, or starving Ethiopia. The diseases and epidemics that have been wiped out of North America are endemic in the bantustan. Infant mortality for a white in South Africa is 18 per thousand. For a black, it's 110 per thousand. And one out of every five children will never live beyond the age of five.

So in this situation, to go out on strike is very courageous, because one stands up not only against the police and now the army with armored cars and machine guns, but as I said, the threat of being thrown back on the bantustan to starve and to watch your family starve because of your action. But in creating its source of exploitation in the proletariat, capitalism creates its own gravedigger. And just as everything else is more acute, more naked and more brutal in South Africa, so is this very basic fact more true, because South Africa is entirely dependent on black labor. Even more so because it is labor-intensive, because to a certain extent even though it presents the image of being an advanced industrial country, it is in many ways quite backward in terms of its economic development compared to Western Europe, or compared to the United States.

Furthermore, South Africa has ambitions to be an imperialist power in its own right and not merely a supplier of raw materials, of gold and diamonds and coal and various other metals and agricultural produce for the world market. It would like to process its own raw materials and create an industrial infrastructure and a marketplace. But in order to do that, that is to say, create a petrochemical plant, you must therefore create a skilled labor force. But if you have a skilled labor force you cannot simply subject your entire labor force to a migratory condition where they must trek thousands of miles to their place of work every year and then be sent back every year. They must be allowed the accoutrements of culture. They must be allowed to learn how to read and write. So there is a tremendous demand for skilled labor, and a tremendous labor shortage within the skills. Let me just give you a statistic from 1981, which is

the latest one I have: of the 33,300 apprentices in South Africa, less than 500 were black. And this is a country where blacks constitute 70 percent of the population and the overwhelming bulk of the labor force.

"Adapt or Die"?

The time cannot go on indefinitely where 16 percent of the population lords it over 70 percent. The savage repression of this regime has already resulted in more than 2,000 so-called detentions this year; and as you know from the case of Steve Biko, these are detentions from which many do not return. The savage roundups, the use of 7,000 troops in one township alone, to go house to house and to find people—the only "crimes" they found were people reading pornography. Much like the SF State Women's Center—maybe we could send them to South Africa, they could find employment in the South African army rooting out pornography!

So 7,000 troops were used for this mobilization. This is a panic reaction because this is a regime that's in crisis. And just as the oppressed of the world feel keenly every blow against apartheid, because they see in apartheid a mirror of their own oppression—which is why there is so much solidarity with the military actions of the African National Congress, with the strikes of the black workers, with the militant boycott of the Indian and coloured peoples—so do the oppressors and exploiters, the world capitalists, tremble over what is happening in South Africa. They are very concerned because this regime does not look stable at all.

And so everybody is crying for reform. The regime of Pieter Botha, who just became president through this new constitution—he's supposed to represent the enlightened wing of Afrikaner nationalism, of white privilege, of white capitalism there. And he has a slogan, which was in fact made into a documentary movie, *Adapt or Die*. It's certainly a fitting slogan, "Adapt or die"—that is, there must be reforms made, they feel, to channel, co-opt, dissipate the militancy of this anti-apartheid revolt which has spread across now all sections of the population.

One scheme was to create after Soweto, the [1976] uprising in Soweto, so-called township community control. Councils were set up which were supposed to present an illusion of self-government within the townships, which are deprived of almost every basic social service. In fact the recent revolts in the townships began with an action of the town councillors, who tried to raise the rents of people for whom a rent increase, since they already live at the margin of existence, represents starvation. And not accidentally, when the revolt against the rent increases took place one of the principal targets were these so-called councillors and mayors, several of whom were hacked to death by angry blacks in the townships. So much for the attempt to channel black militancy and black anger into these councils.

Another attempt, of course, of the government is to channel blacks literally into the bantustans. So that in just the last few years alone, three and a half million blacks out of 22 million in South Africa have been dumped back into the bantustans. Now half of the [black] population is forcibly registered in the bantustans, where they are supposed to get democracy through tribal rule. And what does this tribal rule mean? It means just what it says—there is actually an attempt to *re*-tribalize, to turn the clock backward in terms of the historical development of the black people of South Africa. At Soweto, part of the rebellion was over teaching of Afrikaans and the tribal languages in the schools rather than English. And on the bantustans there is actually an attempt by white judges—so-called white witch doctors—to establish the old tribal laws, including the bride price for women.

The other attempt at reform at this level is the so-called new constitution, which was going to offer the Indians and coloureds so-called self-government over their own affairs. That is, national affairs, defense, police, everything that has to do with the country as a whole was relegated to the white parliament. But things that concerned the coloureds and the Indians—like education after the whites told them what their budget was, assuming that they spent it on approved things—was going to be by this Indian parliament or the coloured parliament. And the response of Indian and coloureds was to overwhelmingly boycott these elections. Botha hoped to divide the coloureds and the Indians against the blacks and to win them over to support apartheid. Instead what he did was he fused a unity of Indians and coloureds with blacks against apartheid.

But the most important so-called reform has been the attempt of the Botha regime, and the attempt of the white capitalist establishment in South Africa, to introduce some form of organization within the black working class. Because if you want to create a modern, industrial infrastructure, you cannot have grievances simply resolved through sabotage. This is not so dangerous in a mine, but as you can imagine, in a petrochemical plant this creates problems. And so they wanted to channel black grievances into an extremely elaborate arbitration machinery in which so-called unions would be created—very corporatist, very much integrated into this arbitration machinery. This of course was only a recognition that blacks were organizing unions in any case, and that this was inevitable.

So the "AFL-CIA" of Lane Kirkland sent one of their old-time operatives from the Cold War, one Irving Brown, down to South Africa to see what he could do about cultivating a labor aristocracy, about making the kind of trade unions that the diamond and gold magnates, the Oppenheimers, wanted. Ones that would be shackles on black struggle, rather than vehicles of black struggle. He might have taken along [NYC transit union president] John Lawe. Nevertheless the unions have completely broken out of this framework, as demonstrated by the recent National Union of Mineworkers strike in the Transvaal involving tens of thousands of gold miners. The negotiations were even hailed by the *Wall Street Journal*. The union went through the entire arbitration procedure, months and months of negotiating, and yet they couldn't get a contract. Finally they were, even under the onerous conditions set up in South Africa, in a position to have a legal strike. So they had a legal walkout: ten workers were murdered, hundreds were savagely beaten. Harry Oppenheimer, the so-called enlightened capitalist, who had encouraged this whole process, of course was the one who called in the police, and behind the police the armed forces.

Peter Magubane

South African women's mass protest against the Pass Laws, 1958. As freedom song says, "Now you have touched the woman, you have struck a rock, you have dislodged a boulder, you will be crushed."

So the contradictions of apartheid are such that they attempt to make a little reform under the encouragement of, you remember, "human rights/ethnic purity" Carter; or we have now "constructive engagement" on the part of Ronald Reagan. All genuinely encouraging the regime to make certain attempts at reform, cosmetic reforms, because they realize the situation is untenable. They realize that this state represents a weak link in imperialist domination throughout the world, and not an unimportant one. Because they're worried about seeing the apartheid regime go down in flames. But every attempt at reform unleashes greater struggle, greater militancy. And the regime attempts to meet it with savage panicked repression. You must realize that the South African blacks confront the army and the police without arms, with at best sticks and rocks. Throughout the whole period of Soweto in '76, the army was not used once. Only of late has the army been introduced into suppressing strikes and suppressing township rebellions. And yet, as demonstrated by the general strike earlier this month, unlike the repression of Sharpeville in 1960, this repression by the regime has not only not silenced anti-apartheid revolt, it has fueled anti-apartheid revolt.

Resistance to Apartheid

Now at the head of the resistance to apartheid are several organizations or currents. First of all, and most famous, is the African National Congress, which was formed about 70 years ago over the slogan of "nation-building" in Africa among the tribal chiefs and the more privileged blacks of the time. But especially after World War II, which saw an expansion of a black industrial proletariat and an urbanization of the black population in general, the African National Congress changed its character and became more militant. Leaders from what was called the Youth League—people like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki—took over the ANC. But certain themes have remained constant throughout the ANC's history.

One is their dedication to a multiracial, democratic republic. Now on one side this is a noble aspiration and it reflects itself in the fact that, when they turned to military actions after the massive suppression of Sharpeville, their military actions have always targeted real targets and real institutions of apartheid repression, and they have tried to draw a very strong line between that and indiscriminate violence aimed at whites, or indiscriminate violence aimed at the population in general. Instead they have chosen targets like military facilities, or the famous Sasol coal-to-oil processing plant, which is extremely important for South Africa, which does not have its own petroleum resources.

But behind the slogan of a multiracial democratic republic is first of all the reality of South Africa and the class-collaborationist strategy of the ANC. Because in South Africa class *is* race. The ruling class is white. And behind the slogan of multiracialism is a strategy of class collaborationism and appeasement of a white so-called liberal bourgeoisie, represented by the Oppenheimers. In terms of this appeasement, the "democratic" in the slogan "multiracial democratic republic" also meant something else. Instead of one man, one vote—they mean by "democracy" equal participation by each of the individual constituencies within South Africa. So that what they envision is a system in which blacks and whites coequally participate in the government, even though blacks constitute 70 percent of the population and whites constitute but 16 percent. Nevertheless they will have an "equal" say and "equal" veto power over each other.

And furthermore, since one happens to be the ruling class and one happens to be the exploited class, in fact such a government is not only utopian and absurd, but even if it would come to be it would not change the basic exploitation of the black workers. Let me give you an example. Let us say tomorrow the ANC forms a multiracial democratic republic, and the black workers demand a shorter workweek—"Give us the eight-hour

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Workers Hammer

London, June 2: Spartacist League/Britain marches in 20,000-strong mass protest against Botha visit with "Iron Lady" Thatcher.

Smash Apartheid...

(continued from page 7)

day"—because now they work six twelve-hour days in the mines. And the mine owners say "fuck you," and they lock them out. Then what is the government going to do? Is it going to come to the aid of the mine owners, the Oppenheimers, the Progressive Federal Party? Or is it going to come to the aid of the black proletariat? You can see such a government would not last very long.

Now in rejection of the ANC strategy is a tradition which also dates back to the ANC Youth League, of "black power," embodied in such organizations as the Pan-Africanist Congress and more recently the Black Consciousness Movement. And they demand majority rule, Africa for Africans. But again, their strategy of how to get to Africa for Africans is at best confused. And at worst envisions a replication of Zimbabwe. A kind of black petty-bourgeois regime. Under the impact of this massive black proletarian uprising in South Africa they too have had to recognize the class struggle. But they of course make it a subordinate part of what they call "black consciencizing," which basically denies the class struggle and sees the primary task of forging a consciousness that is nationalistic and that, ironically, is very much conditioned by the fact that many of the leaders of these movements were educated in Christian mission schools and are imbued with a strong strain of Christianity, the so-called new theology.

The other important development, as I mentioned, is an organized black proletariat, which is now 300,000-strong. Compared to the total industrial workforce, which is six million, about 5 percent of the workforce is organized—that is not much. But it is strategically located and it is an extremely powerful development in South Africa.

The Road to Black Freedom in South Africa

I'd like to talk a little bit about what is a Trotskyist strategy for freedom and liberation in South Africa. Clearly the tasks that are on the agenda in South Africa reflect the uneven and combined development of this country. On the one hand you have the appearance of this advanced industrial society. You know, you look at Johannesburg, it looks like a modern city. But right next to Johannesburg is a bantustan where nobody has electricity, nobody has running water, there are no roads. There's a condition of primitiveness that predates the development of civilization. And the Zulus were a fairly advanced civilization, so as I said, in terms of subjugating this population it has become necessary to turn the clock of history backwards, to go back to tribal and pre-tribal conditions. And these coexist together.

So many of the tasks today in South Africa are the elementary tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, or even predate the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The tasks that were accomplished by the French Revolution or, more familiarly here at home, the two revolutionary wars of the War of Independence and the Civil War, in which the rights that we cherish are embodied. And the fruits of those wars—such as the right to vote, the franchise, freedom from chattel slavery, the Bill of Rights—the Reagan administration is abolishing, is violating one by one.

And that is the point. In the 18th and 19th centuries, with a rising and expanding bourgeoisie in this country, in order to develop industry and in order to develop their own political power certain democratic rights had to be established for the rule of the bourgeoisie in that period. It was necessary to win independence from Britain in order to create a national marketplace and it was necessary to fight the Civil War to consolidate that. It was necessary to abolish chattel slavery for capitalism to develop in this country, in order to create a free labor pool and conquer the South for the Northern marketplace.

ANC

Protest outside trial of ANC freedom fighters. Nelson Mandela (right), imprisoned for more than two decades, personifies resistance to apartheid regime.

Camera Press

But today, in the epoch of imperialism, we look at this ruling class in this country and we can see that every basic democratic right that this country was founded on, embodied in the Bill of Rights, embodied in the gains of the Civil War, is being reversed and undone, because we are dealing with a capitalist class in its decline. Imperialism represents the death agony of capitalism. The productive forces have outstripped the nation-state and private ownership of the means of production. And this reflects itself even more acutely in the colonial and neocolonial countries. Even where they have won nominal independence, like Mozambique, what has happened is that radical black nationalists have displaced the Portuguese as labor marketeers for apartheid slavery in the gold mines. This is what "freedom" for Mozambique means. And because of its economic subjugation, today this country is being strangled to be policemen on behalf of the apartheid regime against South African black freedom fighters. Throughout Africa, nominal independence has produced very often for the masses increased immiseration rather than being the foundation for their emancipation.

Because the bourgeoisie has outlived its historic mission as a class. And nowhere is this truer than in South Africa. In the ascendancy of the American bourgeoisie in the 18th and 19th centuries, it had to abolish chattel slavery to rise to power. To rise to power in South Africa, the white bourgeoisie had to impose a form of chattel slavery in some ways more brutal than anything experienced on a Southern plantation in the antebellum South. So therefore for there to be emancipation in South Africa, necessarily there must be a civil war, a class upheaval, led by the black proletariat. Because only with the black proletariat in power, through its own class dictatorship, can the rest of the toilers of South Africa—the agrarian workers, the Indians and coloureds, the black women of the bantustans—be mobilized to win their own freedom.

Just take any demand, "One man, one vote!" In South Africa this demand is necessarily revolutionary. "Land to the tiller!" In South Africa this demand is explosive. The demand for trade-union rights. The demand to regain their birthright, the right to travel where they want to in their own country is revolutionary in South Africa. It cuts against the entire apartheid system which is the very foundation for white capitalist rule.

But what is needed to weld together the struggles in the mines, in the ports, in the plants of the cities, with the agrarian proletariat which constitutes 28 percent of the black working class in South Africa, with the student youth of the townships, with the women of the bantustans, is a party that can be the leadership of the struggle against apartheid, a Leninist party that bases itself upon the lessons of the Russian Revolution, which was the first revolution and the only successful revolution in which the proletariat conquered power. And this revolution will mean not only the liberation of South Africa from the chains of apartheid, but will have an enormous impact for the rest of Africa as well, held in thrall, enchained. The industrial powerhouse of South Africa, instead of being used to subjugate, oppress the newly independent states of the African continent, can place itself in the service of their social emancipation.

Anti-Apartheid Struggle and World Socialist Revolution

Now as I mentioned earlier, South Africa is a front line in Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. This is demonstrated by the fact that with the desperate need for skilled labor in South Africa, the white ruling class has a safety valve in immigration. Now very few people really want to immigrate to South Africa, but they found a constituency: the "freedom-loving" Solidarność militants from Poland, who have found "freedom" in their white skin privilege, in the superexploitation of black labor in South Africa. And it is not accidental that Solidarność is not only Reagan's favorite union, but his *only* favorite union. Today on the battle lines, the very existence of the newly independent Angola is posed as South African imperialism is held at bay by Soviet-backed Cuban troops. It is no accident, wherever the struggle for freedom and exploitation is carried out, the capitalist class in the United States sees the spectre of Communism. Because the outcome of the struggle, whether it is in Nicaragua, El Salvador, the Philippines or South Africa, was charted by the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917.

Today, because of the encirclement of the imperialist powers around the Soviet Union, which was a relatively backward country at the time of the revolution, that revolution has degenerated. A Stalinist bureaucracy usurped power, very much like the trade-union bureaucracy that runs the trade unions today in the United States. The industrial unions were a revolutionary gain of the American working class, and they have to be defended, including very often defended against their so-called leaders. And the same thing exists with the Soviet Union: the social gains of that revolution, the expropriation of the capitalist class and the establishment of a planned economy—where for the first time the working class had an opportunity to determine their economic destiny—those gains still exist. But in order to fully realize the potential of those gains, just like in order to fully realize the potential and power of the trade-union movement in this country, there needs to be within the Soviet Union what we call a proletarian political revolution, where the working class takes back the government, re-establishes soviet, or Leninist, democracy. Just as in the United States there is a necessity to put at the head of the American labor movement a leadership that genuinely represents the interests of those unions and the interests of the working class.

So the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism is directly linked to the defense of Angola against apartheid imperialism, and to the revolution within South Africa against apartheid itself.

Now as I said earlier, South Africa is a mirror image of colonial oppression throughout the world. And this is felt clearly in the United States by American blacks, where the struggle against apartheid in South Africa has had enormous impact and influence, such as during the civil rights movement in the '50s, which in many ways modeled itself upon the Defiance Campaign of the ANC in South Africa. And today the struggle against apartheid in South Africa is an inspiration to black people throughout the United States, just as it ought to be an inspiration to all of the working class in the United States. But to translate this racial and class solidarity with South Africa into effective action takes something else—it takes international labor solidarity. Supporters of the Spartacist League have fought in their unions for labor boycotts of all military goods to South Africa, a campaign which is now being carried out in fact by seamen's unions around the world, including in Britain, Australia and Denmark, where there is an absolute boycott on all military and oil goods.

We have fought in the unions to fight against the multinationals, Ford and GM, to force them to grant equal rights to black labor in South Africa, full trade-union rights and conditions of decency at the work place. But ultimately, of course, the principal ally and prop of apartheid in South Africa is American imperialism itself and it is struggle for the party in the belly of the beast that will reckon with U.S. imperialism, that will fight for a Third American Revolution, that will finish the unfinished tasks of the Civil War, that will fight for the socialist revolution that is necessary here. Trotsky wrote to his followers in the United States in the '30s, "We must say to the conscious elements of the Negroes that they are convoked by the historic development to become a vanguard of the working class." It is to the struggle for that party that we are dedicated. And if we can build such a party here in the United States, if we can help build such a party in South

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area
Fri 5:00-8:00 p.m., Sat 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone: (415) 835-1535

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Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 663-0715

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Toronto
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299 Queen St. W., Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario Phone: (416) 593-4138

Black Democrats "Discover" South Africa

Free South African Black Militants!

WASHINGTON, D.C., December 2—With more than 170 people killed and over 1,100 arrested by the apartheid regime since the beginning of the year, as black workers and students strike against the hated white supremacist system, the struggle in South Africa has had an electrifying impact on black people and all opponents of racism in the United States. Last year, thousands marched in New York in protest against the brutal hangings of three jailed African National Congress (ANC) martyrs; again today, from black campuses to big city ghettos to union locals there is a felt desire for solidarity action with the courageous anti-apartheid fighters. So strong is this sentiment that even the sellout "BEOs" ("black elected officials") have taken to grandstanding actions outside the South African embassy in D.C. This week the actions will be spread to South African consulates across the country, and even Lane Kirkland says he will bring out "labor" on Tuesday.

It took Ronald Reagan's re-election for these do-nothing black pols to suddenly discover the address of the South African embassy. After their November disaster, when they pulled out all the stops for loser Mondale, the black Democrats feel the need to refurbish their image. So there was Walter Fauntroy actually sitting in and getting himself booked. This was followed by Congressmen Charles Hayes, John Conyers, George Crockett and Ron Dellums. Famous artists and athletes like Harry Belafonte and Arthur Ashe also showed up. Pretty soon everyone who was anyone in the black establishment was making the scene. But while it started out as a small picket line of notables in front of the embassy, by the end of the week there were about 400 people marching outside. And on Saturday, December 1, several hundred rallied at Howard University to hear Fauntroy and former Grenadian ambassador Dessima Williams, who was arrested (and now faces deportation) after her speech on the first anniversary of Reagan's invasion of the tiny black Caribbean island.

Powerful solidarity action with the ongoing black revolt against the apartheid police state is urgently needed. In San Francisco the majority black longshoremen are refusing to unload cargo from South Africa aboard the *Nedlloyd Kimberley*, demanding release of jailed South African black trade unionists. But instead of *international labor action* the black capitalist pols and Rainbow Coalition (pro-Democrat) rad-libs look to pressure their own bloody imperialism. Just like Reagan and Botha, they know it's "adapt or die" for both South African apartheid and American imperialism. They know what a tremendous impact a black-centered revolution in South Africa would have on American blacks, and their job is to head it off. Thus Mary Berry, member of Reagan's U.S. Civil Rights Commission, who sat in with Fauntroy, told the press: "We just want our government to be on the side of freedom, not oppression" (*Washington Post*, 24 November). The atom bombers of Hiroshima and the napalm bombers of Vietnam *cannot* be converted to the cause of black freedom; they must be swept away in revolutionary struggle to open the door to liberation across the globe.

So every day now around 4:15 p.m., a few black liberals get politely arrested just in time for the evening news. The cynicism was captured on Thursday, November 29 when ex-SNCC leader and now mayor of D.C., Marion Barry, rode up to the demonstration in his limousine declaring, "I think it's the best thing that's ever happened." Earlier Barry told the press, the "big difference" between the current embassy protests and the civil rights movement was that now, "we're in charge" (*Washington Post*, 30 November). No sir, the black mayors currently wielding the cutback ax are nothing but overseers on Ronald Reagan's plantation. And in a repulsive racist appeal to jingoism, Fauntroy & Co. are trying to set American workers against black South African workers:

Brooks/Washington Post

Washington, D.C., November 26: Protesters outside South African embassy.

"When American corporations can relocate to places where there is cheap labor supply, jobs are lost in America," says Mary Berry.

There is a direct convergence between this poisonous protectionism and the "Divest Now" signs prominently featured in the daily pickets, calling for U.S. companies to divest their South African holdings. These hypocritical schemes demand the "clean, democratic" American capitalists put economic pressure on their "really dirty, really racist" allies in Pretoria. Divestment and protectionism are both policies of imperialist sanctions. And both directly attack the social power of the South African black workers, whose position as the creator of South Africa's wealth gives them the power to bury apartheid and expropriate the racist bosses.

And what about fighting racism at home? South Africa is a long ways away, and when even Ronald Reagan claims he finds apartheid "repugnant," it's cheap for the BEOs to strike a militant posture. The black Dems are nostalgic for the days of "ethnic purity" Carter and his "human rights" flunkey for Africa, Andrew Young, when they could rub shoulders with celebrities at UN parties. But Carter's "human rights" meant the murder of Stephen Biko... and the murder of five anti-racist unionists and communists in Greensboro, North Carolina. And when the Klan tried to march in the nation's capital on 27 November 1982—the same day South African foreign minister Botha came to town to meet with the Reagan administration—remember that it was Marion Barry who gave the Klan a permit to march and Walter Fauntroy who was scurrying around trying to draw black militants away from the stop-the-Klan action at the capitol by presiding at a free cheese distribution on the other side of town!

Before they could don their hoods and white robes, the KKK lynchers were stopped by the Labor/Black Mobilization, initiated by the Spartacist League, which brought out 5,000 overwhelmingly black workers and youth to block the fascists at First and Constitution. They came out *against* the black officials who skipped town or were blowing clouds of Democratic hot air up at MePherson Square. Fauntroy & Co. have crocodile tears for race-terror in Sharpeville but silence over Greensboro. They have crocodile tears for South African labor leaders, but no tears for American PATCO unionists taken away in chains when they "defied the law" and dared to strike against Reagan. And where were their South Africa protests during the election campaign? That would have broken Mondale's total silence on "free world" South Africa, not to mention Ms. Ferraro, the opponent of school busing. So out of Democratic Party discipline they did nothing (as usual).

When Jesse Jackson pushes anti-Japanese protectionism, he does so while embracing George "Segregation Forever" Wallace. Blacks and other oppressed minorities will be the first victims of the racism this unleashes. The liberal moralist divestors only want to give U.S. imperialism the "democratic" battle cry of "human rights"... in preparation for war on the Soviet Union. Break with the Democrats, the phony "people's party" of racist American capitalism! We need a revolutionary workers party to fight for black freedom! ■

Africa—well, there is a very nice chant that is chanted at freedom meetings, whether they are trade unions or other organizations, in South Africa, by blacks and their allies. It is: "*Amandla!* (Power!) *Awetu!* (It is ours!)" And indeed if such parties can be built, it will be theirs, and it will be ours.

Summary: The Ku Klux Klan announced they were going to march through the streets of Washington, for the first time in 57 years, on November 27, 1982. So the Spartacist League initiated a Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan. We were able to mobilize 5,000 predominantly black working people and youth and the Klan was indeed stopped. Those people took the streets of Washington and marched over the route the Klan claimed it was going to take. It was a celebration of this victory against race-terror.

Now at that time, in the city of Washington, it wasn't just Reagan who encouraged this Klan march, but there was a big campaign, what you might call an anti-anti-Klan protest, namely those who wanted to oppose stopping the Klan, all the way from Walter Fauntroy and the Black Congressional Caucus to Marion Barry, the ex-SNCCer who's the mayor of Washington, who got out of town that day to go to a mayors' conference in Los Angeles to discuss

Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982, Labor/Black Mobilization runs KKK race-terrorists out of town.

how to administer the Reagan austerity in the big cities. And so basically it was left to our small organization to initiate the mobilization that stopped the Klan.

Likewise if you look around today, there is almost no one protesting the fact that the United States is gearing up for a major military intervention in Central America. Where are the protests? Where are the outcries? Where are the demonstrations on campus? Against apartheid? Against the war against Nicaragua? Against the invasion of Grenada? Who is raising these questions today? Elementary questions of opposition to U.S. imperialism. Who is raising these questions on the campus? Who is raising these questions in the labor movement?

So this country has become increasingly polarized. Most of the so-called left has gravitated into the Democratic Party, which has moved increasingly to the right. In the middle of the campaign you have this watered-down version of Reaganism, Walter Mondale, come out and endorse the Grenada invasion. You didn't hear the smashing of the PATCO strike mentioned once, because Mondale would have done the same thing if Carter had won the election: they were all geared up to break that strike.

The point is that the basic questions today fall to revolutionary Leninists to solve. The democratic questions raised by our suit against the FBI; just defending elementary democratic rights to read what you want to read, to get the government out of your bedrooms, separation of church and state. The basic questions of war and peace, whether it is Nicaragua or the question of nuclear war. And there's not a lot of time. I don't believe in hysteria-mongering, but we live in a very dangerous world. We have a ruling class that is only rendered a little reasonable by the fact of Soviet nuclear parity. But its political leaders, this Reagan administration, are not always rational and reasonable people. In fact they reflect a declining, a decaying imperialist system.

November 27, 1982 was not only a blow against race-terror in this country, but it was a blow against race-terror in South Africa as well. When Ritchie Bradley took down the Confederate flag on the West Coast, this was a blow against race-terror in this country, and a blow against mobilization for nuclear terror abroad, in terms of this racist Reagan administration. So the tasks that we face are urgent matters of life and death, of socialism or barbarism, and perhaps even the survival of civilization itself. And there's no higher cause that you could dedicate yourself to than playing a role in solving those questions. ■

South Africa Ship...

(continued from page 1)

Kimberley, and call for solid *union action* against the apartheid police state.

But mobilizing the power of the labor movement is hardly what the misleaders of the ILWU action in San Francisco had in mind. From day one they refused to throw up a union picket, instead calling on individual longshoremen to take the rap. And when the predictable response by the state came, they positively rushed to call the whole thing off. The Local 10 exec board scuttled the boycott in a matter of hours. For good measure, they also disbanded the local's South African Liberation Support Committee which had been running it. No doubt they were hoping to escape penalties and fines which, according to press reports, could run to $70,000 or more. But, as always, by capitulating they have *encouraged* management and state attacks. They have set up the union just as they earlier set up the members. They refuse to learn that even in such a symbolic protest, playing by the bosses' rules is a losing game—you've gotta play hardball to win!

WV Photos

"Nedlloyd Blood Ship—Too Hot to Handle!" (left). ILWU militants picket the Kimberley, Saturday evening, November 24.

Rats on the Waterfront

On October 18, the majority black ILWU Local 10 voted to refuse to handle South African cargo aboard the next Nedlloyd lines ship to hit port. This proposal to work the ship but not the specific cargo was a watered-down alternative to a proposal put forward by Local 10 executive board member Stan Gow, a spokesman for the Militant Caucus in the ILWU and well-known Spartacist supporter. Gow proposed to boycott all shipping to and from South Africa in solidarity with the current black revolt against the apartheid police state. The bureaucrats kept Gow's position from coming to a vote and instead got passed the motion made by Leo Robinson, a long-time supporter of the Stalinist Communist Party (CP) in the union. However, the Local 10 ranks voted for the Robinson motion because they wanted *union* action against South Africa. For that reason the proposed action was supportable despite its minimal and token character.

WV Photo

Leo Robinson (right), Howard Keylor (second from right) and black Democrat Julianne Malveaux conspire to get unwilling longshoremen to work the Kimberley.

Robinson's chief flunkey in all this is aspiring bureaucrat Howard Keylor, a prominent supporter of the so-called External Tendency (ET), a coterie of embittered white ex-members of the Spartacist League, quitters and renegades from Trotskyism in the Reagan years. And when it came time to act, Robinson/Keylor sabotaged their own minimal action and set up individual longshoremen for victimization. First the Nedlloyd ship *Kyoto*, carrying South African cargo, was diverted to a non-ILWU terminal in Richmond, which however uses ILWU linesmen. Scandalously, Local 10 linesmen did tie up the *Kyoto* and 1,500 tons of pig iron from South Africa were offloaded. Keylor is a linesman, but he didn't blow the whistle on this sabotage of the official union policy.

When the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* docked at SF's Pier 80 on Saturday morning, November 24, longshore gang 35 dispatched to unload the ship *refused to touch it*. This was not in the bureaucrats' plans. Anxious not to jeopardize the contract in the face of the PMA's hard line against any political job actions, Leo Robinson, Howard Keylor & Co. have been *setting up the individual longshoremen* dispatched to the pier by making what should be a solid union stand into a matter of "personal conscience." In contrast the Militant Caucus called for an official union mass picket line and to stop dispatching. What happened at Pier 80 that morning and evening is vividly described by the "Longshore Militant" newsletter, November 30, published by the ILWU Militant Caucus:

> "The pressure from below was so great last Saturday morning that the officers were forced to declare that the *ship* was not to be worked. That night Keylor and Robinson were down there in person explaining how the morning policy was a 'mistake' and the ship should now be worked. Most of the men didn't like this one damn bit. Some said to Stan Gow and others, 'Set up a picket line and we won't cross it.' So Stan and other Local 10 and Local 6 members set up a picket line, and Keylor, Robinson and their assembled 'community' demonstrators went completely apeshit! 'You guys are trying to wreck a legitimate union action!' they screamed. Stan Gow was called a 'racist' by one of Robinson's friends. After Keylor and Robinson worked them over for a half-hour, the men were reluctantly persuaded it was for the good of the union to cross the picket line....
>
> "It is Keylor and Robinson, acting for the officers, that have been 'wrecking a legitimate union action'."

By Sunday, all the non-South African cargo had been removed. For the next week crews were regularly dispatched to the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* where they refused to handle its South African cargo and were then fired from the job. They also face possible suspension ("beaching") and fines without union protection. Many longshoremen, angered at this policy which set them up for victimization, were refusing to take the dispatch to the *Kimberley*. The bureaucracy's position is that what was happening aboard the *Kimberley* was not a union action but a matter of individual moral protest. Local 10 Secretary-Treasurer Tom Lupher told the *San Francisco Chronicle* (29 November): "He said the action was not officially sanctioned by the union membership, but was an action of protest by individuals." Leo Robinson interviewed on KTVU, Channel 2 news, said, "This is an act of conscience on the part of individual longshoremen and it will remain as such." The "Longshore Militant" newsletter denounced this treacherous policy:

> "This policy is and has been intended to *kill* this union action by running it into the ground.... Furthermore, the *union's* position in the arbitration hearing on Wednesday is that PMA should penalize and fine individual members, not the union. Maybe we're not real smart. We thought it was the job of the union to protect its members, not the members' job to protect [ILWU International president] Herman's cozy relationship with PMA.
>
> "PMA means to break this action and they are getting help from the union officers and their stooges. These stalling tactics are not going to work.... It is necessary to *act!* We need a leadership capable of leading *action*. Picket the Nedlloyd Kimberley! Tell PMA to shove it! Shut down the port against any penalties!"

More than anything else the ILWU bureaucrats and aspiring bureaucrats wanted to avoid endangering the weekly pay guarantee (PGP). But the officers' cowardly "individual decision" subterfuge, organized and enforced by Keylor and Robinson, did nothing to "fool" the PMA. On Wednesday, a second-level arbitrator ruled that the union had forfeited the previous week's PGP through the work action, and yesterday the employers' association announced it was refusing to pay this week's PGP as well.

When the injunction came down, the executive board was ready to capitulate. They administered the *coup de grace* with a 12-to-4 vote. Robinson agreed with the officers to abandon the action; he even initiated the exec board's decision to dissolve the local's South Africa committee, which he has headed for years. Keylor called for continuing the charade which had landed the union in this pickle. Both Robinson and Keylor refused to support Stan Gow's motion—ruled out of order by Local 10 president Larry Wing—to stop dispatching to the ship, to instead set up an official union picket line, and to shut down the entire port in response to any attempts by the employers to penalize the union or its members.

Stab in the Back

The CP and Keylor have been busily covering Jimmy Herman's ass. Keylor's November 27 Judas leaflet lauded the fact that "the arbitrator ruled against the men" instead of finding the union guilty of an illegal work stoppage. The ET's increasingly nutty scumbag Bob Mandel, who when he was in the ILWU had bypassed the union hiring hall to get jobs on the sly, praised Herman & Co.'s "smart" tactics toward the PMA: "You know that it is perfectly principled to use whatever Aesopian language is appropriate." There's nothing Aesopian about the ET's policy of acting as lawyers for pro-Democratic Party union bureaucrats who have stabbed this struggle in the back.

Robinson & Co. are past masters of gutting the class-struggle content from labor action against apartheid. In 1977 Robinson and Jimmy Herman, then president of ILWU clerks Local 34, joined hands to betray the Local 10 membership motion to support the week-long international labor boycott of South African shipping called for by the International Confederation of Trade Unions. Keylor, then a supporter of the Militant Caucus, along with Gow denounced Robinson and Herman's call for the longshoremen to work the non-South African cargo on the *Kimberley*. Keylor, gone cynical and sour, jumped ship and today acts as Robinson's flunkey. And the Stalinist hacks may have exceeded the desires of their party.

The popular-frontists take their cues from the liberal imperialists. Just like the flock of black Democratic politicos now getting themselves arrested at the South African embassy in Washington, D.C., they seek to refurbish their "anti-racist" credentials after months of

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Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

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stumping for Cold Warrior and big-time loser Mondale by making token gestures of opposition to the widely hated apartheid regime. Like the Democratic liberals, the Stalinists and Keylor motivate protest against South Africa in part by appealing to flag-waving chauvinism and economic protectionism.

In San Francisco, the CP made a major push for Proposition J (now passed), that the city divest itself of securities of corporations with operations in South Africa. The main slogan of the Prop J campaign was "Invest in the U.S.A. Not in Apartheid." In defending the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* action, Leo Robinson told a columnist for the *Oakland Tribune* (30 November), "Also, these are goods American workers could be manufacturing. We have 250,000 American steel workers out of work, and we are importing steel from South Africa." In other words, boycott South Africa in order to take the jobs of black South African workers!

For his part, Keylor appeals to the social-patriotic CP tradition of support to U.S. imperialism in World War II, a long-standing position of his. Addressing the ILWU's Southern African Liberation Support Committee on November 13, Keylor spoke of hot-cargoing South Africa as "part of the tradition of the union. The high point was in 1939 when Bay Area longshoremen boycotted scrap iron to Japan." In fact, this was part and parcel of U.S. imperialism's war drive, in particular Roosevelt's campaign of economic sanctions to force Japan to go to war, beginning with a boycott of strategic metals and finally an oil boycott. We might add that Keylor's former comrades and present bloc partners of the Stalinist CP also supported Roosevelt's internment of Japanese Americans in concentration camps during World War II and hailed the atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Fight Apartheid Through Class Struggle!

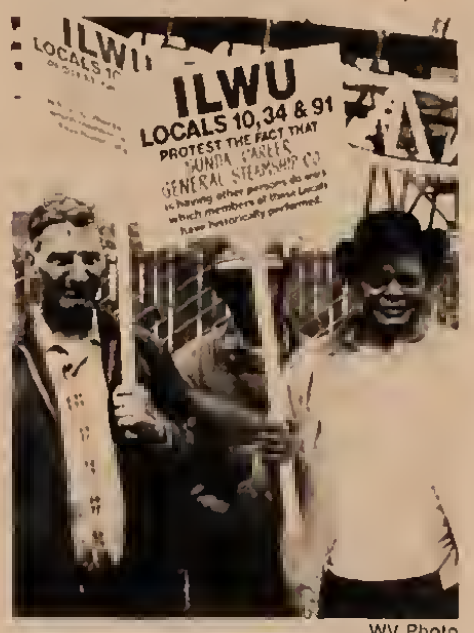
For our part we seek to fight apartheid in ways that strengthen the class struggle against racist capitalism in both South Africa and the United States. Our attitude toward GM and Ford in Port Elizabeth is the same as in Detroit: intransigent class struggle leading to expropriation through socialist revolution. To this end, unions in North America and West Europe must use their muscle in *political* strike action to force multinational outfits like GM and Ford to recognize black unions and abolish all forms of apartheid in their South African operations.

International working-class solidarity with South Africa's embattled black toilers can have a powerful impact. The racist criminals who run South Africa don't give a damn about moral protests, UN resolutions, divestment schemes, etc., so favored by liberals and reformists. They do, however, care about anything that hurts their bank accounts, and their army. Imperialist sanctions on delivery of oil are empty hypocrisy. But labor action against the delivery of military weapons or a limited hot-cargoing of South Africa's key exports (gold, diamonds, other strategic minerals) connected with concrete demands, such as freeing the black trade-union leaders and all victims of apartheid terror, could have a powerful impact.

The Militant Caucus has been fighting for class-struggle international union solidarity since its inception. In 1977 the "Longshore-Warehouse Militant" called for a coastwide boycott of the very same *Nedlloyd Kimberley* to implement a week-long worldwide anti-apartheid labor protest. The next year they made real the ILWU's paper position of boycotting arms to Pinochet's Chile by identifying and preventing the shipment of a load of bomb assemblies. Last year, Stan Gow and other ILWU militants threw up a picket line against the *Kimberley* after being brought up on charges for similarly picketing a ship bound for El Salvador. The union bureaucracy charged, tried and convicted Gow for "conduct unbecoming a union member," but when it was brought before the membership, nearly 500 Local 10 members showed up to vote down this witchhunt by a ten-to-one margin.

Under the leadership of a communist vanguard party, South Africa's black proletariat will be the gravedigger of apartheid capitalism, giving rise to a black-centered workers and peasants government. Committed to this perspective, we do not want to cut South Africa off from the rest of the world, but to forge a fighting labor movement internationally with the will to use its power to strike a blow on behalf of the anti-apartheid fighters.

Unlike the Democratic Party liberals and their reformist tails, who are happy to starve hundreds of thousands of South African blacks with their boy-



WV Photo

Stan Gow (left) during port shutdown in Richmond, June 1983. Action paralyzed all shipping in SF Bay Area—ILWU tops called it off after ten hours.

cotts of everything South African, we stand for the hot-cargoing of *military* goods in order to weaken the white police state apparatus. And at this crucial moment, when the bloody apartheid regime is unleashing state terror against the massive rebellion of the black toilers and youth, we have called for concrete labor solidarity protests, in the form of hot-cargoing transport to and from South Africa, around the demand: Freedom for the anti-apartheid militants and black union leaders!

It is no accident that the likes of Robinson and Keylor want to drape protests against South Africa in red, white and blue. What's behind the liberals' and reformists' divestment/boycott South Africa campaigns is an effort to pressure the American ruling class into living up to its "democratic" pretensions. They thus prettify U.S. imperialism of which South Africa is but a *junior* partner. Is Reagan's America a *lesser* enemy of humanity than Botha's South Africa? No! The masters of Wall Street and the Pentagon are the architects of counterrevolutionary terror from Central America to Indochina. They have the blood of millions upon millions of workers and peasants throughout the world on their hands.

The main enemy is at home! Now is the time for labor to act in defense of the embattled black toilers of South Africa! ■

Spartacist Forum

Bury Apartheid—
For Workers Revolution!

Speaker: Don Alexander
SL Central Committee

Friday, December 14, 7:30 p.m.
YWCA, 15th and Webster
For more information: (415) 835-1535

OAKLAND

SF Election...

(continued from page 5)

contingent of our union supporters to defend the democratic rights of this bourgeois party to assemble and called on the organized labor movement to do the same. During the election campaign Bradley and Coleman held a press conference to denounce Feinstein's plans to close down gay bathhouses—"Government out of the bedrooms!" The defense of these broad democratic rights is inextricably linked to the rights of a workers party to organize.

Even more so than in prior Spartacist election campaigns, this year we ran head-on against the popular front of local politicos, labor bureaucrats and fake-leftists hustling for the Democratic Party. The threat of a Reagan landslide strengthened "lesser evil" illusions especially in a Democratic stronghold like San Francisco. In previous election campaigns, Spartacist candidates were mainly treated by the labor officialdom as some sort of harmless eccentrics, to be disparaged of course but generally politely. This year the bureaucrats' hostility was right out in the open. Votes for Bradley and Coleman were not "protest votes" as there was a wide gamut of "independents" and "leftists" to choose from. The 6,898 votes for Bradley and 6,410 for Coleman (3 percent of the total cast) represented a genuine *hard core* of support for the Spartacist program of revolutionary opposition to imperialism and to the bosses' Democratic and Republican parties. The Spartacist campaign received somewhat less votes than it did in 1980 and 1982 and as it did then, it did best in black and Hispanic working-class neighborhoods, like black Bayview/Hunters Point and largely Hispanic Mission District and integrated Visitacion Valley.

This was in marked contrast to those fake "independents" and "leftists" who ran *with* the Democratic stream. Thus, the citywide vote for the anti-Soviet, pro-Solidarność Socialist Action campaign of Sylvia Weinstein was 10,659. No doubt this was partly the payoff from a layer of labor bureaucrats for Socialist Action's donkey work in gooning for them to suppress labor militancy in San Francisco, especially during the bitter Greyhound strike. Weinstein certainly did well among petty-bourgeois no-nukers and feminists who feel kinship with the milk-and-cookies social-pacifism ("bake sales for the Navy") of Socialist Action. Weinstein, along with Communist Party-endorsed Jesse Jackson Democrat Julianne Malveaux, did particularly well in petty-bourgeois Haight-Ashbury where the Spartacist candidates got a low number of votes. Likewise, Weinstein nearly doubled the Spartacists' total in rich Nob Hill/Russian and Pacific Heights. But in Bayview/Hunters Point the averaged Bradley/Coleman vote was 5.5 percent to Weinstein's 2.9 percent.

The Spartacists campaigned for concrete labor *action* in solidarity with embattled South African freedom fighters. This was a fight against the reformists who lined up behind the protectionist "Prop J" "divestment" scheme sponsored by Malveaux, and supported by the D.A. who (unsuccessfully) tried to prosecute Bradley for tearing down the Confederate flag! Against the Democratic Party stream in the Bay Area a modest but significant number of predominantly black trade unionists and students came forward as fighters for the Spartacist campaign. Key to the campaign was the active support of a number of militants who were won to the Labor Black League for Social Defense in previous LBL work: actions to defend phone workers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero against a racist and anti-labor frame-up, to demand vengeance for the police murder of five-year-old black child Patrick Mason, to demonstrate solidarity with victims of apartheid terror in South Africa.

At SF State the Bradley/Coleman campaign generated a backlash of beansprout totalitarianism aimed at banning us and our Marxist literature by the lady doberman running dogs (led by Ms. Malveaux) of Feinstein and Mondale. Willfully mocking them, the Spartacus Youth League responded with undergroundism beansprout-style, as the Red Avengers of the Underground SYL staged guerrilla theater actions on campus, repeatedly outfoxing the dobermans.

On election night, Spartacist and Labor Black League activists joined unionists and students met during the campaign for a good party at the Club Long Island in the black Bayview area. Referring to a bottle of Mumm's cognac presented to him by the comrades, Bradley said:

> "The working class has good taste. This just goes to show you what we need is a workers party to fight for a workers government. I want to thank all of the people who put a lot of hard work into this campaign. You know during the civil rights movement Jesse Jackson once was a bitter foe of George Wallace. But today he went South and hugged George Wallace. Well, Wallace hasn't changed. He's the same bigot that barred the doors of the University of Alabama to black students. But Jesse Jackson is hustling black votes for the Democrats and spreading the illusion that at the end of this rainbow is a pot of gold. Well, we know for blacks and workers it's only a pot of shit at the end. All we have is our program and that's what we must fight for. The Spartacist League is the party that fights for workers revolution. We need you to be a part in this fight. It's the SL that has a program to change society and bring about a workers revolution." ■

CORRECTIONS

We have received a note from Stan Gow, spokesman for the Militant Caucus and executive board member of ILWU Local 10 in San Francisco, correcting some inaccuracies in *WV* No. 365 (26 October). Referring to the article "Longshoremen: 'Hot-Cargo' South African Apartheid Butchers!" Brother Gow writes: "You incorrectly state that the local is 'two-thirds blacks.' A survey taken by order of the local executive board within the last three years found the percentage of active black members of the local to be 55 percent." Also: "In the article on the Bradley/Coleman campaign for Supervisor in SF you state: 'Last year hundreds of angry ranks routed the ILWU tops when these placards brought Gow up on charges for picketing ships bound for El Salvador with military cargo.' Actually the charge brought against me was for picketing one particular ship, the *Lafayette*. Further, our picketing of this ship was not contingent on it carrying military cargo. We were trying to stop this Salvador-bound ship no matter what it had on it." *WV* assures Brother Gow that in the future our reporters will be sure to double-check such matters of fact regarding the Militant Caucus in the ILWU.

In "Protest Reagan's Rape of Grenada!" (*WV* No. 366, 9 November), we reported on the Reagan administration's arrest of former Grenadian ambassador Dessima Williams immediately following her public speech at Howard University October 25. A protest demonstration against this racist outrage took place the following day outside Immigration Service headquarters, not on the Howard U. campus, as we erroneously stated.

Marxists Not Terrorists...

(continued from page 16)

General have conceded the central aim of our legal challenge—that Marxist advocacy cannot be equated with violence or criminal terrorism.

The FBI and Attorney General have agreed to change their former definition of the Spartacist League, which read in part that "the SPL [FBI acronym for the Spartacist League] does not *openly* advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government *at this time*..." [our emphasis]. The former definition maliciously attempted to attribute to us conspiratorial putschism (e.g., if not "openly," then secretly) wholly at variance with our Marxist principles, aims and 20-year history of political activity in the U.S. The new definition describes the Spartacist League as what the SL is: a Marxist political organization. It concludes by stating that "The SPL was once the subject of an FBI domestic security investigation. The investigation was closed in 1977, however, and it did not result in any criminal prosecution."

The agreement we have obtained, the first successful legal challenge to the new FBI Guidelines, is a modest but genuine blow to the new McCarthyism. We do not pretend to know what importance or interpretation the FBI attaches to its agreement. We have no illusions that the government's secret police have stopped or will stop their harassment, infiltration and disruption of Marxist political organizations and other perceived political opponents of the government. We do know that the secret police have not changed since Karl Marx was harassed by secret agents of Prussia, that as long as the capitalists hold state power, their police agents will continue their dirty work against any real or perceived challenges to their class rule. Our suit certainly has not changed, nor could it, this fact of life in American capitalist society.

Nonetheless, the FBI's agreement to change its definition of our organizations implicitly but clearly spikes the government's deadly syllogism—that all political opponents are terrorists, you are a political opponent, therefore the secret police is mandated to harass, spy, slander, prosecute, set up and get you with drawn guns. The government's intrusive surveillance/disruption would now be discretionary rather than mandatory, and victimization therefore a little harder.

Moreover, the change of definition undermines the FBI's premise that Marxist political organizations are equated with violence, which has been the pretext for over 60 years of surveillance, harassment and repression of the American left and workers movement. Nothing in fact is less conspiratorial than a Marxist working-class organization, whose success is entirely dependent on the most open and widest dissemination of its views. When in the course of defending their rights, labor and the oppressed—e.g., strikers repulsing company/cop thuggery against striking workers—necessarily run up against bourgeois legality, it won't be a secret to anyone. The FBI does not need informers to tell them what we do. When Ritchie Bradley tore down the Confederate flag in San Francisco, the SL mobilized the broadest publicity for his heroic and widely supported act, and Bradley sought a jury trial in order to politically indict Mayor Dianne Feinstein's administration for having displayed the hated banner of chattel slavery and racist terror.

For 60-plus years, the Communist Party has been subjected to intensive, continual government surveillance; the Socialist Workers Party for 40-plus years; and the SL for 20 years. There have never been any prosecutions of the CP, SWP or SL, or any members thereof, for violent crime or terrorism—a rather remarkable record considering the history of government provocations toward these organizations. The only successful prosecutions of these organizations have been for so-called "thought crimes"—60-plus years and the only thing they can get us for is reading Lenin!

From the Espionage Act prosecution of Eugene Debs through the Smith Act prosecutions of the Trotskyists in the 1940s and the Communist Party in the 1950s, the drive for imperialist war has always required a war at home against all opposition. Every witchhunt has its own particular dimension, and today, Cold War II needs a new kind of McCarthyism—one which incorporates the direct-hit military methods of the infamous COINTELPRO ("Counter-Intelligence Program") along with the ideological criteria of the last Cold War. Under the guise of combatting "terrorism," the FBI guidelines, presidential directives, Supreme Court rulings and congressional measures have granted sweeping powers to military and secret police agencies for actual state-supported terrorism against the American people. Vital labor rights are targeted as strikes are declared "criminal enterprises" and picket lines are called extortion. And as the shots that rang out over Greensboro demonstrated, this right-wing political climate feeds the growth of fascist terrorists, emboldened by official racism, anti-immigrants hysteria and the present anti-Soviet war drive.

In the campaign for regimentation of the populace through fear, lawful dissent is now presumably limited to college professors writing letters to the *New York Times* delicately questioning the latest U.S. validation of El Salvador's human rights record. All other political opposition is smeared as "terrorist," thus effectively outlawing it and making any protest, no matter how tame, open season for state repression. Ask Black Panther survivors of the FBI's COINTELPRO operation of frame-up and murder against their organization what it means to be labeled "terrorist" by the state. Abroad, "terrorist" has become the official designation for Salvadoran peasants struggling against the death-squad regime, black South Africans fighting apartheid, and the women and children of Palestinian refugee camps.

In defense of our organizations, our supporters and the existing rights of the entire working-class movement, we have launched a number of impressive legal challenges to the Cold War II witchhunt. In June of 1980, a militant unionist and well-known supporter of the Spartacist League, Jane Margolis, received an apology and $3,500 from the Secret Service for stigmatizing her as a terrorist. In 1979, she had been dragged off the floor of the Communications Workers of America national convention to which she was an elected delegate, handcuffed and detained to prevent her from criticizing then-president Jimmy Carter. Soon thereafter, the Spartacist League sued then-attorney general of California George Deukmejian for including the SL in the

WV Photo

The whole of the working-class movement has a stake in the fight against the new McCarthyism. A workers party has the right to organize!

"Freedom of Information," FBI-style.

"Terrorism: Left-wing" section of the 1979 Report on Organized Crime. In settlement of that suit, Deukmejian's office issued a correction and sent a statement to law enforcement agencies throughout the country notifying them that the inclusion of the SL in the terrorist list was in error. Most recently, the *Washington Times*—publication of sinister Sun Myung Moon's outfit—falsely accused the SL/SYL of provoking violence against the police at the

Stipulation and Order of Settlement and Dismissal

UNITED STATES
DISTRICT COURT
SOUTHERN DISTRICT
OF NEW YORK

SPARTACIST LEAGUE,
SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE,
JAMES M. ROBERTSON and
SUSAN ADAMS,

Plaintiffs,

- v -

ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE
UNITED STATES, DIRECTOR
OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF
INVESTIGATION and THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Defendants.

IT IS HEREBY STIPULATED AND AGREED by the attorneys for the respective parties as follows:

1. Defendants represent that plaintiffs have not been at any time since 1977, nor are they currently the subjects of a domestic security/terrorism investigation.*

2. The Federal Bureau of Investigation will henceforth use the following characterization of the Spartacist League:

> The Spartacist League (SPL), a Marxist political organization, was founded in 1966. The historical and theoretical roots of the SPL derive from the early Communist Party, U.S.A. and the Socialist Workers Party. The immediate precursor of the SPL was the Revolutionary Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party. The SPL has an official youth section named the Spartacus Youth League.
>
> The SPL was once the subject of an FBI domestic security investigation. The investigation was closed in 1977, however, and it did not result in any criminal prosecution.

3. Plaintiffs hereby release and forever discharge....

4. The complaint is hereby dismissed with prejudice, each side to bear their own costs and attorney's fees.

5. Nothing herein shall constitute an admission of liability by the defendants.

6. Nothing herein shall constitute an admission by plaintiffs that the Attorney General's Guidelines on General Crimes, Racketeering Enterprise and Domestic Security Terrorism Investigations, dated March 7, 1983, are lawful or constitutional or that any investigation or inquiries conducted by the FBI, past or present, of plaintiffs were lawful or constitutional.

Dated: New York, New York
November 30, 1984

s/ RACHEL WOLKENSTEIN
Attorney for Plaintiffs
299 Broadway
New York, New York 10007

RUDOLPH W. GIULIANI
United States Attorney for the
Southern District of New York
Attorney for Defendants

By: s/ GERALD T. FORD
Assistant United States Attorney
One St. Andrew's Plaza
New York, New York 10007

SO ORDERED:
s/ JOHN E. SPRIZZO
U.S.D.J.
11-30-84

* Domestic security/terrorism investigations are presently governed by the Attorney General's Guidelines on General Crimes, Racketeering Enterprise and Domestic Security Terrorism Investigations, dated March 7, 1983. Between April 1976 and March 6, 1983, domestic security investigations were conducted pursuant to the Attorney General Guidelines on Domestic Security Investigations, dated April 5, 1976.

VICTORIES COST MONEY!

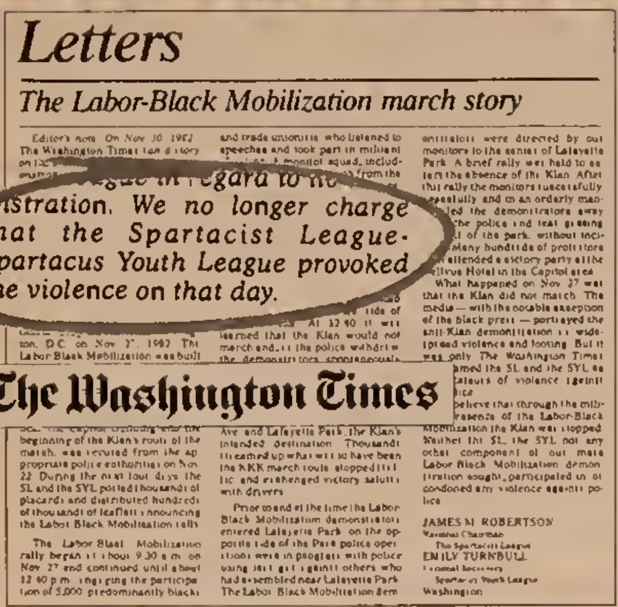
The successful conclusion of the SL/SYL suit against the FBI Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines is a victory for Marxists and all perceived political opposition to the government. This victory strengthens every one of us by striking a modest but genuine blow to the government's deadly equation of political opposition with criminal conspiracy/terrorism. The Partisan Defense Committee undertook to support this case financially. We faced the vast resources of the United States government, and have incurred substantial debts. We need your help! Please support the fight against the new McCarthyism by sending a generous donation to the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

We Beat Back "Terrorist" Smears

Fight the New McCarthyism!

The SL has a proud record of fighting this dangerous new red-hunt. In self-defense we have battled the attempt to falsely brand us as terrorists, outlaws to be shot first and questioned later. Under the banner: "A Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!" we have been in the forefront against the Cold War witchhunt. Our suit against the sinister FBI Guidelines was part of our continuing battle to defend ourselves and all those targeted by the new McCarthyism.

WV Photo



Letters

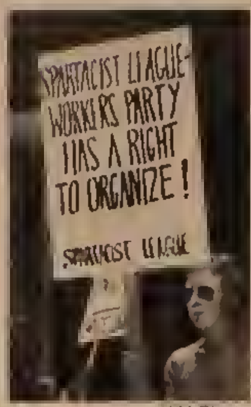
The Labor-Black Mobilization march story

...stration. We no longer charge that the Spartacist League-Spartacus Youth League provoked the violence on that day.

The Washington Times

Moonies Retract Libel That Kills

Deukmejian Retracts "Terrorist" Smear



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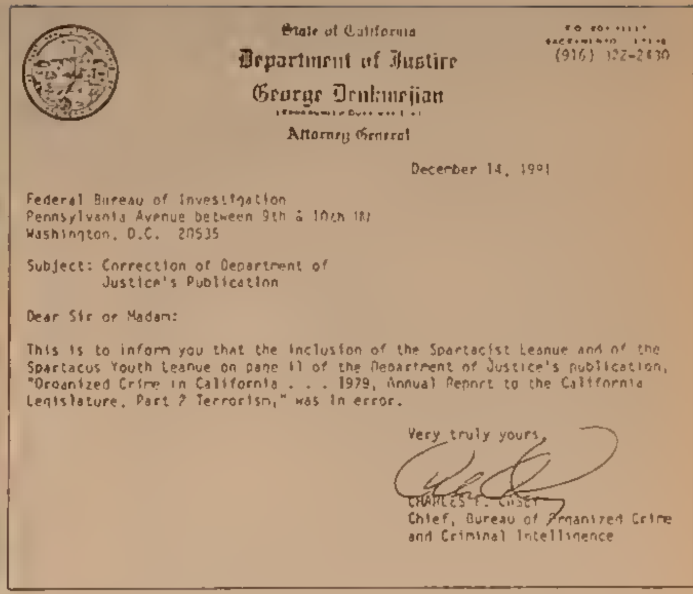


State of California
Department of Justice
George Deukmejian
Attorney General

(916) 322-2430

December 14, 1981

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Pennsylvania Avenue between 9th & 10th NW
Washington, D.C. 20535

Subject: Correction of Department of Justice's Publication

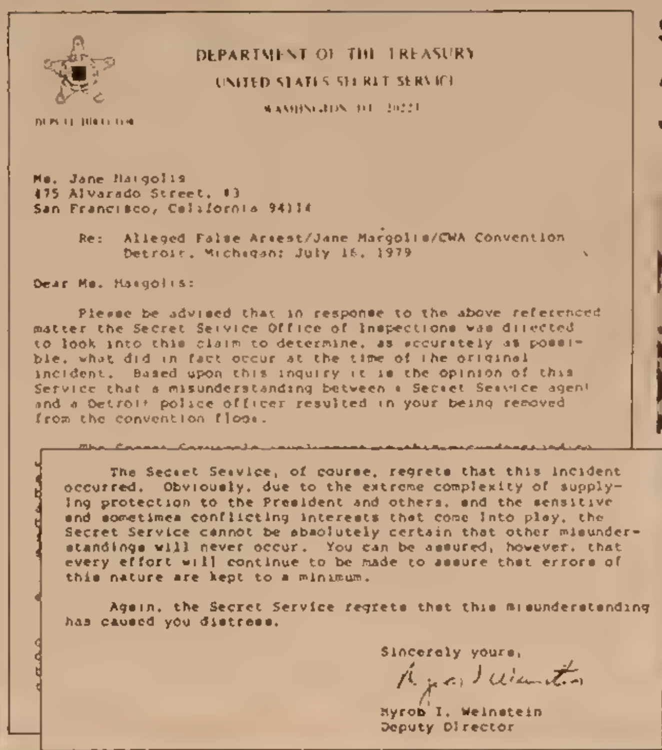
Dear Sir or Madam:

This is to inform you that the inclusion of the Spartacist League and of the Spartacus Youth League on page 11 of the Department of Justice's publication, "Organized Crime in California . . . 1979, Annual Report to the California Legislature, Part 2 Terrorism," was in error.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES F. CASEY
Chief, Bureau of Organized Crime and Criminal Intelligence

Secret Service Apologizes to Jane Margolis



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20223

Ms. Jane Margolis
475 Alvarado Street, #3
San Francisco, California 94114

Re: Alleged False Arrest/Jane Margolis/CWA Convention Detroit, Michigan: July 16, 1979

Dear Ms. Margolis:

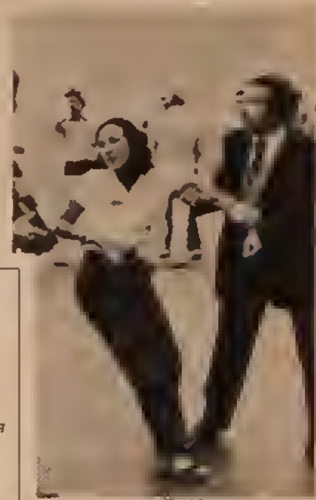
Please be advised that in response to the above referenced matter the Secret Service Office of Inspections was directed to look into this claim to determine, as accurately as possible, what did in fact occur at the time of the original incident. Based upon this inquiry it is the opinion of this Service that a misunderstanding between a Secret Service agent and a Detroit police officer resulted in your being removed from the convention floor.

The Secret Service, of course, regrets that this incident occurred. Obviously, due to the extreme complexity of supplying protection to the President and others, and the sensitive and sometimes conflicting interests that come into play, the Secret Service cannot be absolutely certain that other misunderstandings will never occur. You can be assured, however, that every effort will continue to be made to assure that errors of this nature are kept to a minimum.

Again, the Secret Service regrets that this misunderstanding has caused you distress.

Sincerely yours,

Myron I. Weinstein
Deputy Director



Jon P. Fishback

November 27, 1982 Labor/Black Mobilization initiated by the SL, which stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. In response to a libel lawsuit, the *Washington Times* retracted its charges.

We have won these victories despite the unfavorable relation of our forces vis-à-vis our opponents in each case because: 1. Our heritage includes a Marxist understanding of the state which rejects both conspiratorial putschism and reformist legalism; 2. We are forthright in our political stands, not least in our intransigent defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism; 3. We are manifestly not terrorist, criminal or violent, as implicitly admitted by the FBI in its own claim to have forgone investigation after over a decade of "surveillance" against us. We struggle to politically organize the American working class to bring workers to the understanding that they need their own class party, a workers party, to fight for their immediate and ultimate interests; 4. We are tenacious defenders of our legality and of those democratic rights which were won by the blood of two bourgeois-revolutionary wars in this country—the War of Independence and the Civil War—and encoded in its laws. In this regard, we seek to model ourselves on V.I. Lenin's conception of the party as "tribune of the people." Thus, when the right of the Democratic National Convention to assemble and select their presidential candidate in San Francisco was threatened with government violence, we offered—despite our deep class hostility to the Democrats—to provide a defense contingent of union supporters and called upon the labor movement to do the same. In contrast,

WV Photo

Rachel Wolkenstein, SL general counsel, and Jonathan Lubell, noted libel attorney, celebrate victory over the Moonies' Washington Times.

the current bourgeois authorities in power openly attack established bourgeois-democratic legal norms—such as the separation of church and state, the Fourth Amendment protection against unreasonable search and seizure, rights to free speech and assembly.

Still, this government claims that it is democratic, that the people are permitted such social and religious views as they see fit. So the FBI and its fellow secret police agencies are required to provide a modicum of "legal" cover, a fig leaf, for their spying, penetration, set-ups, frame-ups and harassment and repression of the left. With this legal case, we have been able to punch a hole in their current cover, the false equation of Marxism with "terrorism." Given that a bourgeois government holds state power and especially in light of the right-wing political climate marked by Reagan's re-election, the stipulated agreement we have won is the most we could reasonably expect.

In the aftermath of every witchhunt, to be sure, the liberals denounce the "excesses" (i.e., *their* toes getting stepped on) and assure everyone this will never happen again. When the COINTELPRO disclosures revealed that FBI "dirty tricks" had extended to "respectable" citizens who had their mail opened, their phones tapped, their medical records and sex lives investigated, a hue and cry ensued resulting in guidelines supposedly meant to curb the FBI's abuse of "legitimate authority." Civil libertarian and reformist organizations wrongly believed they could exploit these "reforms" to gain permanent injunctive relief from FBI spying and harassment, or in the case of the Socialist Workers Party's eight-year-old and still undecided suit, a court-enforced "right to revolution."

As Marxist revolutionists, we reject such notions of "reform" of the capitalist state. The truth of our understanding is evident in the current legitimization of all supposedly previously discredited "abuses"—from the Smith Act to COINTELPRO. We will continue to use all the legal and political means at our disposal to fight the new McCarthyism. As we announced at the outset of our suit against the FBI:

> "We do not intend to be blown away—faceless, nameless: victims in the dead of night. As the organization which embodies the continuity of revolutionary Marxism in the U.S. today, our task is too important: the liberation of the workers and oppressed from the chains of this decaying, racist system through victorious socialist revolution." ■

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TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

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Excerpts From SL Legal Complaint

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

SPARTACIST LEAGUE; SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE; JAMES M. ROBERTSON and SUSAN ADAMS, on behalf of themselves and all others similarly situated,

Plaintiffs,

-against-

ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES; DIRECTOR OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION; and THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Defendants.

Plaintiffs, by their attorneys, complaining of the defendants, allege as follows:

1. This action for declaratory and injunctive relief concerns political intelligence investigations conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, Marxist political organizations, and the impact of the Attorney General's Guidelines on Domestic Security/Terrorism Investigations upon such investigations.

2. The Attorney General's Guidelines on Domestic Security/Terrorist Investigations recast the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE as violent criminal enterprises and terrorist outlaws on the basis of their exercise of constitutionally protected speech and advocacy. These Guidelines, promulgated without lawful authority, provide a pretext for continued and intensive government political intelligence investigations against the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, the criminalization of political opposition and the targeting of these Marxist political organizations for government surveillance, disruption, harassment, suppression, infiltration, prosecution and physical attack.

3. Plaintiff SPARTACIST LEAGUE [hereinafter also referred to as the "SL"], a Marxist political organization, is an unincorporated association with members and supporters throughout the United States. The national office of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE is in the City, County and State of New York. The SPARTACIST LEAGUE was founded in 1966. The historical and theoretical roots of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE derive from the early Communist Party, U.S.A. [hereinafter also referred to as the "CP"] and the Socialist Workers Party [hereinafter also referred to as the "SWP"]. The immediate precursor of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE was the Revolutionary Tendency [hereinafter also referred to as the "RT"] of the Socialist Workers Party. For twenty years the SPARTACIST LEAGUE has engaged in lawful political, educational and organizing activity. Members and supporters of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE have sought state and local elective offices. The SPARTACIST LEAGUE sues on behalf of itself and its members.

5. Plaintiff JAMES M. ROBERTSON is a member and National Chairman of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE. JAMES M. ROBERTSON joined the Communist Party in December 1946 and thereafter was a member of the Workers Party (later known as the Independent Socialist League), the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. Plaintiff ROBERTSON was a member of the Revolutionary Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party and a founding member of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE.

6. Plaintiff SUSAN ADAMS, formerly National Secretary of the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, is a member of the international Spartacist tendency, the parent organization of the plaintiff SPARTACIST LEAGUE. Plaintiff ADAMS is Chairman of the Trotskyist League of France and a member of the International Executive Committee of the international Spartacist tendency.

12. Throughout their entire existence in the United States, the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party and the plaintiffs SPARTACIST LEAGUE and SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE have been targeted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation [hereinafter referred to as the "FBI"] as subversive organizations, subject to continual, intensive governmental political intelligence operations including, but not limited to, surveillance, warrantless electronic surveillance, mail openings, infiltrations by government agents and informants, burglaries, harassment and counterintelligence operations. The aforementioned Marxist organizations, members and sympathizers have been and continue to be the primary intelligence targets.

13. The FBI's justification for this massive political intelligence investigation is the premise that Marxist political organizations are a threat to the national security; dangerous because of a purported strategic commitment to violence; an alleged adherence to the violent overthrow of the government and use of violence to achieve political goals.

14. The entire history of the aforesaid Marxist organizations in the United States is absent of any criminal activity. The Communist Party has been subjected to intensive, continual government surveillance for over sixty years, the Socialist Workers Party for over forty years and the SPARTACIST LEAGUE for twenty years. There have been no prosecutions of the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party or the SPARTACIST LEAGUE, or members thereof, for violent crime or terrorism despite over six decades of intensive government investigation, a rather remarkable record considering the duration and scope of such investigation. Thus, the continuing investigation of these Marxist organizations is based not on conduct, but ideology.

16. From the formation of the Revolutionary Tendency in 1963, through the founding conference of the SL in 1966, and continuing until the present, the defendant public officers and their predecessors and agents agreed and conspired, together with other public officers and their agents, unlawfully, intentionally and knowingly, pursuant to a common plan, to cause agents of the United States to engage in political intelligence operations including a systematic pattern and practice of warrantless electronic surveillance, unauthorized opening and monitoring of mail, burglary, infiltration by government agents and informants, COINTELPRO activities, unauthorized interrogation, and other harassment against the SL and the SYL, their members and supporters.

21. During or about the year 1963, and continuing thereafter, the Revolutionary Tendency of the SWP, the immediate predecessor of the SL, and plaintiff JAMES M. ROBERTSON were subjected to extensive surveillance and COINTELPRO disruption activities, intended to create division between the RT and the SWP.

22. The purpose and effect of the foregoing actions by the defendant public officers and their predecessors and agents was to induce the SWP to expel the RT in order to disrupt, neutralize and destroy both organizations.

23. From the formation of the RT in 1963 through the founding of the SL in 1966, and continuing until the present, the defendant public officers and their predecessors and agents have conducted surveillance of and harassment of the SL and the SYL by causing secret government agents and informants to join or otherwise associate with the SL and the SYL; to report upon attendance, presentations, discussions and activities at classes, conferences, meetings and demonstrations; to disrupt trade-union support work, political demonstrations, legal defense activities, electoral campaigns and distribution of SL and SYL publications; to record the names and addresses of members and contributors; to record the election of national and local officers and central committee members; to purloin and surreptitiously copy documents, reports, pamphlets and memoranda available only to members; and, at the direction of the defendant public officers and their predecessors and agents, to influence SL and SYL policies and programs, secure positions of authority, provoke or exacerbate dissension within and without the organizations, and otherwise to interfere with and disrupt their activities.

37. The defendant public officers and their predecessors and agents have included the plaintiff organizations, SL and SYL national officers and members, solely because of their political affiliation, on a series of published lists, including the Security Index, the Communist Index, the Administrative Index, and the Agitator Index, used by federal, state and local law enforcement agencies for intensive surveillance and harassment of the plaintiffs, targeting them as dangerous to the national security, inciting public animus against them and exposing them to government surveillance, harassment, prosecution and physical attack.

39. As a result of inclusion on the Administrative Index, JAMES M. ROBERTSON, SUSAN ADAMS and other SL and SYL national officers and members have been targeted for summary detention and indefinite internment during times of national emergency solely because of their association with the SL and the SYL.

40. In or about February 1965 and every year thereafter, agents of the defendant FBI DIRECTOR and his predecessors and agents sent a report of the whereabouts and status of plaintiff JAMES M. ROBERTSON to the Secret Service falsely describing him as a person dangerous to the life of the President of the United States.

48. From the formation of the RT in 1963 through the founding of the SL in 1966, and continuing until the present, the defendant public officers have premised their political intelligence operations and harassment of the SL and the SYL, and plaintiffs JAMES M. ROBERTSON and SUSAN ADAMS, upon the alleged commitment of the plaintiff organizations to the violent overthrow of the Government of the United States as well as their alleged conduct which might involve violation of the Smith Act, Internal Security Act and Voorhis Act.

68. Organizations previously designated as politically subversive are improperly and impermissibly recast by the Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines as violent criminal enterprises and terrorist outlaws. Marxist political organizations are now categorized as criminal enterprises as a pretext for justifying increased scope and intrusiveness of FBI investigative techniques, and facilitating prosecution of Marxist political organizations as criminal racketeering enterprises.

71. FBI determination to target an individual or organization for a domestic security/terrorism investigation is made on the basis of speech, political belief and ideology, and not acts of force or violence.

85. The defendant public officers, their predecessors and agents have equated the Marxist ideology of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE with advocacy of the violent overthrow of the United States government. The false premise of advocacy of criminal or violent conduct is the pretext for initiating, and continuing indefinitely, a domestic security/terrorism intelligence investigation of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE.

87. The defendant public officers and their agents have applied and continue to apply the Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines to the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, JAMES M. ROBERTSON and SUSAN ADAMS in bad faith, knowing or having reason to know that the SL and the SYL are neither terrorist nor criminal organizations, and that JAMES M. ROBERTSON and SUSAN ADAMS are not terrorists or outlaws....

88. As applied to the SPARTACIST LEAGUE, the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, JAMES M. ROBERTSON, SUSAN ADAMS and SL and SYL members and supporters, the Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines infringe rights secured by the Constitution and laws of the United States. The Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines transform the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE from lawful political organizations into violent criminal enterprises on the basis of their constitutionally protected speech and advocacy. Thus, the Guidelines target the plaintiff organizations, their members and supporters, as well as plaintiffs JAMES M. ROBERTSON and SUSAN ADAMS, as terrorists and outlaws existing without the protection of the laws of the United States. The Smith Guidelines codify, make public and direct the FBI and other law enforcement agencies to ignore legal distinctions between political opponents of the government and organized criminals. The Smith Guidelines expose the plaintiff organizations and their members and supporters and plaintiffs ROBERTSON and ADAMS to surveillance, infiltration, disruption, harassment, prosecution and violence on the part of law enforcement authorities and political extremists of the right.

89. By promulgating the Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines and applying them to the SPARTACIST LEAGUE, the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, their members and supporters, and JAMES M. ROBERTSON and SUSAN ADAMS, as a pretext for stigmatizing the plaintiffs as terrorists solely as a result of their Marxist ideology and beliefs, the acts of the defendant public officers, and their predecessors and agents, violate the First, Fourth, Fifth, Ninth and Fourteenth Amendments of the Constitution of the United States.

Dated: New York, New York
October 19, 1983

Katz & Weinstein, P.C.
and
Rachel H. Wolkenstein
Attorneys for Plaintiffs

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Sunday Observer

BY RUSSELL BAKER

The Comic-Book Caper

PATRICK McDONNELL

News item: The C.I.A. has published a comic book showing Nicaraguans how to make trouble for their Marxist government by using various sabotage techniques, including stopping up toilets with sponges.

ODD HOW QUICKLY A man's reputation could go to seed. Look at old Double-O Seven. For months all the new Yumsles (young upwardly mobile sples) had been saying, "The old boy's too long in the tooth and too thick in the pot to handle the big girls any more."

M apparently thought the same. Three times in the past year world survival had been threatened by three different gangs of large, gorgeous, killer girls who were flooding the free world with dangerous comic books from their fantastically beautiful hideouts in the Caribbean. And three times M had sent, not old 007, but young 0084-B(2), to suppress those copious beauties.

In fact, it had been nearly two years now since M had asked Double-O Seven to do anything at all, except to "nip down to the corner newsstand like a good chap and buy me the new issue of 'Private Eye.'"

It had been the arm-wrestling with President Reagan that had undone 007. M never mentioned it, of course, but N did the night he invited 007 to go eavesdropping with him in the clubs in St. James.

"Damned poor show letting Reagan trap you into an arm-wrestling photo opportunity and then letting the old geezer whip you in less than two seconds," said N. "I suppose you've heard that Mrs. Thatcher now wants to arm-wrestle you, too, to show she's just as good as Reagan at pushing around third-rate powers."

Since 007's lumbago was killing him, he resisted the urge to toss the sneering N over his shoulder and hurl him into a club infested with Tories. He was prepared to act, though, when summoned next day to M's office.

"If you want me to arm-wrestle Mrs. Thatcher and throw the match to make England look good, you may have my resignation immediately," he said.

"The old boy's going fast," thought M, handing 007 a comic book. "What do you make of this?" he asked.

"It's a comic book," said 007. "Written in abominable Spanish. Obviously Soviet sabotage instructions for malcontents in some miserable tropical dictatorship. The vicious author, I should guess, is size 42-24-36 and must be dealt with very firmly."

"Nonsense," said M. "It's from the C.I.A.'s comic-book division."

"Impossible. Look. This chap in the drawing is dropping sponges into a toilet. Do you know what sponges do to a toilet, M?"

M declined the invitation to dilate on toilet backup and overflow and went immediately to the point. "What I know beyond all doubt," he said, "is that plumbing — beautiful, glistening, splendidly functioning plumbing — is the worldwide symbol of American excellence. Damage that symbol and you strike a deadly blow against freedom."

"Precisely why these big, zaftig K.G.B. wenches are flooding the world with this comic book," said 007. "They intend to destroy democracy by discrediting American plumbing. It's diabolical, M. I'll leave for Jamaica as soon as my tuxedo and girdle come back from the cleaner."

M wanted to ask 007 to shut up and listen for a change, so he said, "Hold your horses, old-timer. I'm not spoofing you when I say this assault on the supreme symbol of American majesty originates with the C.I.A."

"The dickens you say!" cried 007. "Then we have a mole in the C.I.A. comic-book division. I trust, M, that she is a large, juicy knockout of a mole who spends a lot of time snorkeling in Barbados. I assume you want me to make sure we don't see the man from Krypton turning up with the hammer and sickle emblazoned on his Superman suit."

"The poor sap," thought M. "A sensible man of his age would settle down in the Cotswolds and be a grandfather." What he said was, "You will proceed to Washington and contact Casey . . . ."

"Can you describe Casey's bosom so I'll recognize her?"

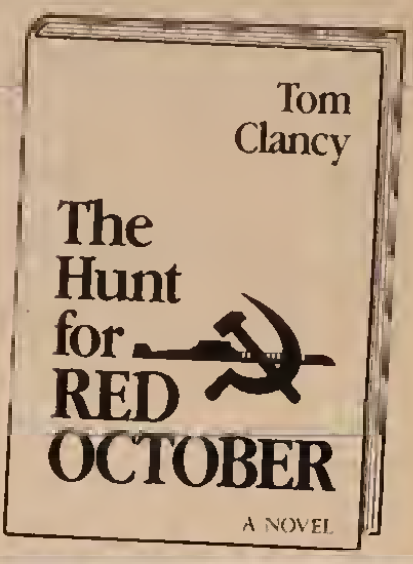
"Casey is a man. He runs the C.I.A.," said M. "In your encounter you will use all the eloquence at your command to explain the importance to the entire free world of smoothly functioning American plumbing. On behalf of Her Majesty's Government, you will urge Casey to cease this thoughtless sabotage of respect for American know-how that has taken years to. . ."

"I daresay there will be a magnificently busted beauty or two along the way who will do anything to stop me from carrying my message to Casey."

M paused, then said, "They might even resort to arm-wrestling," then paused again. "Tell you what, James," he said. "Why don't I just send Casey a letter while you nip down to the newsstand like a good chap and buy me the new issue of 'Private Eye.'" ■

no credit

Sean MacGregor* Connery (*no relation to the traitor Ian, head of the British Coal Board).



Published by Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, Maryland.

Ira Wyman

Russell Baker

Miners...

(continued from page 2)

Men Support the Miners, and they have regular weekly meetings. Miners come along and address their meetings and express their solidarity with them, and they collect money and they give it to the miners. This is previously inconceivable in Britain.

And this seems true in other unions. There's a lot of workers in other unions who really desperately want to strike alongside the miners and to support them, but their leadership really doesn't want to take on that question.

The other thing that's really striking is on the Russian question. I think everybody probably knows that the head of the miners union in Britain is known for, and has been witchhunted for, saying that Polish Solidarność was anti-socialist. And Polish Solidarność is the cutting edge of the Russian question in Britain. So Solidarność came out in its true colors and sent a message of solidarity to the scabs. And as of now Polish Solidarność is a really hated phenomenon in Britain, because everyone associates it with the scabs. Furthermore, the Russian government has actually supported the miners' strike in a number of fairly minimal ways, but the impact has been really impressive. The bourgeois press tried to scandalize the miners saying, "Everyone says these miners are starving. Well, they're not really starving, because here's the proof of it: they're all having these wonderful holidays on the Black Sea in Russia." And they interviewed one of the miners on this TV news program and he said, "Well, it's really fine here in Russia, you know, there's good food, it's a nice place to live, and it really is much better than Britain." So they had to take this one off the television network.

And in fact, given that recently there has been a large donation of money from the Soviet Union to the British miners, it's really clear that the miners' strike has done more to thwart Thatcher's war plans against the Soviet Union than all the peace demonstrations—and there have been a lot of them in Britain. You know, there's a big CND organization, you've had Greenham Common women, and so forth. And I tell you, the Greenham Common women have become really insignificant by comparison with the miners' wives, who are out there organizing and fighting for support of the strike. And in more ways than one they really are the backbone of the strike.

The third thing is that, given that so much depends on the outcome of this strike, unless you're prepared to address the question of power, then you cannot even bring this strike to the conclusion that is possible. What I mean is that this strike could have been won several months ago. You had the dockers out on strike twice, and Britain is an island economy so the docks are pretty important. The dockers are a militant union. And you have this situation where the leadership of the trade-union movement and of the Labour Party itself are actually divided. The right wing of both the Labour Party and the trade-union bureaucracy—they're openly anti-Russian, anti-Communist; they were the people who really witch-hunted [NUM leader] Arthur Scargill when he denounced Polish Solidarność. And it's really clear today, they just tell their members to cross miners' picket lines, ignore the strike and don't give them any money.

On the other hand you've got the left wing of the trade-union bureaucracy and of the Labour Party that are not openly anti-Russian. But they simply will not call their members out on strike action. So you have a situation like when the dockers were out on strike, or the railwaymen. Several hundred members of the railway unions have been victimized, locked out and sent home, for refusing to handle scab coal on the trains. And their union is doing absolutely nothing to defend them, having originally instructed them to not handle the scab coal.

Now, the Labour Party. I believe that never before in its history has the Labour Party been more discredited. And this was as a result of the miners' strike. There's this character Denis Healey in the British Labour Party who's well known to have connections with the CIA and there's a clot of people around him, and we raised the slogan that this guy should be driven out of the Labour Party because the sort of dislocation that it would cause would be really interesting and would break the mold of British social democracy. And Tony Benn came here to New York and various other places and argued that well, of course, the last thing in the world the miners want is to see the Labour Party splitting right now. Well, I'll tell you this is a lie. Most of the miners could see these guys in hell, never mind driven out of the Labour Party. The general secretary of the TUC appeared in a meeting recently and the miners hung up a noose for him in the back of the room. Because you know, they have declared their open animosity to the miners' strike.

We're going to do this fund drive in the U.S. And there's a lot of miners that are really keen to come and meet the Spartacist League and the SYL in the U.S. They're really excited to come here and they desperately need the money. So I think that this will be really important for the international tendency. And it'll be important for the miners. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Spartacist League Suit Against FBI "Terrorism" Guidelines Settled

FBI Admits: Marxists Are Not Terrorists

Today, November 30, in settlement of a lawsuit against the FBI and Attorney General, the first legal victory was won against the 1983 Attorney General's Guidelines for Domestic Security/Terrorism Investigations. The successful plaintiffs called this "an important victory for everyone who fights to defend democratic rights."

"This victory strengthens every one of us," declared Spartacist League general counsel Rachel Wolkenstein: "Under Reagan and the 1983 FBI Guidelines the government has tried to equate political opposition with criminal conspiracy/terrorism, thus mandating the secret police to get you. But we have no illusion that the government's secret police have stopped or will stop their harassment, infiltration or disruption of Marxist political organizations and other perceived political opponents of the government. This settlement strikes a modest but genuine blow against that deadly equation."

The agreement, filed in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York (83 Civ. 7680), settled the lawsuit begun one year ago by the Spartacist League, which challenged the FBI Guidelines on the grounds that they falsely recast the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League as terrorist outlaws. The FBI's former definition of the SL falsely attributed to the organization a conspiratorial commitment to the violent overthrow of the U.S. government. In today's settlement, the FBI and the United States Attorney General agreed to change their definition of the Spartacist League to exactly what the SL is—a Marxist political organization.

"In agreeing to change its definition of the Spartacist League," Wolkenstein stated, "the FBI conceded the central claim of our lawsuit—that Marxist political principles and advocacy cannot be equated with violence, terrorism or a criminal enterprise. This undermines the FBI's pretext for over 60 years of harassment, surveillance, disruption and persecution of Marxist political organizations in the United States."

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Statement on Settlement of Lawsuit Against FBI and Attorney General

The Spartacist League (SL) and Spartacus Youth League (SYL) have successfully concluded a lawsuit against the Federal Bureau of Investigation in which we charged that the 1983 U.S. Attorney General's Guidelines for Domestic Security/Terrorism Investigations falsely and dangerously target our organizations as "criminal enterprises" and "terrorist." In the court-endorsed settlement, filed in the Federal District Court in New York on November 30, the FBI and the Attorney

continued on page 12

5-635/2

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

SPARTACIST LEAGUE, SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, JAMES M. ROBERTSON and SUSAN ADAMS,

Plaintiffs,

- v -

ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES, DIRECTOR OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION and THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Defendants.

U.S. DISTRICT COURT FILED NOV 30 1984 S.D. OF N.Y.

STIPULATION AND ORDER OF SETTLEMENT AND DISMISSAL

83 Civ. 7680 (JES)

IT IS HEREBY STIPULATED AND AGREED by the attorneys for

Federal Courthouse, New York City, November 30: SL, SYL, PDC spokesmen announce settlement of lawsuit against the FBI.

FBI Retracts Its "Definition" Slander

The Spartacist League (SPL), founded in 1965 by former members of another Trotskyist-communist organization, advocates the destruction of the capitalist system and the creation of a workers class system and a workers class society. The SPL national headquarters is located in New York City. While the SPL does not openly advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government at this time or violations of other Federal or state laws, the SPL does believe that eventual violent revolution to overthrow the present capitalist system of government in the U.S. is inevitable. The objective of the SPL is to organize a membership to take action to precipitate such a revolution when conditions are ripe and to direct and seize control of the revolution when it occurs.

This is the former FBI definition of the Spartacist League used for 20 years, which used classic witchhunt language, claiming that the SL "does not *openly* advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government *at this time*" [emphasis added], falsely attributing to the organization a conspiratorial commitment to the violent overthrow of the U.S. government.

The Spartacist League (SPL), a Marxist political organization, was founded in 1966. The historical and theoretical roots of the SPL derive from the early Communist Party, U.S.A. and the Socialist Workers Party. The immediate precursor of the SPL was the Revolutionary Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party. The SPL has an official youth section named the Spartacus Youth League.

The SPL was once the subject of an FBI domestic security investigation. The investigation was closed in 1977, however, and it did not result in any criminal prosecution.

In settlement of the Spartacist League's lawsuit, the FBI agrees to change its definition of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League to exactly what the SL is—a Marxist political organization. Thereby the FBI concedes the central claim of the SL's lawsuit, that Marxist political principles and advocacy cannot be equated with violence, terrorism or a criminal enterprise.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 369 — 21 December 1984

Eight Face Hangman's Noose in South Africa

December 4: At South African embassy in Washington, AFL-CIO officials demand freedom for leaders of black trade unions. AFL-CIO News

Free Anti-Apartheid Fighters!

At 5:15 a.m. on December 10, the South African government released eleven anti-apartheid fighters from prison, only to rearrest six of them immediately on charges of "high treason"—charges which could mean *death by hanging* for many leaders of the current wave of black struggle. At press time eight leading activists associated with the United Democratic Front (UDF), the largest anti-apartheid political grouping in South Africa, are facing the hangman's noose. In addition to the UDF leaders charged with treason, five leaders of the powerful two-day stay-away strike which paralyzed the industrial heartland of the Transvaal in early November have been imprisoned and charged with "subversion," which carries a 20-year sentence.

The imprisoned UDF Eight are: Archie Gumede, Paul David, George

continued on page 11

War Budget Targets Workers, Blacks, Poor, Aged

Reagan's Kill-'em-All Cuts

Liberal columnist Tom Wicker observed that Reagan ran for re-election as President Feelgood, promising boundless economic prosperity. But after his landslide victory in November, President Feelgood turned into President Kill 'em All, slashing the wages of federal government workers and cutting practically every social program from veterans' benefits to Medicare. As administration economists talk euphemistically of a "growth recession," 125 programs are targeted for total elimination under what is being called Reagan's chain-saw budget massacre.

At the core of the federal deficit crisis is the massive arms buildup designed to achieve first-strike nuclear capability against the Soviet Union. America's rulers are bent on reconquering the Soviet Union for capitalism or destroying the world in the attempt. To that end, U.S. military spending is slated to increase *$120 billion* by 1988. And the Pentagon has been resisting even the most minimal reductions proposed by the budget director and the Treasury. "The joke here," said one White House budget official, "is that we'll throw a champagne party if the Pentagon agrees to one dollar of reductions."

They can save their champagne. The only "cuts" anyone is talking about in the war budget are "reductions" in the planned *increase* for arms spending!

Apart from some right-wing crackpots, no one took seriously the "supply-side" notion that the trillion-dollar arms buildup could be financed through accelerated economic growth stimulated by tax *cuts*. No less fantastical was the idea that all the MX missiles and Trident submarines could be paid for by

Rollo/Newsweek

AP

Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive means unemployment, hunger for black ghetto masses.

taking away school lunches. The first-term Reagan cuts were almost surgically concentrated on the poor. And in racist America, poor means largely black and Hispanic. While the Reagan gang is intent on finishing their economic holocaust of the nation's ghettos and barrios, there isn't that much left there to cut.

So this time around it's not just food stamps and Medicaid that are under the budget ax, but also price supports to farmers, subsidized loans to students and small businessmen and much more. There is even serious talk in Congress of doing away with cost-of-living adjustment for Social Security. Reaganomics is about to hit white Middle America, which voted overwhelmingly for President Feelgood. Pretty soon they may be feeling like the PATCO air controllers who were led away in chains and their union destroyed when they struck against Reagan. But PATCO went down to defeat because the leaders of American labor left them standing alone. The half-million AFL-CIO members who marched in Washington in 1981 showed the power that could have defeated Reagan's union-busting, and could smash his killer cuts today.

A small incident nicely symbolizes the state of the nation. When Reagan telephoned William Schroeder, the recipient of an artificial heart, to congratulate him on the operation, Schroeder complained that he was getting the runaround on Social Security benefits. "I'm having trouble hearing you," the president interrupted. Federal officials said they were checking whether Schroeder's disability payments could be reduced because he was receiving a federal pension. When the check arrived the next day, nine months late, he suffered a stroke. Of course, if Medicaid cuts had prevented Schroeder from getting an artificial heart in the first place, the administration could have gotten its savings through "attrition"!

One might think that opposition to Reagan's fiscal '86 "chain-saw massacre" which affects wide sections of the population would be a perfect issue for the Democratic Party to make a comeback. But Congressional Democrats immediately held out their hands in cooperation. House Speaker Tip O'Neill promised: "If the President is willing to reduce the growth of defense spending, then he will find that we will be helpful in nondefense areas of the budget" (*New York Times*, 6 December). It's not just that the Democrats don't want to buck Reagan so soon after his landslide victory. Reagan is now carrying out the Democrats' *own* program.

Since Roosevelt's New Deal in the

continued on page 8

Should Trotsky Have Made A Bloc with Zinoviev in 1924?

Arnold Mintz
London
8 May 1984

Workers Vanguard,

I want to take issue with an item which appears in the SWP article in the 27 April *WV* ["Barnes Axes Last Veterans of the Old SWP," *Workers Vanguard* No. 353]. Reference is made to the Joint Opposition as follows, "the kind of vindictiveness that perhaps prevented a Trotsky/Zinoviev bloc in 1924 when it might have counted." It is not clear if *WV* is criticizing Trotsky or Zinoviev as vindictive but the context says it is meant as a criticism of Trotsky. This is wrong. To my knowledge the situation of Trotsky and his supporters in 1924 was determined by four things: the defeats of the revolution gave control of the Communist Party to the ascendant Stalin bureaucracy which was being fronted by Kamenev/Zinoviev; the consequent strictures on Trotsky's political activity placed on him by the CPSU leadership; the catastrophic defeats in China and Britain, which showed the consequences of Stalin's ascendancy, had not yet occurred; Trotsky only joined the Bolsheviks in 1917 which was not important in the high tide of revolution but underlined his isolation in the low ebb of reaction.

It is wrong to criticize Trotsky for not effecting a bloc with Zinoviev/Kamenev earlier than 1925 when the adoption of "Socialism in One Country" put Zinoviev/Kamenev into opposition. This programmatic clarity brought about the Joint Opposition. The launching of the Joint Opposition was one of the most brilliant principled maneuvres that Trotsky ever undertook. By achieving a successful bloc with the unstable centrist opposition of Zinoviev/Kamenev it allowed Trotsky three more years to fight inside the Bolshevik Party for a return to Leninism. As Trotsky said, had the revolution triumphed in China or Britain, despite the conciliationist policies of the CI towards the Koumintang and TUC Lefts respectively, the Left Opposition would have found itself renewed massively and in a real position to win the leadership of the CPSU. When *WV* says about the Joint Opposition, "when it would have counted," this is a slight on the Left Opposition as well as the Joint Opposition. They count because Trotsky rescued Leninism from the mire of Stalinist reaction.

This issue brings to mind a very early article in *Spartacist*. The article, a review by Mage of a book by Deutscher, repeats from Deutscher a whole series of erroneous criticisms of Trotsky's so-called mistakes in the factional struggle in the 1920s. Since it was a signed article and the false positions of the article have not been repeated in Spartacist material it would be safe to take the issue as buried. However the reference again in *WV*, although partial, makes the necessity of further clarification.

Comradely,
Arnie

WV replies: Ignoring the counterposed social forces in Soviet Russia that made the triumvirs (Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev) an unstable combination from their inception, Arnie Mintz argues that there was no possibility of a bloc between Trotsky and a Zinoviev/Kamenev opposition in the decisive 1924 period, or at any time before it was actually consummated in July 1926. According to Mintz the "facts" of history are immutable. It would have made no difference what Trotsky and his supporters did in 1923-26 because the triumvirs already held the reins of power and the fate of the Left Opposition was sealed. "Leninist program" is separated from the political struggle for power. Mintz creates a cult of an infallibly clairvoyant Trotsky. At the same time his methodology imitates Isaac Deutscher in denying the subjective factor in shaping history.

The possibility and desirability of a Trotsky-Zinoviev/Kamenev bloc in 1924-25 is one aspect of a more fundamental question: could Trotsky have made different tactical choices in the 1920s which would have strengthened his hand against Stalin and therefore his struggle against the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian Revolution? We addressed this question in Shane Mage's review of Deutscher's biography of Trotsky ("Trotsky and the Fate of the Russian Revolution," *Spartacist* No. 5, November-December 1965). Mintz has

Penguin

Trotsky (left) and Zinoviev (center) at 1926 funeral of Felix Dzerzhinsky.

the impression that because this was a signed review we disavow its contents. While we do not endorse all of Mage's historical speculations and judgments, we agree with his basic argument against Deutscher's fatalism that there were in the 1920s "repeated instances when it was, sometimes arguably, sometimes manifestly, within the power of Trotsky and the Left Opposition to bring about the downfall of Stalin."

In that seminal work of the Left Opposition, *Lessons of October*, Trotsky wrote: "If time is, generally speaking, a prime factor in politics, then the importance of time increases a hundredfold in war and revolution." He might have added: also in combating (in this case a political) counterrevolution.

Already at the end of 1922 and the beginning of 1923, Lenin, mortally ill, recognized the potential danger that Stalin's predilections and the growth of bureaucratism posed for the party and the revolution. In his testament he proposed that Stalin be removed from the powerful position of general secretary. In his last weeks of political activity Lenin formed a bloc with Trotsky against the bureaucratic danger. He urged Trotsky to present his notes denouncing Stalin's complicity in the "Great Russian nationalist campaign" against Georgia and to attack Stalin, showing "no weakness or vacillation," at the upcoming 12th Party Congress in April 1923. But Trotsky disregarded Lenin's advice and made a no-contest agreement with the triumvirs, which they broke once it became clear that Lenin would not recover.

Retrospectively, Trotsky recognized that the 12th Party Congress was a lost opportunity, at least in the short run. In his 1929 autobiography, *My Life*, he wrote: "...I have no doubt that if I had come forward on the eve of the twelfth congress in the spirit of a 'bloc of Lenin

continued on page 10

TROTSKY

What Every Revolutionary Should Know About Repression

LENIN

Victor Serge (1890-1947) was a revolutionary proletarian propagandist who became a Communist under the impact of the Bolshevik Revolution. Based on tsarist police files and his own experience of repression at the hands of the capitalist governments of Belgium, France and Spain, Serge wrote a manual on state repression, first published by the Bulletin *of the Communist International:*

In the conflicts between capital and labor, the army has often intervened against labor—*never* against capital.

In court the defense of the poor is nothing short of impossible, because of the cost of any judicial action; in reality, a worker can neither bring a case nor defend one.

The overwhelming majority of crimes are directly caused by poverty and come into the category of attacks on property. The overwhelming majority of prison inmates are from the poor.

To respect legality such as this is to be fooled by it.

...Nonetheless, it would be equally disastrous to ignore it. The advantages for the workers movement are the greater the less one is fooled. The right to exist and to act legally is, for the organizations of the proletariat, something which must constantly be re-won and extended. We stress this because sometimes among good revolutionaries there emerges the diametrical opposite of fetishizing legality—due to a kind of tendency to make the least political effort (it is easier to conspire than to lead mass action) they have a certain disdain for legal action.

We believe that in countries where the reaction has not yet triumphed, destroying the previous democratic constitution, the workers will have to firmly defend every inch of their legal position, and in other countries fight to regain it. In France itself, the legal status the workers movement enjoys must be extended, and this can be done only through struggle. The right of association and the right to strike are still denied or contested for state employees and certain other categories of workers; the right to demonstrate is much more restricted than in the Anglo-Saxon countries; the advanced guards of workers defense have still not conquered the streets and gained legality as in Germany and Austria.

—Victor Serge, *What Every Revolutionary Should Know About Repression* (1926)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 369 **21 December 1984**

It's 10 O'Clock—Do You Know Where Your Red Avengers Are?

Associated Students of
San Francisco State University
San Francisco, CA

November 5, 1984

To: Noah Wilner, Editor in Chief
Workers Vanguard
P.O. Box 1377, GPO
New York, New York 10116

From: James F. McDuffie
Business Manager

Please be advised that those who use your name and sell your newspapers on this campus continue to conduct themselves in a manner that is considered by most on this campus to be contrary to the ethics of fairness.

It perhaps should be acknowledged in the beginning that the Associated Students in general and I in particular do not endorse any political party, issue or candidate, on campus or off. It is however our intention that rules established to ensure fairness to all points of view be adhered to by everyone. That includes those who share your point of view.

At this point, we can not be sure that you and/or your organization condone the actions of those who expound your point of view which in our opinion is at worst illegal and at least impolite, inconsiderate and in bad taste.

If you do condone this type of conduct, that is alright too. It is unfortunate however that the good points of your message should suffer because of the conduct of your messengers.

Please do not assume that this letter is to imply anything. It is to tell you in as

Norfolk Busing: Government Pushes to Restore Jim Crow

By Cliff Carter

Cliff Carter, a black trade unionist, is a frequent guest contributor to Workers Vanguard.

Whenever there is unity between black and white in the United States there is always opposition from the ruling class through the U.S. government and through the individual states passed on to their respective citizens. The very small minority that runs and controls the United States knows that if there is unity between the black and white working class, this will be the beginning of a revolution to change the U.S. into a workers state. This ruling class knows if they separate the black children from the white children, then by the time they finish high school, there will be enough negative differences between them that it will take the next 20 years or more to erase.

In 1954, the United States Supreme Court (with the okay from the ruling class) ruled in favor of outlawing separate schools for black and white. In 1958, rather than let black and white go to school together, the State of Virginia closed schools all over Norfolk. Ever since the year of 1866 the Ku Klux Klan had preserved white supremacy in Norfolk (and all of the United States). But in the 1950s the United States felt the pressure of the whole world watching, and it had to make a change.

In the '50s came changes. Separate schools were outlawed. The Ku Klux Klan gave themselves a new name, "segregationist," and added this word in the American dictionary. Today the KKKer calls himself a "segregationist," and fools a whole lot of people, including blacks. On February 2, 1983 the Norfolk school board voted 5-2 to end school busing. One of the favoring five was a black lady, and as of today she doesn't know she voted with the KKK. This black lady didn't know that a vote for a "segregationist" is a vote for a Klansman.

WV Photo

Norfolk: Union contingent marches for busing, May 1983. Signs say, "ILA All the Way Against Segregated Schools."

On the date of December 6, 1984 the Justice Department told a federal appeals court for the first time that a school board could eliminate a court-ordered busing plan, and said the board was free to return to a neighborhood school system even if segregation resulted. Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Runnells, head of the Justice Department's "civil rights" division, filed a friend-of-the-court brief with the 4th United States Circuit Court of Appeals, and argued that the Norfolk, Virginia school board could end a 13-year-old busing program for elementary school students.

This is just one of the take-offs of Reagan's plan for the racist and segregationist (nearly forgotten that they were once called the KKK). The KKK endorsed Reagan already in his first election in 1980, and it took him until 1984 to refuse to recognize (repudiate) their endorsement. If the workers are separated at the elementary age, it is hard to join them at the adult age. Reagan knows this, and so does the puppeteer ruling class that pulls Reagan's strings.

On May 13, 1983 thousands marched for busing in Norfolk, Virginia organized by the Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Citizens headed by Bishop L. E. Willis, a black minister, and other local black leaders. Bishop Willis piped in Sweet Jesse James Jackson from Chicago to lead the march. Earlier that morning at a breakfast meeting at the Holiday Inn executive center on Greenbriar Road, Jackson told more than 225 community leaders and supporters of the demonstration that he was "not in town marching for desegregation. I am marching for the voter registration boost" (*Virginian-Pilot*, 14 May 1983).

Somebody should tell Democrat Jesse Jackson that slavery was ended by revolutionary struggle (the Civil War), and not by voting. If the Union soldiers had fought with ballots instead of bullets, they would have surely lost the Civil War.

Sweet J.J. Jackson at this demonstration spent a great portion of the time hollering and screaming like a mad man for the marchers to register and vote for the Democrats. Well, the majority of black people registered and voted Democratic. But what happened? Nothing. Reagan stays in the White House. If Mondale had won, then Reagan would have left the White House. Nothing good would have happened for the working people. Mickey Mouse Mondale returning and Reagan leaving is the same as trouble leaving out your front door, but bad luck comes in your back door.

Any man or woman who stands in a voting line trying to decide whether to vote for a Democrat or a Republican has to be confused right from Jump Street. There is very little difference between a fox and a wolf, for one will eat you slowly, and the other will eat you quickly.

The friend-of-the-court brief by the Justice Department is just one of the many steps to counteract the much-needed revolutionary workers party. The Reagan administration knows the old rule—if you divide, you will conquer. The racist school department of Norfolk knows that there is unity among the workers of the Tidewater area, and something must be done to curtail this unity. The Reagan administration is out to keep the working people down, but we do not need the Democratic Party nor Jesse Jackson with his voter registration drive. Jackson said in a speech at Washington, D.C. on May 10, 1983, "...we can change the nation's course through elections without going through a revolution." A statement like this tells the people to register, then vote, go home and watch TV and everything will be okay: just leave things in the hands of the Democrats.

Everything the working class has accomplished has been through struggle. On November 27, 1982 when the KKK was stopped in Washington, D.C., the Democrats were nowhere in sight. They were home watching TV and making phone calls to the Republicans (saying we did not have nothing to do with them 5,000 people messin' with Reagan's Klansmen). These are the same words an old Uncle Tom would say.

In the Tidewater area, we need the voice and support of every decent person around. The support of the trade unions is needed. If the Tidewater, Virginia Federal Employees Metal Trades' Council of the Norfolk Naval Shipyard (with its 17 affiliate locals), the longshoremen of Norfolk (the ILA) and the United Steelworkers of America of the Newport News Shipyard, decided to act against the decision of the Norfolk school board, this would force the board to do away with their pro-Klan tactics. And this would cause every decent person in the Tidewater to respect the trade unions. We do not need a halt to busing in the Tidewater area. What we need is to finish the Civil War, and the beginning of a workers party. ■

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straight forward a manner as possible that the Associated Students will do everything that is legally possible to see to it that the rights of all students are protected at all times under all circumstances.

We expect a reply from you regarding this matter within thirty days of the above date. If we do not hear from you in that amount of time, we will feel safe in assuming one of the following:

1) you concur with the actions of those on this campus who use your name.

2) you are not interested in the actions of those on this campus who use your name.

3) you are not interested in our opinion of the actions of those on this campus who use your name.

4) all of the above.

In any event, we appreciate your attention to this matter. Thank you.

JFM/pjk

cc: Ms. Ilda Montoya,
Associated Students, President
Dr. Jessellyn Saffold,
Dean of Students
Ms. Betsy Adler, General Counsel
San Francisco Socialist Action
Sylvia Weinstein

Response shoved under our door:

To: James "Let 'em eat snake" McDuffie
Bu$ine$$ Manager,
Associated Students

From: Above ground friends of the Underground SYL
Remote International Center

Please be advised that those who use your name (and who are in fact you) have had our supporters beaten, arrested and driven underground for distributing Marxist literature at San Francisco State University.

Know where you are, pig. Though you may, in your wettest of dreams, imagine yourself to be in El Salvador with Bobby "Blowtorch" D'Aubuisson, burning leftist li and leftist people, you are not. Please be advised that SF State is situated on the west coast of a country that at least formally accords certain democratic rights to its populace. Please

Young Spartacus

Red Avengers' Ms. Piggy at SF State.

he further advised of the convulsive social struggle that was waged outside San Francisco some two hundred years ago which smashed "divine rule." Madame De Farge was our kind of gal.

Perhaps you think this is yet another example of our "bad taste." Who are you, anyway—Emily Post in jackboots? Unlike you and your beansprout totalitarian ilk, our taste doesn't cater to stabbing smokers in SF State elevators, smashing free speech or enlisting as attack dogs for the loser Democrats.

With our friends on the receiving end, we find your professed concern for the protection of the rights of all students somewhat less convincing than Torquemada's concern for the rights of Jews.

Yours truly,
Friends of the Rights of the
Red Avengers

P.S. Don't call us, the Red Avengers will call on you.

Britain's Winter of Class War

For nine hard months, 140,000 British coal miners have been fighting Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's attempt to destroy their livelihoods and their union. It is the sharpest class battle in Britain since the 1926 general strike, also sparked by a bitter miners' strike. So far this year more than 3,000 miners have been injured by police violence and 9,000 arrested. Two strikers have been killed on the picket lines and two miners' children were buried while seavenging for scrap coal to heat their home. But as Christmas approaches and coal stocks dwindle with the cold weather, government attempts to spark a back-to-work movement have failed utterly. The miners are solid as ever.

Thatcher has denounced the strikers as "an organized, revolutionary minority... whose real aim is the breakdown of law and order and the destruction of democratic, parliamentary government." No doubt the "Iron Lady" is recalling the fate of the last Tory prime minister, Edward Heath, who was brought down by the 1974 miners' strike. Last July, Thatcher declared: "We had to fight the enemy without in the Falklands, and now we have to fight the enemy within." The miners, too, know that this is war—*class war*. And to win it they have to be prepared to fight to the finish. Our British comrades have repeatedly called to spread the strike. The London *Guardian* (4 September), reporting on left groups at the Trades Union Congress in Brighton, noted: "The Spartacist League banner was more ambitious. It read: 'Shut down the country'."

One of the main battlefields in the British coal strike has been financial. After judges declared the strike illegal and held the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) in contempt of court, in a guerrilla war ranging from Dublin to Luxemhourg and Zurich, Thatcher's government has tried to seize more than £9 million in NUM funds which the union sent abroad to escape this legal robbery. But meanwhile, the miners' struggle has awakened sympathy and solidarity around the globe. Soviet unions have contributed more than $1 million, including food and clothing, and the brutally oppressed South African miners have sent contributions

AP

Miners battle cops outside Ravenscraig steel works in Scotland last May. Extend the strike to steel, power workers, dockers and railwaymen!

to their class brothers fighting in Britain. Even multimillionaire J. Paul Getty, Jr. has donated £100,000 to the miners' Christmas solidarity appeal.

The Partisan Defense Committee has launched a fund drive among American trade unions to aid the families of the heroic British miners (see box on page 5). While *Workers Vanguard* has covered the coal strike from the beginning, in the face of a news blackout by the American media, lately even the bourgeois press has begun to take notice. We reprint below for the interest of our readers, some excerpts from recent stories giving a taste of this crucial class battle.

The liberal New York *Village Voice* (27 November), published a lengthy article by James Ridgeway in his column, "Annals of the Age of Reagan," on the "'Civil War' in England":

"In the class warfare that has marked this strike, the picturesque villages and country lanes of northern England have become a battleground. At times it has almost seemed like a civil war... over the last 10 days thousands of union pickets have fought police hand-to-hand in the streets of Yorkshire mining villages in some of the worst violence since the strike began.

"In one pit village, Cortonwood, a sharp clash ensued recently when the National Coal Board, which runs the nationalized mines, sought to take a lone returning miner past the pickets. Some 4000 strikers hurled bricks and stones at the police. Steel ball bearings were shot from catapults.

"Last Monday the Yorkshire coalfields once more erupted. Barricades and cars were overturned and set afire, shops and garages were looted, and the police station in the village of Dinnington was evacuated after a Molotov cocktail was thrown through a window. Thirty-three policemen and nine pickets were injured, and 45 miners were arrested....

"What now exists in the north of England amounts to an unusual national police force, made up of men from distant towns and cities who are bused in or brought by plane. To an outsider it looks like an army of occupation. Ill feelings between citizenry of the northern villages and the visiting police run high, and the overall situation has been likened to Belfast....

"Entire villages have been ringed by police, with all traffic in and out stopped in anticipation of a picket. Police have barged into houses where out-of-town pickets have been staying overnight, and have hauled them off. They have gone into pubs and dragged men out. It is commonplace in a mining village for a police car to follow striking miners as they leave one pub and go to another. Miners walk in pairs going home from pubs....

"Last week in the Ollerton miners' welfare club bar the strikers gathered as they do every night to play dominoes and darts and drink beer. Mick McGinty, the treasurer of [the] striking group, unwrapped five gold watches sent by an old Tory lady who wanted to do something to help the miners. There was money from the Belgian unions. The French unions had promised as a gesture of solidarity that every miner's child would receive a Christmas gift from France.... The Indian and Pakistani communities around London have contributed about $800....

"The most important support group for the strike is made up of women. Miners' wives and other women have been providing emergency food baskets, organizing and running soup kitchens, and arranging for Christmas throughout the strike areas. For these women, the strike has become a social revolution. Women in the pit villages have never worked outside the home. Now they sit at the strike committee tables with the men and fiercely argue a cause which to them has become more than an industrial dispute."

The haughty and virulently anti-labor *New York Times* (4 December) was struck by the almost Dickensian quality of life in the British coal fields during this bitter strike:

"In this normally law-abiding community, which has seen both mass picketing and mass policing, a brick wall on the road to the colliery was torn up and thrown at the police. The postmistress who delivered letters from management urging the miners to return to work needed a police escort....

"The telephones have been turned off, and the savings have run out. The children depend on school lunches and the mercy of the milkman. There are no strike benefits....

"The weather is bitter, there is no money for heat, and families in this town in southern Yorkshire [Rossington] dig up and burn the dust over which the coal trucks have passed, pressing coal and oil into the ground.

"To light these fires, they are cutting down the trees that provide the only shield against dust for the houses that shoulder up to the edge of the colliery.

"Outraged, one of the residents called the police, who arrived with dogs and arrested Sidney Cherry, a striking miner, and his brother Roy. Both the trees and the dust belong to their employer, the National Coal Board."

The National Union of Miners has stood virtually alone through this nine-month battle. Earlier this month NUM president Arthur Scargill went to the Trades Union Congress to ask for real, effective solidarity action. As the London *Guardian* (5 December) quoted Scargill as saying:

"The NUM have been to see the TUC general secretary and his colleagues and said that the time for mealy-mouthed resolutions in unions or organisations is at an end....

"The time when this movement must react is now. I'm not asking for moral support or resolutions. We are asking for practical assistance and we have asked for the general council of the TUC to be convened to mobilise industrial action in support of this union....

"That means money, to help our organisation function and exist. It means from all over the world, we have to demand more and more from our brothers and sisters."

An article in the London *Guardian* (6 December) reported, accurately, that

continued on page 8

Wolmuth/The Guardian

London Santa Claus, appealing for toys for miners' children, arrested by Thatcher's cops.

French Workers Dig Deep For British Coal Strikers

PARIS—The Ligue Trotskyste de France has hosted two striking British miners on a highly successful campaign to raise funds. Paul Brewin and Troy Nattriss, accredited representatives of the Warsop Main Lodge of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), visited factories, workplaces, unions and campuses in Rouen and Paris together with comrades of the LTF. In ten days a total of more than 17,700 francs ($1,900) was raised.

From the Rouen dock workers to bank workers in Paris, French workers dug deep into their pockets to aid their embattled brothers and sisters in Britain. One of the most successful collections was at the Banque National de Paris where the visiting British strikers raised over 1,800 francs: officials from the (Socialist-led) CFDT federation organized a collection of about 1,000 francs, the enterprise committee donated 500 francs and the Christian CFTC labor group contributed 300 francs. On Sunday morning at the Marché D'Aligre, one of Paris' popular markets frequented by workers and immigrants, the strikers raised 1,300 francs.

At Rouen the Committee to Support British Miners along with supporters of the LTF at the Renault plant in Cléon initiated fundraising among the auto workers, and with the participation of CGT union officials quite generous donations were received. A local newspaper, *Le Journal d'Elbeuf*, reported on the fundraising campaign. Both the Rouen dockers and postal workers in Paris gave generously to the miners. One CGT postal worker organized in his own workplace a collection of 300 francs.

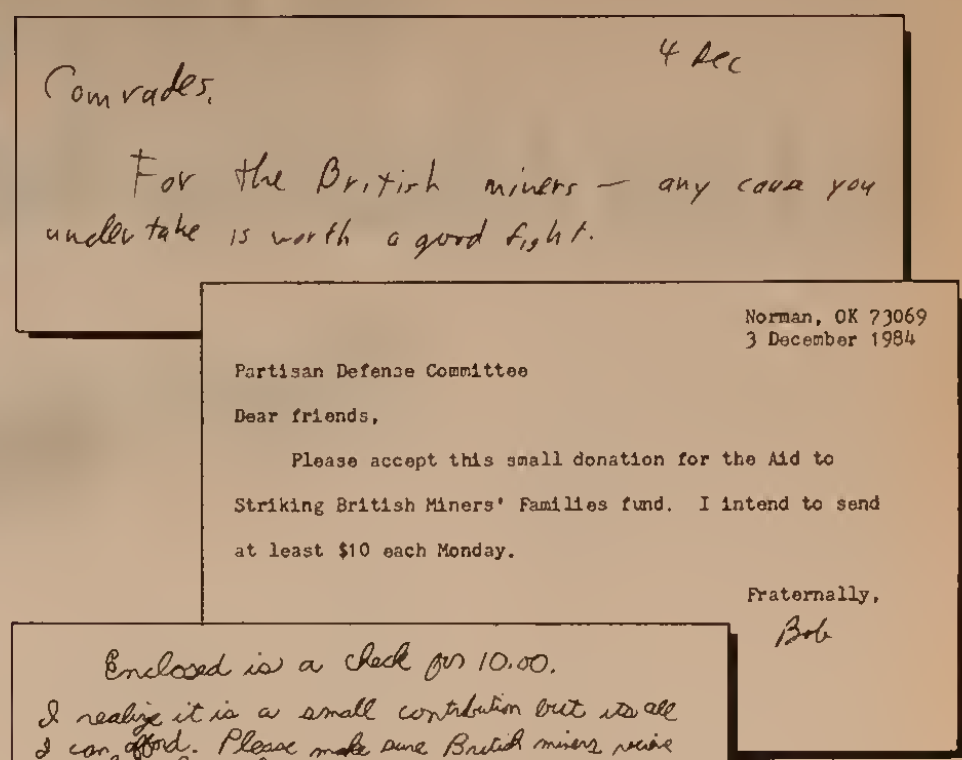
To its credit, the Communist-led CGT has mounted a major nationwide campaign of raising funds and organizing convoys of food and Christmas toys to the families of striking miners. Outside Calais, French miners, members of the CGT, dumped truckloads of scab coal destined for Britain.

The British Miners Are Fighting This Christmas—Help Them Win!

On strike for nine months, British miners face a hard winter of class war solid and determined to defeat the union-busting Thatcher government and National Coal Board. But the "Iron Lady" has declared the strike "illegal," impounded union funds and is ruthlessly trying to starve these courageous workers and their families into submission. International labor solidarity is urgently needed and the Partisan Defense Committee has launched a $25,000 "Aid to Striking British Miners' Families" fund drive among American trade-union locals.

The PDC itself has contributed $5,000 and is assuming all administrative costs for the campaign. Several trade-union locals have made contributions. Many *Workers Vanguard* readers have answered our appeal to assist in this campaign including with checks for $100 and $200. As Eihhlin McDonald told members of New York Tunnel Workers Local 147, who contrihuted $274:

> "What Thatcher is trying to do to that union [NUM] is to smash it and crush it like Reagan did to PATCO, the air traffic controllers union here. And that's why international solidarity and funds from trade unions in other countries contd make a difference to this union between life and death. Because that's what's going on there. It's really a life and death question for the union. For that reason I want to appeal to the union brothers here, particularly the ones who are working, to give as generously as possihle to this cause. It reatly is in the interest of every trade unionist no matter what country to make sure that this type of union of mayhe 200,000 menihers doesn't go down the way that PATCO went. They have an expression that devetoped in Britain in the course of the miners' strike, which is 'Dig deep for the miners.' And that's reatly what I ask the union brothers here this morning to do. Thank you." ■



4 Dec

Comrades,

For the British miners — any cash you undertake is worth a good fight.

Norman, OK 73069
3 December 1984

Partisan Defense Committee

Dear friends,

Please accept this small donation for the Aid to Striking British Miners' Families fund. I intend to send at least $10 each Monday.

Fraternally,
Bob

Enclosed is a check for 10.00.
I realize it is a small contribution but it's all I can afford. Please make sure British miners receive it. Lets hope they can win this important class battle.

comradely greetings,
Richard J. Gray

WORKERS HAMMER 4

"Break with Labour's Traitors"

Workers Hammer (December 1984), the newspaper of the Spartacist League, British section of the international Spartacist tendency, reported on an SL educational conference held last month in London on the theme of "Forging a Revolutionary Leadership." At the conference a miner from the Celynen South colliery, South Wales NUM, Don Hughes, told the audience:

"We have a tradition in South Wales that's been passed down from father to son over many, many generations. The South Wales coalfield has always been involved in struggle against coal owners and against victimisation. A scab in them days is no different than a scab today, beeause when a man scahs in South Wales he knows, comrades, that he imprisons his soul for the rest of his life. You don't have to he shut hehind bars to he a villain heeause I know of a man who died in a village not far from me when he was 84 years of age and he scabbed on the 1926 strike. That man died with no one at his funeral, and he was a man of 84. We remember in South Wales over a very long period."

Another miner, Dick Hall, Warsop Main strike committee, North Derbyshire NUM, spoke on the politics of the coal strike:

"We've got a TUC which has openly collaborated with the bosses. They hate having struggle, make no mistake ahout it. They come out with empty promises, this that and the other—and it don't matter whether it's Lord Feather, Vic Feather, Lord Murray, the names change hut the faces and the policies carry on. That is why we suddenly find out that today every single time we have a strike there's a back-to-work movement hefore the strike's even called. It's heen an attack on the trade union movement, and the hureaucrats have never tried to fight back because the bureaucrats, and in particular the Communist Party from after the Second World War, were more interested in winning positions of power for themselves, not mobilising the mass of the rank and file. They've got these great positions, then they get all the fringe benefits, will not move on it, and we've been left to suffer.

Workers Hammer

Militant Welsh miner addresses Spartacist educational in London, November 10.

"But having said that there's still a strategy to win, cos if there wasn't we might as well have gone hack tomorrow. The strategy to win is—[points to Spartacist hanner, 'Miners, T&G, rail: For a fighting Triple Alliance! All-out joint national strike now! Shut down the country!'] So that's the way it is at the moment: we're at the crossroads and we want a strategy.

"Unfortunately, I'm chairman of Mansfield Woodhouse Labour Party—not very proud of it, to he quite honest, hut that nevertheless is how it stands today. And when I read ahout Neil Kinnock saying that I don't want another Gallipoli, when the leader of the Lahour Party can get up and make such statements as that, then I do get worried. When, strangely, he cannot go to a series of five rallies this week because he's here, there and everywhere, god knows what; when he won't come out and give full support to the miners—and it is the party, supposedly, of the working class—then I do get very, very worried. I mean, you can get marvellous individuals within the Labour Party. But in my Lahour Party where I come from I get scahs, who sit on the front row. And look at me, I've heen picketing 'em all week, they come to the Lahour Party, a socialist party, and see absolutely nothing wrong in being a member of it.

"We have a Lahour MP who's infamous, I think. He was the spokesman on Northern Ireland and his only claim to fame was that he went to Bobby Sands' deathbed on his 98th day on hunger strike and said, 'I hope you die, kid.' And then he came back and said, 'Yeah, solid we are.' That is the kind of man—whose son, who has heen out on strike for nine months, will not speak to him. That is the kind of party that we've got and it makes me wonder why I am a member, to he quite honest, increasingly so, and I think that at the end of the day everyone within the Labour Party has to examine their consciences to see whether we can change society. Because if we're in the Lahour Party to change it through parliamentary means, well at the moment we're not doing very well.

"I'll tell you something else. I'm not a sectarian, I have been a member of lots of other parties. But I think that at the end of the day the proof is always in the eating. And if we look at one or two of these so-called groups then I think we have a very good idea who our friends and who our enemies are. If you take the SWP [Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party]. I had a violent argument in Barnsley the other week with one of their leading members, who tried to explain to me why their members should cross miners' picket lines to go in Ravenscraig—as a 'tactic.' I think it's absolutely disgraceful.

"And if you look at the WRP [Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party] and their role, not only have we had this attack on the trade unions from the right, we have had an attack on the trade unions actually from the so-called left. Because at the height of the Cold War we had a massive attack on Scargill over his denunciation of Solidarność.

"It's the same with the group in the Lahour Party, the Militant. What they've been telling me for years is that what we should do is get the Police Federation to join the TUC. Now some would argue that it would actually turn the TUC leftwards [laughter]. Now I'm being serious, comrades. If we can honestly think that that's a strategy for winning working class people towards socialism—to win these fellows who are knocking our lads in the morning and perhaps voting to support a picket line in the afternoon...that is absolutely ridiculous.

"The next group—this sounds like an obituary, this—must be the Revolutionary Communist Party, whose first strategy was that what we should he having is a dialogue with the scabs in Nottingham, in Leicester, in South Derbyshire. And the IMG [supporters of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat] in their paper [*Socialist Action*], at the height of the strike, the biggest political struggle that we've ever had, they went off the presses for six weeks! Wouldn't even print. The last paper they printed, it's quite true, half their members wouldn't sell that issue heeause they thought it was novel to have an interview with a scab.

"Finally I'll come up to the Spartacist League. I'm not a memher, but what I've said is that you can judge people by what they have done, what they have done in this strike. As far as I'm concerned, in our strike committee we have had marvellous assistance from the tendency on picket lines, on putting our lads up.

continued on page 8

Why Democrats Went Along

Nation Liberals Hit KAL 007 Cover-Up

You know things are getting repressive when even "respectable" liberals have trouble getting their voice of "dissent" heard in the *New York Times*. And if the subject is the Americans' KAL 007 war provocation against the Soviet Union, dissent is suddenly not "fit to print" at all. When the liberal *Nation* magazine took out a full-page ad in the 25 October *New York Times* to publicize their sensational findings about Korean Air Lines Flight 007, the *Times* shot back three days later in the unusual form of a "news" story, liberally quoting from Richard Burt/White House handouts, and claiming it had reviewed the charges and "found no evidence." Of course, neither the *New York Times* nor the White House would address the specific evidence. So the *Nation* crowd, together with SANE, that letterhead organization of "State Department pacifists" from 20 years ago, actually went to the lengths of going out and renting a hall for a pre-election forum October 31 about the 007 affair.

Needless to say, the *Times* did not show up, as the speakers bitterly noted, nor did the rest of the bourgeois media.

Fry/LA Times

Left: New York Post (1 September 1983) picked up initial CIA cover story that KAL 007 spy plane was forced to land in Russia. Next day U.S. government gave go-ahead for campaign of anti-Soviet hysteria.

And the State Department failed to send a representative despite SANE's eager entreaties. The forum started off with an introduction by *Nation* editor Victor Navasky, one of the few decent liberals who in such matters as KAL and the Rosenberg case has continued to stand for truth against Reaganite anti-Soviet hysteria. The two main speakers provided a wealth of information about the 007 affair: David Pearson, a Yale teacher who wrote the excellent exposé in the *Nation* last August; and John Keppel, a 22-year veteran of the U.S. foreign service (who was once listed in Julius Mader's *Who's Who in the CIA*). The audience of a few hundred liberals and pro-Moscow Communist Party supporters bought over 50 Spartacist literature packets containing the SL pamphlet, "KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation" and subsequent *Workers Vanguard* articles on the case published in the past year. (While our Marxist newspaper blasted out the truth about the 007 spy mission from day one, it took a year for even this tiny band of liberals to have their eyes opened—and then only after they had their noses pointed in the right direction by some ex-CIA types.)

In his presentation, David Pearson laid out the list of innumerable so-called "accidents" and "coincidences" surrounding the flight of 007 which taken together point inexorably toward a conscious design. He noted how one and a half hours before the takeoff of the Korean airliner, an electrical maintenance worker at Anchorage was told to turn off one of the military radar feeds to the civilian air traffic controllers, reducing their ability to notice KAL 007's deviation from the prescribed course. Pearson noted that the much-touted "finger error" theory—that the 007 crew had accidentally entered the wrong coordinates in each of three independent inertial navigation systems before takeoff—would have required an "extraordinary" level of incompetence. He traced the peculiar flight pattern, turning twice to fly over the Soviets' most sensitive military installations in Kamchatka and on Sakhalin island, which cannot be explained by any of the "accident" theories. As Pearson and many others have noted, such a penetration of Soviet airspace would (and did) raise Russian defenses (radar, aircraft, etc.) to maximum alert, giving the U.S. a golden opportunity to record the responses with its massive array of electronic eyes and ears.

White House Cover-Up

Former U.S. diplomat John Keppel revealed some of the extraordinary efforts made by the Reagan cabal to cover up details of KAL 007. (Keppel ought to have a good eye for cover-ups—the *New York Post* of 27 August says he "took part in the botched cover-up of the 1960 U-2 incident.") While the official White House version asserts that it took about eight hours for Washington to find out what had happened, Keppel unveiled the revelation in the 15 October *Der Spiegel* magazine (in a series by Wilhelm Bittorf and Anthony Sampson)—ignored by the U.S. press, of course—that the National Security Agency base at Misawa, Japan had informed NSA headquarters at Fort Meade, Maryland about a plane down over south Sakhalin within the *first half hour* after KAL 007 plunged into the sea.

"Toward 5 o'clock Eastern time" (a little over two hours after the crash), the NSA reported the shootdown was "confirmed by the recorded material," wrote *Der Spiegel*. But *after* that report, the magazine reveals, a false story that the plane was "safe on Sakhalin" was "spread about by CIA liaison people in Seoul, Tokyo and Washington." Even the family of ultra-rightist Congressman Larry McDonald was fed the cover story. The U.S. arrogantly demanded the Japanese recordings of Soviet transmissions, even though the U.S. had its own more extensive recordings. (For a supposedly "innocent" party, the U.S. was strangely nervous about any independent evidence floating around.) And when the National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB) later tried to initiate an investigation of the crash, Keppel notes, "almost immediately the Department of State called it off and asked the NTSB to surrender all the documentation that it had started to acquire, and it did. End of story."

Why the CIA cover story? The answer can be deduced from what happened right after the NSA had confirmed the shootdown. *Der Spiegel* reports that shortly after 5 p.m. EDT there was a long-distance telephone conference call between Ed Meese, Lawrence Eagleburger, Secretary of State George Shultz, White House troubleshooter Richard Burt, and CIA director William Casey. In this conference it was decided how to delay the flow of news until the following morning in the United States. Why? In order to buy time to get their story straight and above all, as *Der Spiegel* notes, "in order to see what the Russians had got" (in particular, did they have the telltale black box recorder?) Then, as planned, Shultz could go before the world public and launch a propaganda barrage against the "evil" Soviets, cranking up the war machine several notches—and, not incidentally, easing the deployment of first-strike Pershing missiles in West Europe.

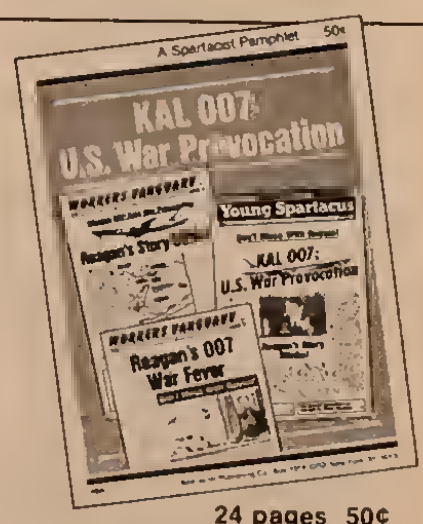
Democrats Take a Dive Over KAL 007

Pearson, Keppel and the *Nation* have been calling for a Congressional investigation into KAL 007, but only ran into a stone wall. As a *WV* reporter said in the question-and-answer session, noting the speakers' great public service in publicizing the evidence about 007: "It's been very obvious that the Democratic Party has not taken up this issue," even though the KAL bombshell would have dramatically exposed the dangerous war mania of the Reagan administration. "Why have [Mondale and the Democrats] avoided this issue? Because they're complicit," he managed to get out before being cut off by a hostile chairwoman, who then stupidly suggested to the audience that people should write letters to Senator Moynihan (the Democratic Party's liaison with the CIA)!

The Democratic tops have been blatantly and deliberately silent on KAL 007 because—whatever their tactical differences over the "mix" of weapons, the use of *contra* mercenaries in Nicaragua, etc.—they are co-authors with Reagan of the anti-Soviet war drive. And there is evidence that the Carter/Mondale administration engineered a similar KAL spy mission in 1978, when a Korean Boeing 707 deviated drastically from course and overflew the top-secret Soviet military installations at Murmansk (see *WV* No. 350, 16 March 1984). According to the 1 October *Der Spiegel*, Pentagon wise guys chortled after the 1978 KAL overflight, "Forget the B-1 bomber, just take the good old 707 with a Korean crew."

KAL Flight 007 which left Alaska on 31 August 1983 was a landmark in U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive. In this endeavor Ronald Reagan has struck a chord of bipartisan capitalist unity, and the bourgeois media willfully closed its eyes over the KAL affair because it fit so neatly into the anti-Soviet propaganda blitz. Even the Communist Party, blinded by decades of immersion in the Democratic Party and Stalinist détente illusions, couldn't believe that the Soviet Union might actually defend itself militarily—so the initial response of the CP's *Daily World* was to deny that the Russians had shot down 007! And the liberals of the *Nation* and *Der Spiegel*, after conducting exhaustive studies which, they admit, point overwhelmingly toward a U.S. conspiracy, refuse to draw the conclusion. *Even now* they leave open the door of the "tragic error" theory. When *WV* asked Pearson whether he now thought Flight 007 was on a U.S. spy mission, his liberal faith in the American government was clearly stretched thin when he answered: "All the evidence seems to be compatible with the 'intentional' explanation and very, very little of it seems to be compatible with any other explanation"—i.e., the plane must have deliberately flown into Soviet airspace.

The Spartacist League, dedicated to bringing down bloody U.S. imperialism through proletarian revolution, has been able to tell the truth about 007 from the beginning. As Trotskyists, who stand for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union (in spite of its anti-revolutionary bureaucracy), we immediately pointed to the connection of the KAL provocation to the war mobilization against the homeland of the October Revolution. Those who have looked carefully and honestly into this affair and the subsequent cover-up by *both* capitalist parties must arrive at the inevitable conclusion: the American ruling class is hell-bent on war with the Soviet Union, and only international socialist revolution can stop the imperialists from sending the planet the way of KAL 007. ■



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Congratulations on Victory Against New McCarthyism

The November 30 settlement of the Spartacist League lawsuit against the 1983 Attorney General's Guidelines for Domestic Security/Terrorism Investigations won an important admission from the FBI: Marxists are not terrorists. Numerous individuals prominent in the legal defense of civil liberties, as well as union officials, fighters for black freedom and even an occasional left spokesman have written us stressing the importance of this victory in defending the democratic rights of all. We publish below some of their letters and statements of support, and look forward to publishing more in our next issue.

Turn Back Government Subversion of People's Rights

This settlement represents a victory. Any type of victory against the government in the current environment is great. The Spartacist lawsuit also brought out an admission on the part of the FBI that they are carrying out a lot of activity that is illegal. Otherwise they wouldn't have made the settlement.

This victory, even a minimal one against the government, is cause for celebration. Hopefully it will inspire a new push and new drive to turn back the true subversive force in this country. Most certainly the government's "terrorist" drive and harassment of blacks and left groups is really action to subvert the constitutional and human rights of the people of this country.

Robert F. Williams
Author of *Negroes With Guns*

A Defense of the Working-Class Movement

Congratulations on your legal victory against the new FBI guidelines. This strikes an important blow against the Reagan administration's attempt to criminalize political opponents. As a trade unionist, I appreciate your efforts to defend the democratic rights of the working class movement.

Randy Johnese
Senior Field Rep.
SEIU Local 535*

*Organization listed for identification purposes only.

Freedom from FBI Interference

This is another step in a long road toward achievement of American freedom from interference from FBI and other surveillance agencies. It is particularly illuminating at this time, when an effort is being made to justify domestic repression on "terrorism" grounds.

Frank Donner
Former UE General Counsel,
Author of *Age of Surveillance*

A Civil Liberties Victory

This settlement is a civil liberties victory. Under the Levi Guidelines the FBI needed a reasonable suspicion of criminal activity before they could conduct a domestic security investigation. The Smith Guidelines changed that by adding a principle which said that the FBI in some circumstances could conduct an investigation based on advocacy of illegal activity alone. The Spartacist decision, by first of all recognizing that the Spartacist organization is a Marxist group and not engaged in violent activity now, and then saying that there is no on-going investigation, implicitly says that the Spartacist League, or a Marxist organization, does not meet the current guidelines.

Jerry Berman
ACLU Legislative Director

Blow Against Cold War Repression

Congratulations on the successful conclusion of your lawsuit against the F.B.I. This legal victory accords some protection not only to your organization but to all those who would be judged "political opponents" by the government.

I, along with all defenders of democratic rights, viewed with real alarm the announcement of the Attorney General's new "Domestic Security" guidelines, which attempt to paint legitimate political opponents as "criminal conspiracies" or "terrorists." Especially with the Reagan administration's campaign to combat "terrorism" (while invading black Grenada and backing terrorist counter-revolutionaries in Nicaragua!) these guidelines posed a chilling danger to all those potentially targeted.

Your success is a modest but genuine blow to the government's attempts to stifle domestic opposition in the escalating Cold War climate. Much more struggle will be necessary.

Sincerely,
Wilson Riles, Jr.
Oakland City Councilmember

For Revolutionary Reconstruction of America

The settlement on your case against the F.B.I. on November 30, 1984 was a great victory for the people who know that a revolutionary reconstruction of American society is on the order of the day.

When I forecast on channel 6 in Philadelphia at the beginning of the Reagan Administration that he would prove to be the American fascist leader in Brooks Brothers clothes, the statement was blasted in many corners as too extreme. However, four (4) years later it has become clear that with the vicious and unprincipled backing of his "Moral Majority," Reagan is developing his program to impose a specifically American form of fascism in this country.

His first weapon was to charge anyone advocating fundamental change with being a terrorist. With this technique, the F.B.I. expects to have the United States Supreme Court reverse course and hold that any advocacy of revolutionary means is ipso facto terrorism and unprotected by the First Amendment.

Your settlement is the first victory in this war. Congratulations!

Sincerely,
Conrad J. Lynn
Civil rights attorney

FBI Admits: Marxists Are Not Terrorists

What's Fit to Print in the New York Times?

17 December 1984

Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, Publisher
and
A.M. Rosenthal, Executive Editor
The New York Times
229 West 43rd Street
New York, New York 10036

Dear Mr. Sulzberger
and Mr. Rosenthal:

In today's increasingly conservative social climate, the fact that "FBI Admits: Marxists Are Not Terrorists" is certainly newsworthy. The Spartacist League's successful settlement of its lawsuit against the FBI on November 30 was a modest but genuine blow against the FBI and Attorney General's 1983 Guidelines on Domestic Security/Terrorism. Yet thus far the *New York Times*, the paper of record in the U.S., has not seen fit to print this important story.

We do recall that three years ago the *Times* (26 December 1981) printed a substantial article by Robert Lindsey on our successful effort to get the then-attorney general of California, George Deukmejian, to remove the SL's name from a list of "terrorist organizations" published as part of his "organized crime" report in 1979. Our settlement with the FBI is certainly of broader significance today, as the first successful legal challenge to the 1983 national FBI Guidelines.

The legal Complaint filed by the SL directly challenged the pretexts the secret police have used for over 60 years to harass and victimize the Marxist movement for "crimes" of ideology. As we noted in our press release announcing the settlement, the FBI in agreeing to change its definition of the SL concedes the central claim of our lawsuit—that *Marxist political principles and advocacy cannot be equated with violence, terrorism or a criminal enterprise.*

This was not just a victory for our organization. In defending ourselves, we in fact are defending the democratic rights of everyone perceived by this government to be political opponents. Believe it or not, this may even extend to the *New York Times*, which isn't looked on too kindly in some parts of this nation, you know (remember the "Pentagon Papers" case).

We do not pretend to know what interpretation or importance the FBI attaches to its agreement. We have no illusions that the government has stopped its malicious "surveillance" of ourselves and others. But our case has struck a blow at the deadly equation of constitutionally protected political dissent with "terrorism," and most everyone we have spoken with who admits to an interest in civil liberties issues expresses enthusiastic interest in this news.

Is it an oversight that the *New York Times*, which in 1981 gave adequate coverage to our legal fight in California against the "terrorist" slander targeting our organization, shows no appreciation of the importance of our national case against the FBI Guidelines directly? Is it simply that the political climate in this country has moved so sharply to the right in this period? Perhaps the *Times*' commitment to providing a platform for Claire Sterling's disinforming anti-Communist conspiracy fantasies is seen to demand that any news that runs counter to right-wing hysteria is just news that doesn't fit. It sure has been the "Terror *Times*" lately, with a seemingly endless stream of four-part front-page series retailing as fact the handouts from Reagan's bunker.

Or can it simply be that the Spartacist League is unpopular (not to mention hated in certain circles)? So we're old-fashioned Leninists and Trotskyists, whose defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism is seen as more obnoxious at a time of ideological war mobilization, while our forthrightness and elementary Marxist opposition to the capitalist two-party system irritates and embarrasses rad-lib types. And for a year after Reagan set up the passengers on Korean Air Lines Flight 007 for death in a calculated war provocation, our newspaper was the only place in this country where anyone could find the truth told. So maybe the *New York Times* et al. simply consider us to be so obnoxious that we don't exist and therefore our democratic rights to be of no interest. This although, in the straightforward necessity of acting in our own defense, we have gained a modest victory for basic rights which most Americans cherish.

We are aware that this would not be the first time the *Times* has buried newsworthy action on our part. For example the *Times* did not find it appropriate to report on the defense of the working people and oppressed which the Spartacist League has initiated outside the courts; e.g., the substantial mobilization of militants, mainly black workers and youth, which the SL initiated in 1982 to stop the first announced KKK march in Washington since 1925, or the earlier labor-based rally in San Francisco against the Nazis, who haven't show their faces there since.

We are a small organization which has scored an impressive series of modest legal victories. While the reasons for this aren't entirely clear to us, we believe that our legal strategy, based on neither expecting nor seeking an endorsement of our revolutionary politics in the capitalist courts, has served us well. And we believe also that we benefit from our outspoken and forthright avowal of our Marxist program, a quality which was recognized by no less a bourgeois figure than Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who in an address at Harvard University in 1972 noted that the Spartacists "sail under their own colors."

Copies of this letter are going to the various *Times* reporters to whom we had already delivered our November 30 press release.

We await your response with some interest.

Yours truly,
Marjorie Stamberg
for the Spartacist League

Attachments
cc: Anthony Lewis
Tom Wicker
Paul Delaney
Ed Graveley
Bill Serrin
David Margolick
David Burnham
Robert Pear
Bernard Gwertzman
Philip Taubman
Robert Lindsey
Russell Baker
Stuart Taylor, Jr.
Leslie Maitland Werner

Reagan...

(continued from page 1)

1930s, the Democrats have traditionally favored deficit spending while the Republicans have postured as the balance-the-budget party. But in this election these roles were seemingly reversed. Mondale ran as a fiscally responsible representative of American capitalism, proposing over $100 billion in cuts in federal spending to reduce the mammoth deficit. In fact, fiscal austerity was the Democratic candidate's entire domestic program. President Kill 'em All's cuts will face no serious opposition in Congress, where the Democrats are welcoming Reagan's conversion to "economic realism," and even Treasury's "modified flat tax."

The social programs now under bipartisan attack—Social Security and Medicare, food stamps and public higher education—are not philanthropic gifts to the American people from the ruling class but were won through decades of struggle by the labor movement and oppressed minorities. And this grotesque budget-cutting spectacle demonstrates the tremendous insecurity produced by the "free enterprise system." If you don't have a million bucks stashed away somewhere, after you lose your job through layoffs, you stand to lose your house, your car, your existence. In the richest country on the planet, "fairness" is sharing the cutbacks. In the Soviet Union, which still preserves the economic conquests of the Bolshevik Revolution despite its later Stalinist degeneration, with the benefits of a planned economy no worker need fear unemployment and no elderly are reduced to eating dog food because they've lost their pensions.

Blacks Need a Revolutionary Workers Party

While white America was swept up in Reagan's "new patriotism" demagogy, blacks were not. For the ghetto poor he was always President Kill 'em All, and although blacks were far from enthusiastic about Mondale they voted Democratic. So black people felt shafted by the Reagan landslide and are cynical about Democratic Party electoral politics. To refurbish their tarnished "anti-racist" credentials black Democratic politicians are flocking to the South African embassy in Washington and its consulates in other cities in order to sit-in and have themselves arrested. Certainly, there is a burning need for militant, mass actions in solidarity with the courageous fighters against white racist terror in South Africa. However, for three months, while unarmed black Africans were shot down in Sharpeville and Soweto, the Jesse Jacksons and Ron Dellums were too busy stumping for Walter "cut the budget" Mondale to notice.

Now being arrested on the steps of the South African embassy along with black leaders are top-level labor officials. One of the protest organizers, Harriet Michel of TransAfrica, observed: "It is an easy issue to rally around, to build the coalitions that have worked so well in the past." That is, it's a lot easier for black Democratic officials and conservative union bureaucrats to protest apartheid in Botha's South Africa than to fight racism and union-busting at home, in Reagan's America.

Rabidly anti-Communist and anti-Soviet, the top level of the American labor bureaucracy stands on the extreme right wing of the Democratic Party in terms of foreign/military policy. George Meany's AFL-CIO supported the war in Vietnam when Nixon and Kissinger were already giving it up as a lost cause. In the late 1970s, Meany's hand-picked successor, Lane Kirkland, was a member of the Committee on the Present Danger, which attacked Carter/Mondale for being too "soft" on Russia and demanded an accelerated nuclear arms buildup. And last year Kirkland was part of the Kissinger Commission which called for massive U.S. intervention to stave off the "Communist menace" in Central America. The AFL-CIO bureaucracy stands foursquare behind the Pentagon's trillion dollar budget.

For blacks especially, the imperialist war budget spells desperate poverty, illiteracy, disease and hunger. And blacks understand this. Yet the BEOs (black elected officials) play a crucial role in helping Reagan to carry out his cutbacks. Increasingly, America's big cities with their sprawling, poverty-stricken ghettos—Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Atlanta, Washington, D.C.—are administered by black Democratic mayors, who serve as the front line officers in Reagan's economic war on black America.

The job of the black Democratic mayors is to enforce capitalist austerity as U.S. imperialism builds for war with the Soviet Union. Our job is to smash this rotten system based on exploitation, racism and militarism. The struggle for black freedom and the proletarian class struggle are crucially intertwined in racist America. Therefore, black workers occupy a strategic position in the American workers revolution and in building the party that can lead that revolution. What is needed is a multiracial revolutionary party to lead the working class to power and put an end to the miseries of capitalism once and for all. That is the goal of the Spartacist League. ■

WV Photo

CHICAGO TEACHERS AX GIVEBACKS—Mayor Harold Washington poses as a defender of black Chicago, but the recent teachers strike showed how the black Democrats are on the bosses' side. In November, 500 teachers were laid off when the federal government slashed over $100 million in desegregation funds. At the same time the Board of Education demanded hundreds of millions in cuts from the mainly black Chicago Teachers Union. Fighting for their jobs and their union, Chicago teachers went out on strike December 3 demanding a wage increase to boot.

The teachers resisted attempts by the board to split the 18-union coalition on race lines while the largely white craft unions refused to buckle under threat of court injunctions. So as temperatures dropped, the legislature discovered some "tax amnesty" money. On December 17 a tentative settlement was reached restoring full medical benefits and granting a 4.5 percent wage increase. By hanging tough, the 40,000 members of the CTU and allied unions struck a blow against Reagan-style austerity, givebacks and union-busting.

Britain...

(continued from page 4)

"The media comes a close second to the police on the striking miners' list of pet hates." No wonder, since the entire bourgeois press—and particularly the TV—has spewed out a solid stream of violence-baiting against the strikers and lies about mythical back-to-work movements. But apparently the *Guardian*'s editors decided they needed a fig leaf of "objectivity" and published a report by David Hearst, titled, "Strike spirit unbroken after 39 weeks," quoting David Millar, NUM branch secretary of Kellingley colliery:

"There is a sense of victory among our young miners. Everything has been thrown at them, the police, the courts, the DHSS and the propaganda of the media. They feel there is nothing more that anyone can do to them. They have stood up against the whole state machinery and they have come out on top....

"There is a new feeling about. We are getting back to the bedrock of socialism in the mining communities. It's like the days when the Welsh valleys sent thousands of miners to the Spanish Civil War....

"It's strange, but our kids are going to have the best Christmas they have ever had—not in terms of consumer goods but in terms of spirit, which is nearly tribal. Although there is hardship there is also an atmosphere of intense comradeship and altruism."

And finally, the *Guardian* (16 November) reported:

"Santa Claus was arrested outside Hamley's toy shop in Regent Street, London, yesterday, while he was launching a Christmas toy appeal for miners' children." ■

Haley/Sipa

Miners' wives catch Iron Lady Thatcher arm in arm with other Führer Hitler.

which necessarily raises the question of power—which class shall rule:

"In a sense the miners' struggle is breaking out of these old frameworks and that's a good thing, but it also has to be given some coherence and direction and it has to go beyond simply trade union militancy. What we have argued for is bringing other forces in the working class out in action—which was posed concretely with the dockers strike, with the BL strikes—to bring that together in joint strike committees which are rich in possibilities. These strike committees would allow the unemployed and the women's committees to take part. They would provide an organisational basis which could coordinate workers defence guards to stop the police rampage. They would provide a check on the leadership, on what it does and doesn't do, and they would provide a place for a new leadership to be forged. They would be embryonically the basis of a future state power even, soviets.

"We have to use this strike to go forward and that means going forward to a workers government that will expropriate the capitalist class, a Soviet Britain if you like, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"We would have a planned economy which would use the precious human material resources that are still left on this island for the betterment of the whole society. And we'd link up with the socialist federation of Soviet Europe." ■

Workers Hammer...

(continued from page 5)

on collecting money, in fact anything we have asked for has been there for the asking. They've educated lots of our members in certain ways, which has been very good, and it's been an education for me as well. That is the reason why I stand on this platform today, and quite proud of it."

David Strachan of the Spartacist League Central Committee summed up the tasks posed by the miners' strike,

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NOTICE
Workers Vanguard skips a week in December.
Our next issue will be dated January 11.

Pinochet to the Wall, Workers to Power!

The Chilean Volcano

Once again, there is deadlock in Chile. Over the last month and a half the left staged a successful national strike, the first in eleven years of junta rule, and the Pinochet dictatorship responded by reimposing the infamous "state of siege." Once again the soccer stadiums are filled with thousands of young men seized after army troops cordon off the slum districts. Once again hundreds are sent to concentration camps. To prevent a repeat of the opposition's October strike, during the last week of November the capital was placed under military occupation for the first time since the bloody 1973 coup. But despite Pinochet's military success, the Yankee patrons of Chile's Caesar Augustus are worried. Without any real social backing, the regime can't last on the support of its bayonets alone. The alternative is sharply posed: either continuation of brutal junta rule or revolutionary struggle to bring it down. And most Chileans are convinced, as their chant proclaims, "*se va a acabar, la dictadura militar*"—the military dictatorship is going to end.

Carrion/Sygma

Santiago is burning: working-class youth defy bloody military dictatorship in the Chilean capital.

Last August General Pinochet announced he was going to hold on to power until 1989 in order to block the Communists. After a year of demonstrations and catastrophic economic depression, he vowed, "if it's necessary we will have another September 11" (*El Diario/La Prensa*, 21 August). Following a crackdown on the anniversary of the overthrow of Salvador Allende's leftist Unidad Popular, apologists of the military regime proclaimed the failure of the monthly one-day *protestas*. But on October 30, the National Workers Command (CNT) and the Communist-led Popular Democratic Movement (MDP) called a nationwide work stoppage. The strike brought the capital of Santiago to a halt; public transportation was crippled, metal factories reported 80 percent absenteeism, at textile plants it was almost total; and the truckers kept their vehicles off the road. This was achieved despite brutal government repression (eight dead and hundreds arrested) and the refusal of the Democratic Alliance, led by the Christian Democrats and including some Socialist sectors as well, to participate.

Pinochet's answer was the state of siege. On November 5, Interior Minister Jarpa, a near-fascist leader of the National Party, resigned as architect of the failed "opening" of the military regime. The next day he signed on again as the interior minister for a "crackdown." But these are only two sides of the same policy. Earlier Jarpa sought to entice the bourgeois opposition away from the left with the carrot of dialogue. Air force general Matthei made some cooing noises and soon "moderate" dissidents were talking of a split between doves and hawks in the junta. But when Christian Democrats began seeking cooperation with the Communist Party after the successful October 30 strike, when bishops of the Chilean Catholic church held a meeting with 200 leftist exiles in Rome in early November, Pinochet and his front man switched over to the stick of repression.

The real target was the left and workers movement. Soon the raids on the slum shantytowns began. Shortly before 5 a.m. on November 10, residents of the Silva Henriquez barrio heard the helicopters and saw the armored personnel carriers pull up. Five days later the scene was repeated in La Victoria, the shantytown of 50,000 inhabitants that has been the center of anti-junta protest. Soldiers went methodically door to door, ransacking homes and hauling out every male over age 16. They were herded into military buses and taken to soccer stadiums where they were forced to stand for hours under the machine guns as the CNI (ex-DINA) secret police carried out identity checks. More than 600 were sent to the prison camp at Pisagua, 1,000 miles to the north of Santiago in the barren Atacama desert. Through this hardline policy the Pinochet regime hoped to intimidate militant opposition.

The crackdown reached its zenith during the November 28-29 protest initiated by the center-right Democratic Alliance. Pinochet called up the reserves and placed the entire capital area under army occupation the day beforehand: soldiers were stationed every 100 yards in the slum districts and concentrated at every major intersection. With the leaders forced underground and this massive display of force, the opposition was hemmed in: demonstrations were small, and there were fewer bonfires of burning tires at the entrances of the shantytowns. Even so, the regime was rattled. The roundups continue: on December 7, more than 5,000 men were detained in a raid on the slum district named after leftist folksinger Violeta Parra. And the U.S. is nervous: after a month-long top-level review in Washington, a State Department spokesman expressed concern over "a cycle of terrorism, repression and protest" in Chile.

Repression, Depression and Protest

For the last 18 months, there has indeed been a cycle of protests and repression, ever since the 1983 "May Days" when middle-class housewives began banging their pots against the tyrant Pinochet who seized power with the backing of the bourgeoisie and the United States a decade earlier. The stronghold of opposition to the dictatorship has been the working-class shantytowns where 70 percent of able-bodied males are jobless, where housewives root through garbage dumps for scraps to eat and their children sniff glue to cut the hunger pangs. But here, too, resistance has grown strong as soup kitchens serve tens of thousands, illegal leftist organizations maintain offices and every time there is a *protesta* the barricades go up anew.

The background to this outcry is the worst depression since 1929. Even according to official statistics, between 1981 and 1984 per capita consumption fell by 21 percent. Even with the backing of Pinochet's guns and massive loans from New York banks, the "free market" economic model of the "Chicago Boys," followers of monetarist economist Milton Friedman, has proved a disaster—not only for the working class and poor, but for the petty bourgeoisie and many domestic capitalists as well. First a wave of cheap imports destroyed local manufactures while a speculative wave sucked capital into real estate. Then the 1981 crash destroyed the domestic market as unemployment topped 30 percent. And commodity prices for Chile's exports continue to fall. Today Pinochet's regime has the highest per capita foreign debt in Latin America, and no dollars to pay off his friends at Chase Manhattan.

Cambio 16

Live by the sword, die by the sword: the days of Pinochet's junta are numbered.

The dictator has alienated the very sectors who placed him in power in 1973. So why haven't the repeated *protestas*, often mobilizing tens of thousands in the streets, driven him from office, as has happened to the military *gorilas* elsewhere in the "Southern Cone"? The London *Guardian* (23 October) posed the question, and gave a partial answer:

> "How then has Pinochet survived while the generals in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay have gone or are going?
> "Whereas in Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil the middle and upper class are confident that with the return of democracy they will be able to contain the Left, in Chile they are not so sure."

In Chile, class divisions are so sharp that even a decade of military rule has not been able to root out the parties of the working class. But the combativity and consciousness of the Chilean proletariat worries not only the capitalists and the generals. The Communist, Socialist and MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement) leaders are terrified at the prospect of a working-class upsurge becoming "isolated" from the bourgeoisie.

Under the Unidad Popular, the reformists treacherously called for faith in "democratic" bourgeois politicians and "constitutionalist" generals (like Allende's last defense minister, Augusto Pinochet). Today these traitors are desperately trying to bind the working class to the Christian Democrats and even ultrarightists of the National Party—the same people who beat the pots and pans for the 1973 coup. Thus the May 1984 manifesto "The Popular Democratic Movement to the People of Chile" calls for a "National Democratic Agreement" with all anti-Pinochet forces, in particular the Democratic Alliance (AD). And in the face of Christian Democratic opposition, the CP-led MDP and former copper workers leader Rodolfo Seguel's CNT put off the national work stoppage for six months until their hand was forced by union militants.

Smash Pinochet—For Chilean Soviets!

Under the guns of the dictatorship, the Communist Party has been forced to adopt a semblance of militancy. The party of arch-peaceful roader Luis Corvalán today speaks of "armed struggle" and hails the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front, a guerrilla organization which has claimed credit for bombing a number of government targets in recent months. Their purpose is not to build a movement for a revolutionary insurrection, however, but to pressure the bourgeois opposition into "recognizing" the Communists! In fact, the MDP itself was formed only after the Christian Democrat-led AD refused to admit the Communists. And the communiqué on the CP's national conference last June calls for an agreement of all "civilian and military" circles favoring "the earliest possible return to democracy," even suggesting participation of the armed forces—"purged of the fascist leadership," of course—in a future government (*International Bulletin*, September 1984).

The "minimum program" of the Stalinists and other reformists is one or another version of "democratic" government: "popular democracy" says the

continued on page 10

Chile...

(continued from page 9)

Communist Party, "full democracy" says the *Combate* group. More militant types call for "revolutionary popular democracy." What this all means is that the immediate goal is *not* workers revolution against the bloody dictatorship, but the establishment of a "democratic" regime with sectors of the bourgeoisie. As the CP puts it (*Punto Final Internacional*, August 1984): "democracy now, socialism tomorrow [*mañana*]"! What would be the program of such a bourgeois-democratic regime? The MDP manifesto calls for a provisional democratic government to replace the dictatorship, annul Pinochet's 1980 constitution and dissolve the CNI/DINA secret police; for a constituent assembly, human rights and an "emergency economic plan" that would combat unemployment.

Who will dismantle Pinochet's murderous secret police? A parliamentary commission as next door in Argentina, where a few of the assassins are mildly punished while most of these pathological killers walk free? The Chilean workers and poor are burning to avenge the tens of thousands murdered in cold blood, the untold numbers tortured and "disappeared," the 100,000 sent to rot for years in hellish concentration camps. The insurrectionary masses will head for the offices of the CNI/DINA to carry out revolutionary justice. And a CP/Christian Democratic/military "democratic" government will try to stop them from striking such a body blow to the capitalist state apparatus.

How will mass unemployment be fought? Chile's depression has been brought on by rock-bottom world copper prices (the lowest in this century), impossible interest payments to the imperialist banks (more than half of annual export earnings), the bankruptcy of hundreds of industrial and financial companies. A different economic *policy* will solve nothing. The reconstruction of this disaster-struck land can only be accomplished by socialist economic planning. It requires breaking the stranglehold of the imperialists and expropriation of the capitalists who put Pinochet in power and brought about the ruin of Chile.

Because of the abject capitulation of the reformist misleaders, Allende's Unidad Popular was brought down with hardly a fight. To avoid a repeat of this catastrophe for the working class there must be a political reckoning with the popular front which paved the way for Pinochet. The international Spartacist tendency was unique in warning of the impending disaster in Chile *from the very beginning*, calling for revolutionary Marxists "to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the election and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power" (*Spartacist* No. 19, November-December 1970). In making this prophetic call we based ourselves on the lessons drawn by the great Russian Communist Leon Trotsky from Stalin's sabotage of the Spanish revolution. Today a Trotskyist party must be forged in Chile to carry out a successful workers insurrection, to establish revolutionary *soviet* democracy through a workers and peasants government, defended by a communist Red Army that will crush Pinochet and his ilk forever. ■

AP

Pinochet's cops brutalize protester as general strike paralyzes Santiago, October 29.

Trotsky/ Zinoviev...

(continued from page 2)

and Trotsky' against the Stalin bureaucracy, I should have been victorious even if Lenin had taken no direct part in the struggle."

At the same time, Trotsky pointed out that the ultimate outcome in the struggle would be determined by broader factors, both within Russia and without. The most decisive of these factors was the German revolution. Mintz refers to "the catastrophic defeats in China and Britain" attempting to show that the international ramifications of Stalin's rise to power were not yet apparent in 1924. He fails to mention the no less catastrophic failure of the October 1923 German revolution which sealed Stalin's ascent to power. A proletarian victory in either China or Britain would have enormously strengthened the Left Opposition. But the victory of the German October would have shattered the nationalist bureaucratic caste formation.

After the triumvirs decisively defeated the 1923 Opposition (forerunner of the Left Opposition) at the 13th Party Congress in May 1924, a schism began to open up between Zinoviev and Kamenev on the one hand and Stalin on the other. Mintz's assertion that the nature of this fight was unclear until Zinoviev openly came out against Stalin's doctrine of "socialism in one country" in late 1925 is at best formalistic. The first appearance of Stalin's doctrine of "socialism in one country" was in an article entitled "October and Comrade Trotsky's Theory of Permanent Revolution," published in *Pravda* and *Izvestia* in December 1924. Stalin sought a formal endorsement for his doctrine at the 14th Party Conference in April 1925 when the breakup of the triumvirate was already in progress. But Zinoviev and Kamenev objected and, still avoiding a show of disunity, the triumvirs presented an ambiguously worded resolution to the conference. Zinoviev did not openly attack Stalin's doctrine until September, soon after he together with Kamenev, Krupskaya and Sokolnikov drew up the "Platform of the Four." The attack was contained in Zinoviev's *Leninism* and even there it is not a major theme of the book. Even Zinoviev's speeches to the 14th Party Congress in December made little reference to "socialism in one country."

At bottom the deepening factional struggle represented the different social bases of the two groups. Zinoviev and Kamenev were respectively heads of the Leningrad and Moscow party organizations. Leningrad was the Russian city most dependent on heavy industry and Stalin was not able to destroy Zinoviev's base there until the winter of 1925-26. In addition, Moscow was the most powerful base of support for the Left Opposition. Stalin's base was in the governing apparatus, hence his bonapartist role. The market-oriented economic policies of the New Economic Policy (NEP) did little to revive heavy industry from the devastation of the Civil War and imperialist intervention. Objective economic conditions under NEP tended to push Zinoviev toward Trotsky's positions regarding industrialization and economic planning, and Stalin toward the pro-peasant policies of the Bukharin right wing.

Mintz seems to think that personal bitterness could not have played any role in the delay of a Trotsky/Zinoviev bloc. It is impossible to determine exactly what motives may have delayed this bloc, but certainly there was great animosity on both sides. During 1923-24, Zinoviev considered Stalin a second-rate figure and the elimination of Trotsky as key to succeeding Lenin. During this period Zinoviev was by far the most bloodthirsty member of the triumvirate toward Trotsky. Stalin, recognizing that the elimination of Trotsky then was premature and would be unpopular with the Russian working masses and Red Army, was able to win a base in the party and government apparatus as the sober leader who avoided extremes.

After the 13th Congress, the Leningraders were in opposition over many of the same issues that Trotsky had done battle over in the preceding two years. Certainly Stalin was worried that the Leningrad opposition and the 1923 Left Opposition would get together, and worked to head this off. He now revealed that in 1923 Zinoviev had wanted to expel Trotsky and that he had opposed this. In this period Stalin hypocritically praised Trotsky as an honorable if errant revolutionist, contrasting him favorably to the demagogic, highhanded and widely despised Zinoviev.

Trotsky did not forget that it was Zinoviev who demanded his blood in the period following Lenin's death. Trotsky adopted an above-the-battle position. He took no part in the fierce debates within the leadership in the fall of 1925 and watched silently as the Leningrad opposition was smashed at the 14th Party Congress in December. Trotsky's personal notes made during the Congress refer to the Leningraders as "vociferous, vulgar, and rightly discredited." We can only conjecture whether Trotsky would have been successful in an attempt to form a bloc with Zinoviev in 1924-25. But the potential that existed for such a bloc was not put to the test. When Trotsky recognized that Stalin's conciliation of the pro-kulak, pro-NEPman right wing was driving Russia to catastrophe and threatening the social gains of October, he consummated a bloc with all left oppositional forces which became the Joint Opposition.

Mintz implies that the breakup of the triumvirate in the fall of 1925 led directly to the formation of the Joint Opposition. In fact, neither group made any overt move toward rapprochement until March or April 1926 when Trotsky and Kamenev met privately for the first time since 1923. The Joint Opposition was actually formed a few months later. And contrary to Mintz's assertion that the bloc with Zinoviev "allowed Trotsky three more years to fight inside the Bolshevik Party," in less than a year and a half both Trotsky and Zinoviev were expelled from the party.

What do we mean when we say that the Trotsky/Zinoviev bloc did not take place "when it might have counted"? The formation of the Joint Opposition had little effect *inside* the Russian party, since this was by then bureaucratically controlled by the Stalin/Bukharin bloc. Certainly the Joint Opposition greatly strengthened Trotsky's position internationally in the struggle against the degeneration of the Communist International and later in the fight for the Fourth International. But that is not the issue.

Had Trotsky been able to consummate a bloc with the Zinoviev group in 1924-25, this would have posed the question of *power* within the Soviet state. Had a revolutionary leadership directed the Soviet government and Communist International in the mid-1920s, this could have changed world history. The British general strike of 1926 and more importantly the Chinese revolution of 1926-27 could well have been victorious, ending the terrible isolation of the Soviet Union.

As in all things, Trotsky maintained a critical and scientific attitude toward the history of the Left Opposition which he summed up in conclusion to his definitive reappraisal of the Stalinist Thermidor:

> "Our tendency never laid claim to infallibility. We do not receive ready-made truths as a revelation, like the high priests of Stalinism. We study, we discuss, we check our conclusions in the light of existence, we openly correct the admitted mistakes and—we proceed forward. Scientific conscientiousness and personal strictness are the best traditions of Marxism and Leninism. We wish to remain true to our teachers in this respect as well."
>
> —Leon Trotsky, "The Workers' State, Thermidor and Bonapartism" (February 1935) ■

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Anti-Apartheid Fighters...

(continued from page 1)

Sewpersadh, Mewa Ramgobin, Murgiah Naidoo, Curtis Nkondo, Aubrey Mokoena and Essop Jassat. Gumede, age 72, was also a defendant in the infamous Treason Trial of the African National Congress (ANC) in the late 1950s.

Many of the arrested UDF leaders now facing the death sentence were first arrested last August during the successful election boycott/protest against South African president P.W. Botha's "constitutional new deal" for impotent, separate, segregated "coloured" (mixed race) and Indian parliaments. This was the beginning of an explosive black revolt which for four months has ripped through the apartheid police state, from the impoverished townships to the high schools to the black workers in the gold mines and industrial plants. South Africa's racist rulers are seeking to behead this widening struggle.

Now is the time for mass mobilizations and international labor action in solidarity with our embattled class brothers and sisters in South Africa! Free the UDF Eight, the organizers of the Transvaal Regional Stayaway Committee, and all victims of apartheid repression! Smash apartheid slavery—for workers revolution!

Reagan, Black Liberals Take Credit... For What?

The treason charges against the UDF leaders and "subversion" charges against the Transvaal stay-away committee come in the face of the widely publicized sit-ins at the South African embassy in the U.S. by prominent members of the American black liberal establishment. When a number of South African anti-apartheid activists were released from prison in early December, these black Democrats naturally claimed their actions were responsible. Not to be upstaged, Reagan quickly claimed it was a triumph for *his* policy of "constructive engagement." While Reagan and his black liberal opponents were vying for credit in securing the release of anti-apartheid militants, *the leaders were rearrested and threatened with the death penalty!*

Botha used the occasion to declare his defiance of American pressure, whether Reagan's "quiet diplomacy" or the black liberals' more militant tactics: "No quiet diplomacy or hard shouting will keep us from... the retention of civilized values" (*New York Times*, 14 December)! For South Africa's racist masters, "civilized values" mean police-state terror against the black toilers whose superexploitation gives the white minority the comforts of "civilization."

Last week the demonstrations led by black Democratic elected officials (BEOs) outside the South African embassy in Washington continued, spreading to the consulates in New York, Chicago and other cities. Every "constituency" of the Democratic Party was encouraged to come out. There was a "labor day" in which AFL-CIO bureaucrats showed up to get busted; a religious leaders' day in New York, marked by the appearance of figures as diverse as black race-baiting demagogue Rev. Herbert Daughtry and liberal Zionists from the American Jewish Congress (hoping nobody would remind them that Israel is a major weapons supplier to South Africa); and a "yuppies" day as Gary Hart showed up. Even arch-segregationist Alabama governor George Wallace endorsed the protests (*Washington Post*, 7 December)!

The strategy of the black liberal politicians and their allies is to pressure U.S. imperialism to force South Africa to make cosmetic reforms which deflect black struggle but which do not challenge the capitalist (and therefore white supremacist) status quo. This policy is not only utterly utopian on its own terms, but it is obscene to demand that the American ruling class, the biggest racist criminals in the world, pressure its junior partner South Africa into cleaning up its act. As part of the black liberals' call to "divest" everything South African, the Free South Africa Movement is now planning a stepped-up campaign for (obviously wealthy) Americans to sell off their gold Krugerrands. The only effect would be to drive down their price slightly so they can be bought at a profit by some Dutch speculator or other capitalist entrepreneur.

Organizers for the Free South Africa committee quite openly admit they needed a quick fix following the black pols' disastrous support for loser Democrat Mondale, who said not one word about South Africa during the whole course of the campaign. "We were down so far we had to do something—you can't fall off the ground," says Randall Robinson of the TransAfrica foreign policy lobby and brain truster of the demonstrations (*Washington Post*, 12 December). And Congressional Black Caucus head Walter Fauntroy told the *Washington Afro-American* (11 December) that the black pols had deliberately put off the South African campaign until after the U.S. elections because "we felt it would be a diversion from...concentrating our energies on voter registration."

It's cheap for the black Dems to talk about a new "civil rights movement" over faraway South Africa, conveniently avoiding the heat of a struggle against the racist budget ax here at home (see "Reagan's Kill 'em All Cuts," page 1). Likewise their role during the 1960s struggles was to keep the movement confined within the "respectable" liberal capitalist framework from which the black radicals of SNCC and the Panthers were already breaking.

Smash Apartheid—For Workers Revolution!

Paralleling the Fauntroys and Dellums, black South African Anglican bishop Desmond Tutu has pleaded with Reagan to protect South African capitalism by forcing it to "adapt" before it is brought down through social revolution. After his visit to the White House last week, Tutu said he was pleased that Reagan "spoke as he had never before" in criticizing apartheid. When it was announced that he had won the Nobel Peace Prize last October, Tutu appealed to the "enlightened" imperialists, declaring that apartheid and communism are "equal evils," and begged the apartheid rulers to reform because it is "our last peaceful chance." No wonder this Cold War bishop won the Nobel Prize; for his sermons "sanctify" the Reagan/Botha anti-Soviet war drive, whose victims are the thousands of freedom fighters from Namibia to Mozambique.

Contrast Tutu's anti-Communist appeal to imperialist chieftain Reagan to the heroic leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, in his speech at the 1964 Rivonia trial, where he was sentenced to life imprisonment. (He has been in prison ever since, most of it on the notorious Robben Island.) While stating he was not a communist himself, Mandela went on:

> "It is perhaps difficult for White South Africans, with an ingrained prejudice against Communism, to understand why experienced African politicians so readily accept Communists as their friends. But to us the reason is obvious. Theoretical differences amongst those fighting against oppression is a luxury we cannot afford at this stage. What is more, for many decades Communists were the only political group in South Africa who were prepared to treat Africans as human beings and their equals; who were prepared to eat with us; talk with us, live with us and work with us.... Because of this, there are many Africans who, today, tend to equate freedom with Communism. They are supported in this belief by a legislature which brands all exponents of democratic government and African freedom as Communists and bans many of them (who are not Communists) under the Suppression of Communism Act."
>
> —reproduced in Thomas Karis and Gwendolen M. Carter, eds., *From Protest to Challenge*, Vol. 3 (1977)

WV Photo

Cleveland, December 15: spirited Spartacist contingent protests outside South African consulate.

While the ANC and South African Communist Party have many courageous and dedicated cadres, the strategy of these organizations is one of pressuring the liberal bourgeoisie in South Africa and especially in West Europe and the U.S. to oppose apartheid. However, white-ruled South Africa has always been an important part of the "free world," all the more obviously so under Reagan's stepped-up anti-Soviet war drive, and the liberals are not about to cut the ties that bind these strategic allies. It is South Africa's powerful black proletariat, which, under a revolutionary vanguard, will be the gravedigger of apartheid capitalism. And on that grave will rise a black-centered workers and peasants government.

The struggle to break the chains of apartheid slavery in South Africa and the struggle for black freedom in racist America have a tremendous reciprocal impact on each other. The dependence of South African capitalism on black labor and the strategic concentration of black workers in the American economy imparts to elementary *race and class solidarity against the oppressor* an enormous revolutionary potential. The emerging proletarian centrality of black revolt in South Africa as demonstrated by the Transvaal general strike serves to rouse the restless black masses in the factories and ghettos of the U.S. When Bay Area longshoremen, despite the victimization by maritime bosses and sabotage by union tops and their "left" flunkeys, refuse to unload South African cargo which sat in the SF harbor for ten days, this must fortify black toilers suffering under the U.S.-backed apartheid police state.

Black workers in South Africa and the U.S. can be the motor force for social revolution in their respective countries. The explosive potential of their class solidarity has everyone from Bishop Tutu to the U.S. labor bureaucrats and black Democrats terrified and pleading with Reagan and Botha that it's time to "Adapt or Die." But the South African capitalist rulers cannot "adapt"—for the apartheid system is as fundamental to their existence as an exploiting class as racial oppression is for the American rulers. They can and must be brought down through social revolution.

Just how interlocked the struggles of American blacks and South African freedom fighters are can be seen from the Defiance Campaign against apartheid in the 1950s. Led by Mandela and the Congress Alliance, it had a profound influence on the emerging American civil rights movement—just as American black radicals like Malcolm X and the Panthers had an enormous impact on the developing South African "black consciousness" movement when those black radicals were breaking from the liberal preachers like Desmond Tutu. And while the black liberals talk about "divestment," black workers in the U.S. who've seen their strikes smashed, seen the givebacks and takeaways gut their wages and working conditions, have no illusions in "enlightened" American capitalism. One hundred twenty major capitalist corporations in the U.S.—including Union Carbide (!), the mass murderer of Bhopal, India—now weep crocodile tears about apartheid while busting union contracts, then ruthlessly laying off black workers at home.

Coloured auto workers of Ford Motor Co. in Port Elizabeth, black workers at Detroit's River Rouge—same enemy, same fight. In the U.S., as in South Africa, the key is building a genuinely communist party, a Trotskyist party, at the head of the workers movement, leading behind its banners all the oppressed, from the ghettos and the sprawling bantustans, the women, the revolutionary youth, in the fight for socialist revolution. Real "solidarity" with our embattled class brothers in South Africa is the fight to bring down Reagan and racist American capitalism here at home! ■

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SUBJECT INDEX

Workers Vanguard—6 January to 21 December 1984 (Issues Nos. 345-369)

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1984, from issue No 345 (6 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No 369 (21 December). During this time, *WV* was published biweekly.
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series, corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

  Victory for Black Freedom!, #359, 20 July (12, 11)

  means the headline of the article, issue No 359, 20 July 1984, beginning on page 12 and continuing on page 11.
- No entry is listed twice, refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types. those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head, those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semi-colon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus.

  AUTO WORKERS—See **Civil Rights; Labor: General, History.**

  means that additional articles relating to auto workers can be found by going to the subject head **CIVIL RIGHTS** and by going to the subject head **LABOR** and looking under the subcategories **General** and **History**.
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person.
- Entries relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Unless listed separately for some unusual reason, all foreign political organizations are listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.
- Specific defense cases (e.g. the SL's suit against the FBI) are listed under **CIVIL LIBERTIES**. Articles which deal with the intersection of American blacks with the U.S. legal system (e.g. the Taylor family defense) are listed under **CIVIL RIGHTS**, while general articles on the black question are listed under **BLACK QUESTION**.
- This year *WV* began printing a relevant and outstanding quotation each issue on page 2. These quotations are all listed under **QUOTE OF THE WEEK**, with a title and the name of the person who is quoted. They are cross-referenced under those subjects to which the quotes apply.
- Abbreviations used in entries are

C	Correction	S	Series
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